EVC

Prat Lab Legis —
Women's Cong.

REHABILITATION AND LABOR HEALTH SERVICES

. . . Guidelines For Action

EVC - Wk. Comp.

ATTORNEYS' FEES in WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

A Report of the Standards and Procedures in State Legislation

Bulletin 220
September 1960

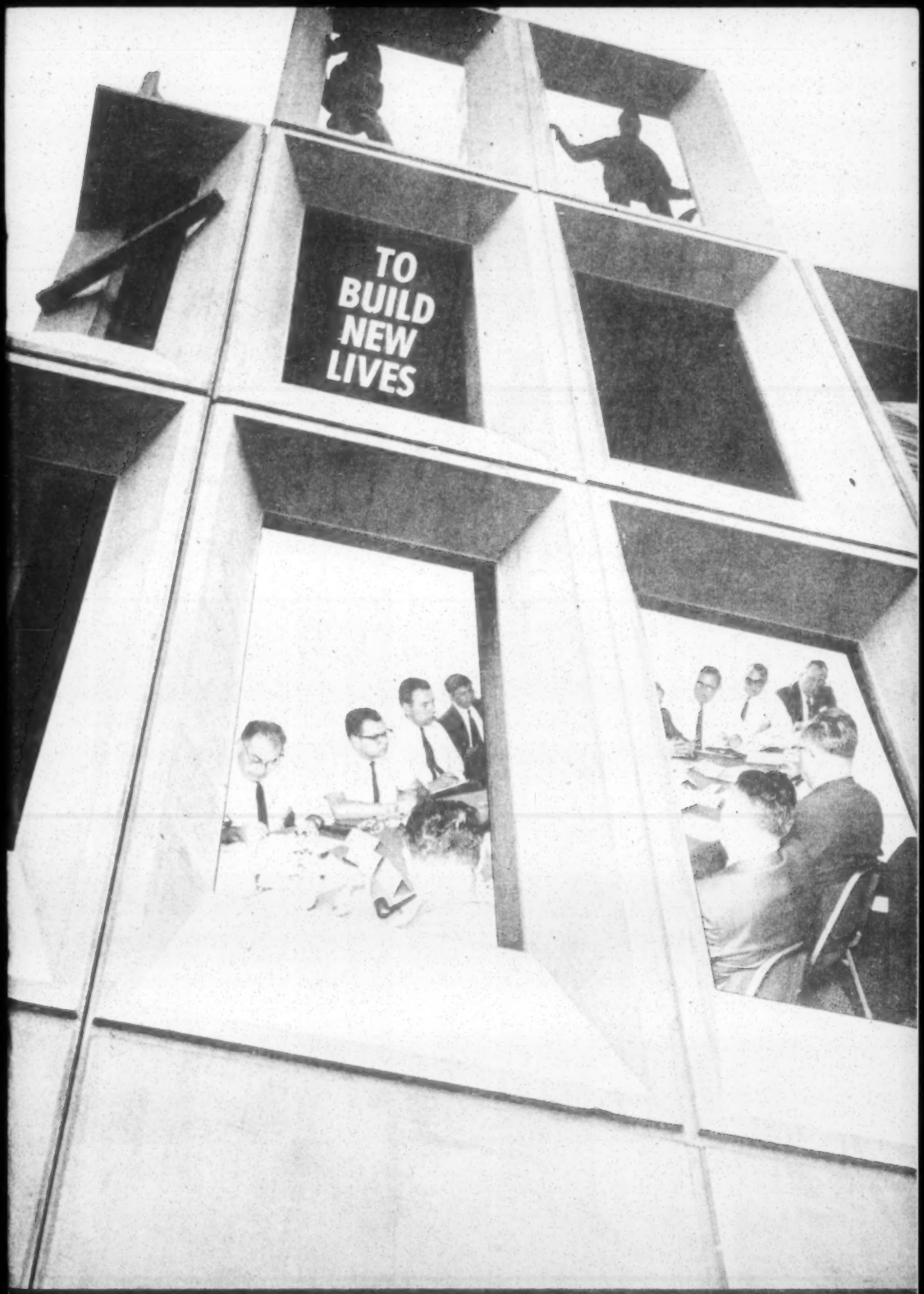
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
James P. Mitchell, Secretary
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
Arthur W. Motley, Director

State Workmen's Compensation Laws

Bulletin 161

Revised September 1964

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
Nelson M. Bortz, Director



A Labor Program for Rehabilitation
and Workmen's Compensation

Page

1 INTRODUCTION

2 COMPULSORY AND ELECTIVE LAWS

4 NUMERICAL EXEMPTIONS

6 COVERAGE OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

8 OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE COVERAGE

10 REHABILITATION DIVISION WITHIN THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION AGENCY

12 MAINTENANCE BENEFITS DURING REHABILITATION

14 MEDICAL BENEFITS FOR ACCIDENTAL INJURY

16 MEDICAL BENEFITS FOR OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

18 SUPERVISION OF MEDICAL CARE

20 SELECTION OF PHYSICIAN

22 COVERAGE UNDER SECOND OR SUBSEQUENT INJURY FUNDS

24 TIME LIMIT FOR FILING OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE CLAIMS

26 WAITING PERIOD

28 DEATH BENEFITS—MAXIMUM PERIOD

30 BENEFITS FOR PERMANENT TOTAL DISABILITY—MAXIMUM PERIOD

32 ADDITIONAL BENEFITS TO ILLEGALLY EMPLOYED MINORS

34 RATIO OF MAXIMUM WEEKLY BENEFIT FOR TEMPORARY TOTAL DISABILITY TO AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES

38 TYPES OF ADMINISTRATION

40 JUDICIAL REVIEW

42 CHECKLIST

43 SELECTED REFERENCES

Bulletin No. 212
Revised
1964

STATE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS:

a Comparison of Major Provisions With Recommended Standards

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
Arthur W. Motley, Director

Labor Protective
Legislation - So

KENTUCKY
WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION
LAW

ANNOTATED

1964

Complete with

Rules, Regulations, Tables and Annotations through 373 S. W. (2d)

Commonwealth of Kentucky

EDWARD T. BREATHITT, Governor

Department of Labor

CARL CABE, Commissioner

THEODORE ETHINGTON, Deputy Commissioner

Workmen's Compensation Board

Frankfort, Kentucky

FRANK R. GOAD, Chairman

JOE B. BATES **JOSEPH S. FREELAND**

CAWOOD SMITH **EDGAR N. VENTERS**

J. KELLER WHITAKER, Director

T E X A S

Appropriate State Offices

Unemployment Compensation

Employment Compensation
R. L. Coffman, Administrator
TEC Building
Austin, Texas 78701
512-GR2-6251

Workmen's Compensation

Industrial Accident Board
Frank Boyd, Executive Director
State Insurance Bldg.
Austin, Texas
512-GR2-2251

Appropriate Regional Office of the United States Department of Labor

For information on Workmen's Compensation, Safety, and State Minimum Wage Laws

Bureau of Labor Standards
Howard M. Gray, Regional Consultant
Room 322, Mayflower Bldg.
411 North Akard Street
Dallas, Texas 75201
214-749-2567

For information on unemployment compensation

Bureau of Employment Security
Tracy C. Murrell, Regional Administrator
Room 330, Mayflower Bldg.
411 North Akard Street
Dallas, Texas 75201

Emory F. Veal [1959]

THE WISCONSIN WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW

What Every Steel Worker Should Know

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
PITTSBURGH, PA.
SEAL
ORGANIZED
MAY 22, 1942
INTERNATIONAL UNION

AUGUST - 1959 - EDITION

PREPARED BY THE LEGAL DEPARTMENT

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

PITTSBURGH - PENNSYLVANIA
U. S. A.

DAVID J. McDONALD
PRESIDENT

I. W. ABEL
SECRETARY-TREASURER

HOWARD R. HAGUE
VICE PRESIDENT

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG
GENERAL COUNSEL

THE WISCONSIN
WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW

What Every Steel Worker Should Know

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
PITTSBURGH, PA.
SEAL
ORGANIZED MAY 22, 1942
INTERNATIONAL UNION

AUGUST - 1959 - EDITION

PREPARED BY THE LEGAL DEPARTMENT

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

PITTSBURGH - PENNSYLVANIA
U. S. A.

DAVID J. McDONALD
PRESIDENT

I. W. ABEL
SECRETARY-TREASURER

HOWARD R. HAGUE
VICE PRESIDENT

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG
GENERAL COUNSEL

FOREWORD

The workmen's compensation laws have not been fully and completely utilized. One of the contributing factors has been the lack of familiarity with the provisions of the law on the part of the workers.

Today, more than ever before, it is important that the worker should know what his rights are and what he should do to safeguard them if he is injured in his employment.

Mindful of the workers' problem in this regard, the United Steelworkers of America, through its General Counsel, Arthur J. Goldberg, and Edward G. Nassar, Workmen's Compensation Department, have prepared this booklet, outlining the Wisconsin Workmen's Compensation Law, to serve as a ready handbook of reference. This handbook is provided by the United Steelworkers as a service to our members in Wisconsin, who are disabled or may be disabled in the course of employment so as to guide and assist them in complying with the requirements of the Workmen's Compensation Laws in Wisconsin so that

they will eventually obtain the various benefits to which they are entitled under the Wisconsin Workmen's Compensation Law.

INTRODUCTION

The State of Wisconsin was one of the first states in the Union to adopt a Workmen's Compensation Law. It was enacted in 1911, and went into effect immediately. Prior to that time the only remedy available to an injured worker was a suit in court.

This "remedy" was too frequently no remedy at all. The cost of court proceedings was often prohibitive. Technical defenses were often successfully used to prevent recovery of damages. It frequently took many years before a judgment could be obtained and collected, if at all.

The underlying aim of Workmen's Compensation Laws is to make the cost of industrial accidents, injuries, disabilities, and deaths, regardless of their causes, a charge upon industry which ultimately passes it on to the consumer as part of the cost of its product.

Although the Workmen's Compensation Law has been a great benefit to workers, it has fallen far short of attaining the ideal solution of the problem of injured and disabled employees and their dependents.

In the original Act passed in 1911, the compensation paid was small, the waiting period was long and the restrictions were many. But, at every session of the legislature, organized labor in Wisconsin kept pegging away with amendments and suggestions.

In every session since 1911 up to and including 1941, amendments improving and liberalizing the law were enacted, until at present Wisconsin has one of the most liberal Workmen's Compensation laws in the United States.

Organized labor is still not satisfied, and will continue its constant and consistent attempts to improve the law, to bring it nearer to a real solution of the problem.

It was presumably the intention of the framers of the law to make the remedy so simple that an employee would not be obliged to have any knowledge of its provisions or to retain an attorney in order to safe-guard his rights under it; but employers and insurers have, in the past, raised such highly technical and confusing interpretations that only too frequently an expert is necessary to win a contested compensation case.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to advise the worker of his rights under the Workmen's Compensation Law of

Wisconsin, and what he should do to guard them. It must, necessarily, be general in its nature, serving as a guide in situations most commonly arising under the Act. Specific questions cannot be covered, nor can it be stated with assurance that the present interpretations of any provision will not be altered by future decisions.

When you have a specific problem about which you are doubtful, CONSULT YOUR COMMITTEEMAN.

If your right to compensation has been denied by your employer, don't accept his decision as final, CONSULT YOUR ATTORNEY.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG,
General Counsel.

EDWARD G. NASSAR,
Workmen's Compensation Dept.

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA.

When You Are Hurt

1. Report the **injury** and **accident** IMMEDIATELY to your foreman, first aid man, or directly to your employer.
2. Demand workmen's compensation IMMEDIATELY from your employer.
3. Report the **injury** and **accident** IMMEDIATELY to your Committeeman or other appropriate Union representative.
4. Do NOT make any statement in writing to your employer. Just report the injury and accident to him.
5. Get the names and addresses of all persons who saw the accident, and obtain a statement in writing from them.
6. Give a copy of this information to your Committeeman. Keep the original yourself.
7. If you cannot do these things yourself, ask your Committeeman to do them for you.
8. Do not sign any papers in blank. Show any papers offered to you to

your Committeeman or to your family before signing them.

9. KNOW YOUR RIGHTS. Do not accept your employer's decision as to whether you are or are not entitled to compensation. CONSULT YOUR UNION.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
FOREWORD	ii
INTRODUCTION	iv
WHEN YOU ARE HURT	vii
I COVERAGE	1
II COMPENSABLE INJURIES	5
III NOTICE	9
IV STATEMENTS	15
V DEMAND	18
VI BENEFITS	23
Total Disability	25
Partial Disability	28
Specific Loss	29
Medical Benefits	36
Lump Sum Payments	38
Minors	40
Miscellaneous	42
Death Benefits	42
VII PROCEDURE	52
Claim and Hearing	52
Appeals	57
Final Receipts	60
Further Compensation or Re-opening Case	61
VIII MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS	64
IX OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES	65
X TOPICAL INDEX	70

I

COVERAGE

1. Q Are all employees covered by the workmen's compensation law?

A No. Employees excepted from the compensation act are farm laborers, domestic servants and employees working for any person or corporation who usually employs less than three (3) employees. Also members of a partnership.

1½. Q Are members of the National and State Guards covered?

A Yes, when in state service performing official duty under direction of appropriate authority, but only in case federal laws, rules or regulations provide no benefits substantially equivalent to those herein provided.

2. Q Does an employee have any right to elect he shall not come under the act?

A With the exception of epileptics, persons totally blind and corporation officials, employees have

no right to elect not to come under the act.

3. Q **If any employer is subject to the act, can I sue him in a court of law for damages for an accidental injury sustained in my employment instead of taking workmen's compensation?**

A No. Your sole remedy against the employer is under the compensation act.

4. Q **If my employer comes under the act, what guarantee is there that he will pay workmen's compensation?**

A All employers employing more than three (3) persons must either:

1. Insure payment of such compensation in some insurance company authorized to insure such liability in this state.
2. Show to the Industrial Commission his financial ability to pay such compensation according to law, whereupon the Commission may, upon written order, make such exemptions.

5. Q **If my injury at work is caused by the negligence of a third party, can I sue him?**

A Yes. Such action does not affect in any way your right to compensation but if you secure a judgment against a third party, the employer is entitled to be repaid the amount he has paid you in compensation, up to two-thirds of the net proceeds of the action.

6. Q **How are the proceeds recovered against a third party applied?**

A Entire proceeds less cost of collection shall be divided: one-third to the employee, remaining balance to the employer or carrier as far as necessary to reimburse for compensation benefits, and any remaining sum to the employee.

7. Q **Are employers or workmen's compensation carriers reimbursed for increased compensation payments out of third party settlements?**

A No such payments are eliminated. These increased compensation payments are penalties

for delayed payments (either 5% after an order of the commission or 10% for inexcusable delay); 15% because of violation of a safety order, and double or treble compensation paid because of employment of a minor without required permit or at prohibited employment.

8. **Q When does the employee have additional time to file suit against a third party and its insurance carrier?**

A Where the insurer of the employer and third party are the same or where there is common control of the insurer of each, and the insurer fails to commence a third party action or to file statutory notice of claim, the two (2) year statute within which notice of injury to the person must be served (notice to be given in case of personal injury suit) shall not be pleaded as a bar in any action commenced by the injured employee against such third party subsequent to two (2) years from the date of injury but prior to six (6) years from such date.

II

COMPENSABLE INJURIES

9. Q For what injuries can I recover compensation?

A You may recover for:

(a) Any injury arising out of and in the course of your employment, that causes a wage loss.

(b) Certain occupational diseases described, on page 65.

10. Q If I sustain an injury while at work, am I always entitled to workmen's compensation?

A No. An injury must arise both out of and in the course of your employment. For instance, if you are struck by a fellow employee because he was angry at you for some personal reason not connected with your work, your injury did not arise out of your employment even though it happened in the course of your employment and you would not collect compensation; however, if you were struck under the same

circumstances because of a quarrel concerning your work such as who should run a certain machine, then your injury would arise both out of and in the course of your employment and you would collect compensation.

11. Q Are there any circumstances in which I can recover workmen's compensation if I am not working at the moment the injury occurs?

A Yes. If your injury happens while you are subject to your employer's orders and directions, for example; compensation has been awarded to an employee who sustained an injury during his lunch hour, in his employer's plant or in a parking lot furnished by the employer and under the latter's control; to an employee who slipped and fell in the yard of his employer while leaving after work; and to a traveling salesman who was hurt in a fire in a hotel where he was stopping overnight while on a business trip for his employer.

12. Q If my injury is the result of my own carelessness, am I still entitled to workmen's compensation?

A Yes. Carelessness alone will not prevent you from getting compensation.

13. Q If I am drinking on the job and get hurt, am I entitled to compensation?

A Yes. Drunkenness alone will not prevent you from getting compensation. But where the injury results from the intoxication of the employee, the compensation and death benefits provided shall be reduced 15%.

14. Q What act of mine will prevent me from getting compensation?

A There are two situations in which you cannot recover compensation. They are:

(a) If you purposely injure yourself.

(b) If the injury is caused by your intentional and wilful misconduct.

15. Q What do you mean by intentional and wilful misconduct?

A By that is meant you wilfully and intentionally exposed yourself to the danger involved knowing that you were almost certain to get hurt. However, if your foreman has permitted you to expose yourself to the prohibited danger in the past, then you may still collect compensation.

III

NOTICE

16. Q What is the FIRST thing I must do when I am hurt at work?

A When you are hurt, do the following:

(a) Report the injury and accident IMMEDIATELY to your foreman, the first aid man, or directly to your employer. Be sure to give him all the details concerning your accident and all the details concerning your injury.

(b) Report the injury and accident IMMEDIATELY to your Committeeman or other appropriate Union representative.

(c) Get the names and addresses of all persons who saw the accident, and obtain a statement in writing from them.

(d) Give a copy of this information to your Committee-

man. Keep the original yourself.

(e) If you cannot do these things yourself, ask your Committeeman to do them for you.

17. Q Does this Notice have to be in writing or in special form?

A No. It may be oral, but it must inform the employer of both the accident and the injury.

18. Q What information shall I give when I report the accident?

A Give all the information about the accident and the injury. Describe how the accident happened and tell about all its effects in detail. For instance, if you fell down and fractured your arm and slightly injured your back as well, tell how the accident happened and report both the arm and back injuries. See that the person who takes down the information writes down everything you tell him.

19. Q If my employer asks me to sign the paper upon which this infor-

mation is being taken down, shall I sign it?

A No.

20. Q What is the result of my failure to report ALL my injuries?

A You may be denied compensation for the disability resulting from those injuries of which your employer did not have notice.

21. Q Suppose I receive injuries but am not aware of them?

A In that case report them as soon as you become aware of them.

22. Q To whom must I give this notice?

A Give such Notice to your employer himself; or to the agent of your employer who is your superior, such as your foreman or superintendent; or to an agent of your employer whose job it is to receive such information, such as first aid man, factory doctor, or Compensation Department employee in the plant.

Get the full name of person to whom you give this notice and keep it.

23. Q If I am hurt too badly to give Notice, what shall I do?

A Have someone else, such as your Committeeman or a member of your family, give notice for you.

24. Q Shall I report an injury even if it is a small one?

A Yes, be sure to do so. Many serious ailments develop from minor injuries. It is most important that you report ALL accidents, no matter how insignificant they may seem to you at the moment.

25. Q How long do I have after the accidental injury to notify my employer of it?

A You have 30 days after the date of the injury in which to give Notice to your employer, but it is best to notify him IMMEDIATELY.

26. Q If I fail to give Notice within the proper time, am I entitled to compensation?

A Failure to give Notice may prevent you from obtaining compensation unless your employer has otherwise had Notice or knowledge of your accident.

27. Q What do you mean by that last statement?

A Even though neither you nor someone acting for you has given Notice to your employer, if he nevertheless receives the information about your accident from any source whatsoever, the receipt by him of such information is sufficient notice. Absence of notice shall not bar recovery if it was found there was no intention to mislead the employer and he was not misled thereby.

28. Q If my employer carries insurance, must I notify his insurance company?

A No. The law requires only that you notify your employer.

29. Q If I notify the insurance company, not my employer, what happens?

A You may lose your right to compensation, so be sure to notify your employer.

30. Q How can I prove that I have given Notice?

A Always be sure to keep a record of every time you discuss your accident or compensation for it with your employer.

IV

STATEMENTS

31. Q Do I have to make a statement in writing to my employer or his insurer?

A The law does not require you to make a written statement, or to sign anything. The giving of notice of your injury to your employer is sufficient.

32. Q Why shouldn't I give a statement in writing to my employer?

A In a number of cases in the past certain employers and their insurance companies have used the device of taking statements for the purpose of building up a defense to the worker's just claim for compensation. Too often the statement becomes a description of what the employer would like to have happened instead of what actually did occur. Sometimes this is done by failing to question the worker as to important details of the accident, sometimes by not writ-

ing in all the facts given by the injured worker, and sometimes by actually changing the answers. Remember, the statement is primarily for the benefit of the employer.

33. Q How will my employer then be able to decide whether or not I am entitled to compensation?

A After you have given notice to the employer of your injury, it is the duty of the employer, himself, to make whatever investigation he desires, and from that determine your right to compensation benefits.

34. Q Suppose I nevertheless wish to make a statement, what shall I do to protect myself?

A Do the following:

(a) Be sure that the statement contains your entire story in your exact words and is not just a summary of your story made by the person who takes the information;

(b) Before signing it, take the statement with you and show it to your Committeeman, or a member of your family, or your Union attorney, so that you may be certain it contains all the true facts of your case;

(c) Be sure to read it over carefully before signing it;

(d) Ask the employer for a copy of the statement, keep it for your files.

Do **not** do the following:

(a) Do not swear to it.

(b) Do not answer questions about matters not directly concerned with your accident, such as citizenship, etc.

V

DEMAND

35. Q After my employer has had notice of my injury, is there anything further I must do in order to collect compensation?

A Yes. You must make an application for adjustment of claim under Workmen's Compensation Act. The Industrial Commission furnishes a printed blank for the asking.

36. Q What must I do with this application?

A The original application and two copies for the respondent must be mailed to the Industrial Commission, Madison, Wis.

37. Q Must I use this form?

A Unless you have made agreement with your employer or his insurance company as to the amount of compensation you are to receive, then you must use this form.

38. Q When must I make application for adjustment of compensation?

A Such application must be filed within two years from the date of the injury or from the date that the employee or his dependents knew or ought to have known the nature of the disability and its relation to the employment.

If no payment of compensation is made and no application filed with the Commission within two years, the right to compensation is barred, unless employer knew or should have known, within the two year period, that the employee had sustained the injury on which claim is based.

Applications in all events must be filed within six (6) years from the date of injury or last payment of compensation regardless of knowledge of the employer.

39. Q Are the periods of limitation extended in the cases of ~~minority~~, minors, insanity or absence in military service?

A If a claimant is under 21 years of age at the time of injury or

at the time his right accrues, the time for filing application or otherwise proceeding under the act is extended to one (1) year after the claimant attains the age of 21 years. If within any part of the last year of any such period of limitation an employee, his personal representative or surviving dependent be insane or on active duty in the Armed Forces of the United States, the period of limitation shall be extended to two (2) years after the time it would otherwise expire. Where a federal statute protects a person on active duty in the Armed Forces of the United States, the provision of the act does not apply to him.

40. Q If I am killed as a result of my injury, who must make the application?

A Your dependents.

41. Q If my employer keeps me at light work, shall I make application for adjustment?

A If you are not satisfied with the compensation you are receiving or have received for the injury, then you should make application.

42. Q Suppose my disability shows up three years after the accident, can I then make application for adjustment?

A If no compensation has been paid to you for the injury, you are barred from compensation. If compensation has been paid to you for the injury and a further disability shows up you can then make application for adjustment when you discover such added disability.

43. Q Suppose I can't make application because I am hurt too badly to do so?

A If the injury prevents you from making application because of physical or mental disability, your period of incapacity is not counted as being part of the two year period.

44. Q If I have not made application for compensation of my employer in time, do I lose my right to compensation?

A Yes. But since there are so many exceptions to the general rule it is best you consult your attorney about it.

VI

BENEFITS

45. Q For what injuries do I get compensation?

A (a) Your disability to earn full wages.

(b) Specific loss of a part of your body as outlined in the schedule on pages 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34.

46. Q Suppose the injury disfigures me but does not disable me, am I entitled to compensation?

A If you, the employee, are so permanently disfigured about the face, head, neck, hand or arm as to occasion potential loss of wage, the commission may allow such sum for compensation thereof, as it may deem just, not exceeding your average annual earnings as defined.

47. Q If my injury causes me pain and discomfort but I am still able to work, am I entitled to compensation?

A No. Pain and discomfort in themselves do not entitle you to

compensation. However, if the pain and discomfort becomes so intense that you cannot work, then you are entitled to compensation.

48. Q When does my compensation start?

A If the injury causes disability, compensation shall be due and payable on the fourth calendar day, exclusive of Sundays, after you leave work as a result of the injury, except that if the disability shall not continue longer than 10 calendar days from the date you leave work as a result of the injury no indemnity whatever shall be recoverable for the first three calendar days.

49. Q When must my employer make these payments to me?

A They must be made within one week after they are due.

50. Q If I am sick or diseased when hired and the accident makes my condition worse or brings it to a head or causes it to flare up, am I entitled to compensation?

A With respect to your injuries, your employer hires you as you are and must pay compensation if you are injured at work even though your previous condition contributed toward that disability.

51. Q Can my workmen's compensation be garnisheed or attached?

A No. Workmen's compensation is not subject to the claims of your creditors; nor is it subject to State or Federal income tax.

52. Q Does the fact that I am paid for my injuries from the proceeds of an insurance policy prevent me from obtaining workmen's compensation for it?

A No.

TOTAL DISABILITY

53. Q What is total disability?

A Total disability is a disability which prevents you from earning any money at some occupation. It does not mean that you are unable to get around or do some things about the house.

54. Q If I am totally disabled as a result of an accident, how much compensation do I get?

A You get 70% of your actual weekly wage but not more than $54.00 per week nor less than $8.75 per week during such total disability.

55. Q If I am totally and permanently disabled, what compensation do I get?

A You receive your weekly compensation as long as you live.

56. Q What is total permanent disability?

A Total blindness of both eyes or the loss of both arms at or near the shoulder or of both legs at or near the hips or of one arm at the shoulder and one leg at the hip. This enumeration is not exclusive but in other cases the Industrial Commission shall find the facts.

57. Q What is meant by average weekly wage?

A The average weekly earnings for temporary disability shall be taken at not less than $12.50 nor more than $77.14 and for permanent disability or death, shall be taken at not less than $20.00 nor more than $77.14, and for permanent partial disability at not less than $20.00 nor more than $57.14. Between these limits the average weekly earnings shall be determined as follows:

The average weekly earnings shall be arrived at by multiplying the daily earnings by the number of days and fractional days normally worked per week at the time of the injury in the business operation of the employer for the particular employment in which the employee was employed at the time of this injury.

58. Q How long does my compensation run in case of total disability?

A As long as the total disability continues.

PARTIAL DISABILITY

59. Q What is partial disability?

A Partial disability is a disability which permits you to return to some kind of work but which prevents you from earning as much wages as you did at the time of the accident.

60. Q How much compensation do I get for partial disability?

A You are entitled to the difference between your average weekly wage at the time of the accident and the actual wages you are able to earn thereafter but in no event more than $40.00 per week.

61. Q How long do partial disability benefits run?

A For permanent partial disability, payments are made in accordance with the schedule set out in the act herein at pages 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34.

For permanent partial disability not covered by provisions of the schedule the aggregate weekly indemnity shall bear

such relation to the aggregate weekly indemnity for permanent total disability as the nature of the injury bears to one causing permanent total disability. Such weekly indemnity shall be in addition to compensation for healing period and shall be for the period that he may live not to exceed, however, these named limits, to wit: 1,000 weeks for all persons 50 years of age or less. For each successive yearly age group beginning with 51 years, the maximum limit shall be reduced by 2½% per year until a minimum of 500 weeks shall be reached.

SPECIFIC LOSS

62. Q What compensation do I get if I lose a member of my body?

A Indemnity is paid for healing period, and also where employee is 50 years old or less, $40.00 maximum and $8.75 minimum for the following periods:

LOSS OF	WEEKS
1. Arm at shoulder	500
2. Arm at elbow	450

3. Hand	400
4. Palm where thumb remains	275
5. Thumb and metacarpal bone	125
6. Thumb at proximal joint	100
7. Thumb at distal joint	40
8. All fingers on one hand at proximal joints	225
9. Fingers:	
Index finger and metacarpal bone	60
Index finger at proximal joint	50
Index finger at second joint	30
Index finger at distal joint	12
Middle finger and metacarpal bone	45
Middle finger at proximal joint	35
Middle finger at second joint	20

Middle finger at distal joint	8
Ring finger and metacarpal bone	26
Ring finger at proximal joint	20
Ring finger at second joint	15
Ring finger at distal joint	6
Little finger and metacarpal bone	28
Little finger at proximal joint	22
Little finger at second joint	16
Little finger at distal joint	6
10. Leg at hip joint	500
11. Leg at knee	425
12. Foot at ankle	250
13. Great toe with metatarsal bone	83-1/3

14. Toes:

Great toe at proximal joint	25
Great toe at distal joint	12
Second toe with metatarsal bone	25
Second toe at proximal joint	8
Second toe at second joint	6
Second toe at distal joint	4
3rd, 4th, or little toe with metatarsal bone	20
3rd, 4th, or little toe at proximal joint	6
3rd, 4th or little toe at second or distal joint	4

15. Eye by enucleation or evisceration 275

16. Total impairment of one eye for industrial use 250

17. Total deafness from accident or sudden trauma 333-1/3

18. Total deafness of one ear from accident or sudden trauma 50

In case an accident causes more than one permanent injury specified above, the period for which indemnity shall be payable for each additional equal or lesser disability shall be increased as follows:

a. In case of impairment of both eyes, by 200%;

b. In case of disabilities on same hand covered by 9 of this paragraph, by 100% for the first equal or lesser disability and by 150% for the second and third equal or lesser disabilities;

c. In the case of disabilities on the same foot covered by 14 of this paragraph by 20%;

d. In all other cases by 20%;

e. The aggregate result as computed by applying a, and the aggregate result for

members on the same hand or foot as computed by applying **b** and **c**, shall each be taken as a unit for applying **d** as between such units, and as between such units, and each other disability.

In cases where the injured employee is above 50 years of age, the period for which indemnity shall be payable, in addition to the healing period, shall be reduced from those specified by 2½% for each year that the age of such employee exceeds 50. The maximum reduction to be not more than 50%. After age 70 there will be no further reduction for permanent disability.

63. Q If I continue working after losing one of above mentioned parts of my body, do I still get compensation for its loss?

A Yes. You don't have to have any loss of wages in order to get compensation for the specific loss.

64. Q Must my eye be actually removed before I can get compensation for its specific loss?

A No. If your vision is so impaired as the result of your accident that it is useless in industry, you are entitled to compensation for specific loss of the eye without actually having it removed.

65. Q If I lose a member of my body and the loss disables me, can I get permanent disability benefit?

A No. You must take the amount set out in the specific loss schedule. Payment of that ends your employer's liability no matter how disabling the loss is.

66. Q Suppose I lose part of the use of a member of my body, am I entitled to partial permanent loss?

A Indemnity in such cases shall be determined by allowing weekly indemnity during the healing period resulting from the injury and the percentage of permanent disability resulting thereafter as found by the Commission.

67. Q If I have injuries besides the amputation, to what am I entitled?

A You can then get compensation for general disability to and after payment for your specific loss; for instance, if your hand was removed as a result of the accident and thereafter, your arm wasted away because of the accident, you would be entitled to additional benefits beyond the loss of your hand because of the additional disability in your arm.

MEDICAL BENEFITS

68. Q Am I entitled to any medical or hospital treatment if injured?

A The employer shall supply such medical, surgical and hospital treatment, medicines, medical and surgical supplies, crutches, artificial members and appliances as may be reasonably required to cure and relieve from the effects of the injury not to exceed the period for which indemnity is payable.

69. Q When is compensation barred for refusal of treatment?

A Compensation is barred to one who refuses hospital or sanatorium treatment for tuberculosis when found necessary by the commission. This also is the case for refusal of medical and surgical treatment. In other than tuberculosis, when medical and surgical treatment is refused loss of compensation is to the extent that refusal of treatment augments disability.

70. Q Who has the right to choose the doctor to take care of me?

A Your employer must furnish a list of physicians which is called a 'panel' and you may select anyone of the physicians on this panel. The number of physicians on the panel is determined by the Industrial Commission.

71. Q If my employer refuses to give me medical care and I get my own doctor, who pays him?

A If the injury is compensable, the employer must pay him.

72. Q Does my employer have to furnish me with artificial limbs, artificial eyes or false teeth?

A The employer must furnish crutches, artificial members and appliances as may be reasonably required to relieve from the effects of the injury.

73. Q Is damage or destruction of eye glasses covered?

A Yes, if the same results from an accident which causes personal injury entitling the employee to compensation either for disability or medical treatment.

LUMP SUM PAYMENTS

74. Q How are compensation benefits paid to me?

A They are paid to you weekly.

75. Q Can I draw my compensation benefits in one large sum?

A Ordinarily no. In exceptional cases and by special permission of the Industrial Commission, you may do so.

76. Q In what cases does the Industrial Commission allow such payments?

A You must show to the Industrial Commission that the payment in a large sum would be more beneficial to you than the weekly compensation. This permission is very rarely given and very good cause must be shown before the Industrial Commission will approve such payment.

77. Q What is a lump sum payment?

A By a lump sum payment is meant the payment in one sum of the present value of your employer's established liability for compensation to you.

78. Q Must my employer consent to payment of a lump sum for me to obtain it?

A No. The Industrial Commission may order such lump sum payment even though your employer does not consent to it.

79. Q After a lump sum payment, can I reopen my case?

A Only if there has been a mutual mistake of either law or fact or a development unforeseen at the time of establishing the liability.

MINORS

80. Q If I am under age, am I entitled to any special consideration under the Workmen's Compensation law?

A Yes. The law provides that an employee under 18 years of age, illegally employed shall receive:

(a) If permitted to work without a permit, double the amount otherwise recoverable.

(b) If permitted to work without a permit at any employment in which the Industrial Commission has specified that no permit should be issued, three times the amount otherwise recoverable.

(c) If permitted to work at any prohibited employment, three times the amount otherwise recoverable.

(d) If the minor is under permit age and illegally em-

ployed, three times the amount recoverable.

(e) Increased compensation or increased death benefits payable by employer as double compensation shall not exceed $5,000.00 and amount payable as treble compensation shall not exceed $7,500.00

(f) Double or treble compensation shall not be payable unless employer sought to be charged, knew or should have known that the minor was illegally employed by the contractor or subcontractor.

81. **Q How can I find out whether my employment is one not approved by the Industrial Commission?**

A Write to the Industrial Commission at Madison, Wisconsin, and inquire of them.

82. **Q Suppose I furnish a birth certificate or working permit to my employer, am I still entitled to excessive compensation?**

A Ordinarily no, not under these circumstances.

MISCELLANEOUS

83. Q If I recover from my injuries sufficiently to return to work, must my employer rehire me?

A There is a penalty of from $50.00 to $500.00 as against an employer who, without reasonable cause, refuses to rehire an employee injured in the course of employment.

84. Q Suppose I have a Group Policy that entitles me to weekly benefits, shall I accept them?

A Yes. It has nothing whatever to do with your right to compensation.

DEATH BENEFITS

85. Q If my death proximately results from an industrial injury, who pays my funeral bill and medical expenses?

A Your employer must pay the funeral expenses but not over $350.00. He must also pay the medical expenses caused by the injury.

85½. Q If death occurs to an injured employee other than as a proximate result of the injury, before

disability indemnity ceases, how are funeral expenses handled?

A Where the injury proximately causes permanent partial disability, the unaccrued compensation shall first be applied toward funeral expenses not to exceed $350.00.

86. Q Are burial expense allowances provided where death results from causes other than the injury in a case of permanent total disability?

A Yes, but burial expense along with compensation payable in life and death benefit payable to dependents is subject to the limitation and not additional to it as in the case of death caused by the injury.

87. Q What other death benefits does The Workmen's Compensation law provide?

A Where death proximately results from an injury and the deceased leaves a person wholly dependent upon him for support, the death benefit shall equal four times his average annual earnings, but the total amount

paid as death benefit, shall not exceed 1,000 weeks for any person 50 years of age or less. For each yearly group beginning with 51, the maximum limitation is reduced by 2½% per year until a minimum limit of 500 weeks shall be reached. Maximum death benefit $15,428.00. Maximum weekly benefit $54.00.

88. Q If I am single and have no dependents, who gets my death benefits?

A In that case, your employer would pay only for your funeral and medical expenses. In addition, the employer must pay into the State Fund, a sum not exceeding $3,000. This fund is used to discharge liability for additional death benefits hereinafter described.

89. Q Are there any additional benefits for children of an employee whose death is caused by industrial accident?

A Yes. Where the husband or wife of a deceased employee is wholly dependent for support, an additional death benefit shall be paid

from the funds provided from the State treasury as above described. For each child by their marriage, living at the time of the employee's death and who is likewise wholly dependent upon him for support, such additional benefit shall be computed from the date of the death of the employee as follows:

For a child, one year of age or under, a sum equal to the average annual earnings of the deceased employee; for children in each successive yearly age group, the amount allowed shall be reduced by 1/18th part of such annual earnings, with an allowance for any child up to 18 years of age at the death of the employee.

90. Q Whom does the law consider as dependents?

A The following are presumed to be solely and wholly dependent upon the deceased employee:

(a) A wife upon a husband with whom she is living at the time of his death.

(b) A husband upon a wife with whom he is living at the time of her death.

(c) A child under the age of 18 years.

(d) A child over said age but physically or mentally incapacitated from earning.

(e) A member of the family of the deceased employee or a lineal descendant or ancestor or brother or sister may be a dependent if actually supported or partially supported by the deceased employee. Unestranged parents residing in any of the territorial possessions of the United States are included as eligible for death benefits.

91. Q If there is more than one dependent how is the death benefit allotted?

A If there is more than one person wholly or partially dependent, the death benefit shall be divided between such dependents in such proportion as the Industrial Commission shall de-

termine to be just considering their ages and other facts bearing on such dependency.

92. Q Suppose I am not living with my wife, is she entitled to death benefits?

A Yes. Unless divorced. But if she is living apart from you for justifiable reasons and is still entitled to your support, she would be entitled to death benefits.

93. Q Can anyone else besides my wife and children be considered my dependents?

A. Yes. Members of your family, brothers, sisters, grandchildren or grandparents, who are actually dependent upon you for support.

94. Q Under what circumstances would such relatives be considered dependents?

A If they actually received money from you at the time of your injury and needed it for their support.

95. Q What do you mean by a member of your family?

A By a member of the family is meant anyone who lived with you and is considered one of your family and actually dependent upon you for support.

96. Q Suppose my wife with whom I am living at the time of my injury is employed, is she entitled to death benefits?

A Yes. The law conclusively presumes her to be wholly dependent upon you even though she may have some other income.

97. Q Suppose a child of mine under 18 years of age has a separate income, is he entitled to death benefits?

A Yes. The law conclusively presumes such a child to be wholly dependent upon you, regardless of whether or not you support him, but it is to be remembered that it is only when there is no living dependent spouse that children receive the benefits.

98. Q If my wife is employed and is killed, what death benefits are payable?

A The same death benefits are payable for a woman as for a man and the dependents are the same.

99. Q Can a husband recover compensation for the death of his wife?

A Yes. The same as she could recover for his death.

100. Q What is meant by a total dependent?

A A total dependent is one who is entirely dependent upon you for support or who is conclusively presumed by the law to be dependent upon you at the time of the injury.

101. Q What is meant by a partial dependent?

A A partial dependent is a person who receives some support from you but is not entirely dependent upon you at the time of your injury; for instance, a mother who receives some money for her support from her son would be partially dependent upon him.

102. Q How much does a partial dependent receive?

A Provided there are no total dependents, a partial dependent receives compensation equal to the same proportion of your weekly payments for the benefit of persons wholly dependent as the amount contributed by you to such partial dependent bears to your annual earnings at the time of your accident.

103. Q Will you illustrate how to figure partial dependency?

A Yes. If the deceased worker was earning $70.00 per week and had worked the entire year, he would have earned $3,640.00. If he had contributed $23.34 a week toward his mother's support, she would have received 1/3 of his annual income or $1,213.68. Since the amount payable for total dependency would be $54.00 per week, the amount payable in this case to the mother would be 1/3 of $54.00 per week or $18.00 per week.

104. Q If I die while I am getting compensation what do my dependents get?

A If an award by the Industrial Commission had been made, your dependents receive the balance of compensation from the date ~~of~~ your death that you would be entitled to receive had you lived.

105. Q If I have an injury at work and die without receiving any compensation, what do my dependents get?

A If your death was not caused by the injury, they would receive the balance of the compensation due you at the time of your death.

106. Q How are death benefit payments made?

A Death benefit payments are paid in weekly installments corresponding in amount to 50% of the weekly earnings of the employee until otherwise ordered by the Industrial Commission.

107. Q Unless totally dependent what death benefits do unestranged parents receive?

A $2,000.00.

VII

PROCEDURE

108. Q If I am entitled to compensation and have given proper notice, how do I go about getting it?

A In about 90% of the cases, compensation is paid without any dispute by the employers. In about 10% of the cases the employer refuses to pay.

CLAIM AND HEARING

109. Q What shall I do if my employer refuses to pay me compensation?

A File a petition with the Industrial Commission. This petition is in a form printed by the Industrial Commission and can be obtained for the asking and is called "Application for Adjustment of Claim."

110. Q Where can I obtain this form?

A You can obtain this form either by writing to the Industrial Commission at Madison, Wis., or at

the Milwaukee office at 794 N. Jefferson Street.

111. Q Where do I file this application when filled out?

A File it with the Industrial Commission at Madison, Wis., or with the Milwaukee office at 794 N. Jefferson Street.

112. Q What suggestion do you make for me to follow in filling out the forms?

A Do the following:

(a) Make 4 copies of your application and mail the original and two copies to the Industrial Commission at Madison, Wis.

(b) See that the blanks are filled in as accurately as possible. If you do not know the dates or amounts, put in the words "on or about"; for instance, if you think the accident happened in the summer of 1949 instead of putting in the exact date, put in "on or about July or August, 1949."

(c) Consult your steward or your attorney.

113. Q How long after the accident do I have to file my claim?

A If no compensation has been paid you must file within two years from the date of the injury or death.

114. Q Supposing I have not given notice or made application, what shall I do?

A See your attorney. Do not judge for yourself as to whether or not proper notice has been given in your case. It may be that your right to compensation has not been lost.

115. Q What happens after I file my application with the Industrial Commission?

A Your case is set for hearing before an examiner. The Industrial Commission will mail you a notice of the time and place of the hearing.

116. Q Must I be present then?

A Yes, absolutely. You must appear for the hearing.

117. Q Do I have to bring a witness to the accident with me?

A If you have witnesses to the accident take them with you.

118. Q Is the testimony of out of state doctors, and are hearings outside of the state permitted?

A Yes, for the sake of convenience of the parties and witnesses.

119. Q What shall I do if my witnesses refuse to come to the hearing?

A You can subpoena them. At your request the Industrial Commission will furnish the necessary printed form of subpoena.

120. Q Suppose there are no witnesses to the accident, how can I prove my case?

A Your own word may be enough, particularly if it is verified by surrounding circumstances such as prompt report of your accident to the employer.

121. Q Suppose my employer, while admitting that I had an accident, denies that I am disabled because of it, what shall I do?

A Get your own doctor to examine you and to appear and testify in your behalf at the compensation hearing. Many of the difficulties regarding the payment of compensation arise because of differences of opinion as to the extent of disability.

122. Q Is the hearing before the examiner a trial?

A While it is not called a trial, it is very much like the trial of a case in court. You should be sufficiently prepared to try your case.

123. Q Do I have to get a lawyer to represent me at the hearing?

A No. It is not required by law.

124. Q Is it advisable for me to have a lawyer?

A It usually is. If you feel the need, get one. There are many competent attorneys who are able to prepare and present your claim for compensation properly. In most cases claims for compensation are not denied by employers or insurance companies unless they feel they have a

chance of winning their case. They hire very able lawyers to present their side of the story and you are usually at a disadvantage in such instances, without one.

125. Q What happens after the hearing?

A The examiner makes his findings of fact and files his award and the Industrial Commission will mail you a copy of it.

APPEALS

126. Q If I lose my case before the examiner, what shall I do?

A You may file an appeal with the Industrial Commission within 20 days from the date stamped upon the award. The Industrial Commission furnishes printed blanks entitled "Petition for Review of Findings and Order of Examiner."

127. Q Where do I obtain these forms?

A Either at the Madison or Milwaukee office of the Industrial Commission.

128. Q Suppose I haven't time enough within the 20 days to obtain the form required and file them with the Industrial Commission, what can I do?

A Notify the Industrial Commission immediately at Madison that you are appealing the decision of the examiner and fill out the form as soon as possible.

129. Q Suppose I wait longer than 20 days, have I lost my right to appeal?

A No. Not in all cases. For good cause the Industrial Commission may grant you the right to file a late appeal but since this is done only in exceptional cases, file your appeal immediately after receiving the decision of the examiner.

130. Q If I win my case, can my employer appeal?

A Yes. He has the same right to appeal you have.

131. Q After I file an appeal with the Industrial Commission, what must I do then?

A The Industrial Commission must within 10 days after the filing of such petition either affirm, refuse, set aside or modify such findings or order in whole or in part or direct the taking of additional testimony. Such action shall be based on a review of the evidence submitted.

132. Q Am I notified of this decision?

A Yes. You will receive a copy of the decision from the Commission.

133. Q Is the decision of the Commission the last word?

A No, not always. Either party may appeal to the circuit court of Dane County.

134. Q What do I do to appeal to the circuit court of Dane County?

A This is a technical and important procedure and should be done by an attorney.

135. Q If I lose the case in the circuit court of Dane County, what do I do?

A You can appeal the case to the Supreme Court of the State of

Wisconsin. This should not be attempted without the services of an attorney.

135½ Q Is State of Wisconsin liable for interest payment upon awards?

A Yes, where payment is not made when due just as other employers and insurance carriers are now liable. This occurs when appeal is made from the Commission's award to the courts.

FINAL RECEIPTS

136. Q What happens when I get well or return to work?

A Your employer or his insurance company will submit a Final Receipt for compensation to you for your signature on a printed form which must be substantially as suggested by the Industrial Commission.

137. Q What is a Final Receipt for compensation?

A It is an agreement between you and your employer that you have received your compensation in full.

138. Q Shall I sign this final receipt when I get well?

A Yes, provided that both your own doctor and the company doctor tell you you have recovered completely and you believe them. If you have recovered only partially, you may still be entitled to compensation.

139. Q Shall I sign this receipt after I return to work?

A Only if you return to such work as enables you to earn your average weekly wage as previously computed. If you are still partly disabled and are returning to work at a lesser pay, you are still entitled to partial disability benefits and should not sign the final receipt.

140. Q Shall I get a copy of the final receipt?

A Yes, be sure to do so.

FURTHER COMPENSATION OR REOPENING CASE

141. Q Does the signing of a Final Receipt close my case for good?

A No. If you are still disabled or have acquired new or additional disabilities as a result of your accident, the case may be reopened.

142. Q If I refuse to sign the Final Receipt, can my employer stop or reduce my compensation?

A Yes.

143. Q What shall I do if I do not believe that my compensation should be stopped or reduced?

A Make application for adjustment of claim for compensation as described heretofore. See page 18.

144. Q If my employer will not agree to pay me for the compensation what can I do?

A Petition the Industrial Commission for adjustment of your claim. The procedure in filing and on the hearing of such application is the same as in the case of an original notice and application for adjustment of claim.

145. Q How long do I have to file a petition for further compensation?

A. Six years from the date of the injury.

145½. Q Does the employer or insurer have equal rights with the employee to have review of a compromise?

A Yes, upon petition filed by the employer or insurer with the Commission within one year from any award upon a stipulation of settlement, the Commission shall have power to set aside said award or otherwise determine the rights of the parties.

VIII

MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS

146. Q If my employer sends me notice to report for examination by his doctor, must I do so?

A Yes. The law requires that you submit to such examination.

147. Q What happens if I refuse to go for such examination?

A Your right to compensation may be suspended or lost.

148. Q Who pays for this examination?

A Your employer or his insurance company must pay for it.

149. Q Must I accept the company doctor's opinion as final?

A. No. If there is any doubt in your mind, consult your own doctor.

IX

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

150. Q Suppose I do not have an accident but get a disease that is caused by my work, can I get any workmen's compensation?

A Yes. Any disease causing injury arising out of your employment is compensable.

151. Q What notice do I have to give in order to obtain compensation for an occupational disease?

A You must give the same type of notice as required in the case of accidental injury.

152. Q How and when do I file my claim for compensation for an occupational disease?

A Such a claim must be filed in the same manner as in the case of an accidental injury. However, the form of application furnished by the Industrial Commission is different.

153. Q How is it different?

A It requires much more detailed information and is especially de-

signed for occupational disease claims.

154. Q What notice must I give if I strain myself and get a hernia?

A In case of hernia, you must promptly report it to your employer as soon as you notice it, regardless of whether or not you are immediately disabled.

155. Q How much compensation can I get for an occupational disease?

A Except as to silicosis and other dust diseases, you will receive the same amount of compensation as in the case of an accidental injury.

156a. Q What compensation do I get for silicosis?

A If silicosis causes disability or death, you receive the same compensation. However, the legislature has provided for payment for wage loss suffered by non-disabling silicosis. If you have silicosis or a loss of hearing due to prolonged exposure to noise in your employment but it does not disable you and you are discharged or transferred

by your employer the Industrial Commission may find that it is inadvisable for you to continue in his employ and may order such compensation on account thereof as it may deem just not exceeding $3,500.00. If after your discharge you become disabled not because of additional exposure but due to exposure in the employer's service, any amount which shall have been paid under this section shall be credited against compensation found to be payable by such employer for disability caused by silicosis but shall not operate to reduce the number of weeks provided under the law for disability.

If you cease work because of a non-disabling silicosis or a loss of hearing due to prolonged exposure to noise in your employment you may make claim even after you have terminated the employment. You may draw compensation up to $3,500.00 if it is shown that your silicosis or hearing condition makes it inadvisable for you to work on a

job entailing a silicotic or noise exposure, and you suffer a wage loss.

156b. Q What are the provisions for total occupational deafness?

A Total occupational deafness:

One ear	36 weeks
Both ears	216 weeks

157. Q Where a case is decided on the basis of accidental injury, but in fact involves occupational disease what can be done?

A The Commission may with or without a hearing, within three (3) years from the date of the erroneous findings set aside the order, likewise the Commission may take such action upon application made within such three (3) years, and correct its mistake upon proper showing.

158. Q Has the Commission the right to review a case of occupational disease?

A Yes, it is authorized from time to time to review a case of occupational disease, its findings

and order based on facts regarding disability or otherwise, as they may later appear—this in spite of any previous order. In all cases the six (6) year statute of limitation forecloses further action.

TOPICAL INDEX

ACCIDENTAL INJURIES 5
Carelessness of employee, effect of 7
Drunkenness of employee, effect of 7
Intentional and wilful misconduct of employee, effect of 7, 8
Out of and in the course of employment 5
While not working at the moment 6

AGGRAVATION OF PRE-EXISTING CONDITION 24

APPEALS 57
Delayed Appeal 58
Filing of 57
Form of 57
Hearing on 58
To Wisconsin's Supreme Court 59
State of Wisconsin liable for interest payments 60

ARTIFICIAL APPLIANCES 38

AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE 26, 27

BENEFITS 23
Amount of 26
Commencement of 24
Disfigurement 23
Duration of 26
Pain and discomfort 23

BILLS 36, 42
Funeral 42, 43
Hospital 42
Last Illness 42
Medical and surgical 36
Other than as a proximate result 43

TOPICAL INDEX

CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION 18, 52
Filing of 18, 52
Form of 18, 52
Preparation of 18, 53

COMPENSATION (See BENEFITS, DEATH BENEFITS, DISABILITY, FURTHER COMPENSATION OR RE-OPENING CASE, and OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES)

COVERAGE 1
Additional time to file suit against third party 4
Election to become subject to act
Employee 1
Employer 2
Employees covered 1
Employers covered 2
Increased compensation payments out of third party settlements 3
National and State Guards 1

DEATH BENEFITS 42
Amount of 43
Conclusive presumption of dependency 45-47
Dependents 45, 46
Brother 46, 47
Child 45
Maturity, effect of 45
Grandchild 47
Grandparent 47
Member of family 45, 46
Other causes 43, 44
Parent 45, 46
Partial 46, 49

Sister ---------- 46
Total ----------43, 44
Unestranged parents ----------46, 51
Wife ---------- 45
Employment, effect of---------- 48
Duration ----------44, 45
Last illness, expenses of---------- 42

DEMAND ---------- 18
Failure to make, effect of----------21, 22
Form of ---------- 18
Of whom to make---------- 18
Periods of limitation extended in the cases of minority, insanity or military service ---------- 19
When to make---------- 19

DEPENDENTS (See DEATH BENEFITS)

DISABILITY
Partial
Amount payable for---------- 28
Duration of ---------- 28
How payable ---------- 28
What constitutes---------- 28
Total
Amount payable for---------- 26
Duration of---------- 27
How payable---------- 26
Two specific losses---------- 26
What constitutes ---------- 25

DISEASES (See OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES)

TOPICAL INDEX

DOCTOR BILLS 36

EARNINGS, impairment of 25

EMPLOYER
- Consent to lump sum payment not essential 39
- Election to become subject to act 1
- Liability to pay expenses 36
  - Funeral 42, 43
  - Hospital 42
  - Last illness 42
  - Medical and surgical 36
- Refusal to pay compensation by 52
- Suit for damages against 2

EMPLOYMENT
- Out of and in the course of 5
- Minors 40
- Right to job after injury 42

EXAMINATIONS, medical 64

EXPENSES (See BILLS)

FURTHER COMPENSATION OR RE-OPENING CASE 61
- Equal Rights for Employer or Insurer 63
- Grounds for re-opening case 61, 62
- How to re-open after compensation stopped or reduced 62
- Petition for 62
  - Filing of 63

GARNISHMENT compensation not subject to 25

GROUP INSURANCE 42

HEARINGS 54

HOSPITAL BILLS 36, 42

HOSPITALIZATION INSURANCE 42

HURT, what to do, when vii

INJURIES, accidental (See ACCIDENTAL INJURIES)

LUMP SUM PAYMENTS 38
- When payable 38
- Approval of Industrial Commission 38, 39
- Definition of 39
- Consent of employer to, not essential 39
- Re-opening case 39

MEDICAL CARE 36
- Artificial appliances 38
- Choice of doctor 37
- Compensation barred for refusal of treatment 37
- Damage of eye glasses covered 38
- Duration of 36
- Employer's obligation to furnish 38

MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS 64
- Necessity for submission to 64
- Payment for 64
- Refusal to submit to, effect of 64

MINORS 40
- Extra compensation for 40
- False birth certificate or working permit furnished by 41
- Illegal employment of 40, 41

TOPICAL INDEX

NOTICE 9
- Failure to give, effect of 11
- Form of 10
- Proof of 14
- To whom given 9
- Unimportant injuries 12
- When to give 9
- Who shall give 12

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES 65
- Accident injury, occupational disease involved 68
- Amount payable for 66
- Claim 65
  - Filing of 65
  - Form of 65
- Commission, right to review 68
- Date of disablement 65
- Demand 18
- Loss of hearing, exposure to noise 66
- Notice 66
  - When to give 65
- Previous condition 24
- Silicosis and dust diseases 66
  - Amount payable for 66
- Total occupational deafness 68

PRE-EXISTING CONDITION 24

OUT OF STATE DOCTORS TESTIMONY 55

PROCEDURE 52

RECEIPTS
- Final receipts 60
  - Effect of 61
  - Form of 60

RECOVERY, effect of 60

REFUSAL OF EMPLOYER TO PAY COMPENSATION 52

RE-OPENING CASE (See FURTHER COMPENSATION)

RETURN TO WORK, effect of 60

SPECIFIC LOSS 29
- Arm 29
- Continuing at work, effect of 34
- Deafness 33
- Eye 32, 33, 35
- Finger 30, 31
- Foot 31
- General Disability 36
- Great toe 31
- Hand 30
- Leg 31
- Lesser losses 33
- Schedule of 29
- Sight 32, 33, 35
- Thumb 30
- Toes 31, 32
- Two specific losses 33

SUBPOENA 55

SUIT FOR DAMAGES AGAINST EMPLOYER 1

SUIT FOR DAMAGES AGAINST THIRD PARTY 3

SURGICAL CARE (See MEDICAL CARE)
THIRD PARTY, suit for damages against 3
WAGE. average weekly 26, 27
WITNESSES 55

INDUSTRIAL
COMMISSION
OF WISCONSIN

FACTS ABOUT THE WISCONSIN WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW

With Amendments
to September 1, 1961

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION of WISCONSIN

MATHIAS F. SCHIMENZ
Chairman

R. G. KNUTSON
Commissioner

CARL E. LAURI
Commissioner

HELEN E. GILL
Secretary

RALPH E. GINTZ
Director of Workmen's Compensation

FACTS ABOUT THE WISCONSIN WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW

1. Q: What is the Wisconsin Workmen's Compensation Act?
   A: It is the law which provides for medical and money benefits to employes injured by reason of their work, and for death benefits to their dependents.
2. Q: By whom is the act administered?
   A: By the Industrial Commission, Madison, Wisconsin.

INJURIES COVERED

3. Q: What injuries are covered?
   A: Mental and physical harm of all kinds, whether due to accident or disease, and also *accidental* damage to, or destruction of artificial members, dental appliances, and teeth, also eye glasses provided they are damaged in an accident which causes some personal injury, although slight.
4. Q: Are all occupational diseases covered?
   A: Yes, all diseases due to employment, such as silicosis, lead poison-

ing, hernia, dermatitis, and loss of hearing, caused by exposure over a period of time to conditions which result in injury.

CONDITIONS OF LIABILITY

5. Q: What must an employe show to entitle him to benefits?

   A: That he and his employer were subject to the compensation act; that he was injured while performing service for his employer; that the injury was not intentionally self-inflicted; and that his injury was caused by his work.

6. Q: Is an employe who is injured while merely going to or from work entitled to benefits?

   A: Yes, but only if he is on the premises of his employer at the time, or on premises where his service is to be performed. If he is actually performing service for his employer, or is being transported by the employer when injured, and is hurt because of a hazard of service, he will be entitled to benefits whether or not he is on the employer's premises when hurt. An employe whose employment requires him to travel is deemed to be performing service at all times while on a trip, except as he steps aside to do some personal act. He is covered while traveling in trains, cabs, or while in eating places, hotels and other places of sojourn, provided he has not deviated for a private or personal purpose. Actions reasonably necessary for living, such as eating, bathing, etc., are not to be regarded as such deviation.

7. Q: What employers are subject to the act?

   A: (1) All employers, except farmers, who have *at any time*, even mo-

mentarily, employed three or more persons in the course of a trade, business, profession or occupation and have not elected not to be subject to the act; (2) all employers, except farmers, who usually employ three or more persons in the course of a trade, business, profession or occupation are compulsorily subject and may not withdraw; (3) all municipal divisions, such as the state, county, city, village and school district, regardless of the number of employes. Employers of domestic servants and other persons not employed in the business or trade of the employer are not subject but the employer may voluntarily become subject by taking a policy of workmen's compensation insurance. (4) A farmer who employs 6 or more employes on 20 or more days in a calendar year becomes subject to the act. Other farmers may voluntarily elect to come under the law by taking out workmen's compensation insurance. Certain specified close relatives are not counted as employes in determining whether the farmer is subject.

8. Q: Suppose the employer has two employes in one business and one in another, or two employes in one city and one in another?

   A: The employer becomes subject to the act when he has three employes, whether in one or more businesses or locations.

9. Q: If an employer withdraws from the act, what is his liability in case of injury to an employe?

   A: He may be sued in court, and upon a showing of negligence may be held liable for such damages as are determined by the court and jury.

10. Q: If an employer is subject to the act, may an employe sue in court for injury if he prefers?

A: No; when parties are subject to the act it is the only remedy between them for personal injury arising out of employment.

11 Q: What advantage is there in an employer electing to become subject to the compensation act?

A: He cannot be sued at common law for damages; he becomes liable for definite benefits and may insure his risk.

12. Q: If an employe works for a contractor who is not subject to the act, or who has no insurance, may the employe hold liable the principal employer for whom the contractor performs service?

A: Yes, provided the principal employer is subject to the act. He could not, for example, hold a farmer as principal employer unless the farmer had become subject to the act, nor could he hold a principal employer who had never employed more than two persons and had not become subject to the act.

EMPLOYES COVERED

13. Q: Who are employes subject to the act?

A: Those who work for anything of value but not persons who are working with no intention that payment shall be made for services.

14. Q: May minors receive compensation?

A: Yes. Minors under the act are competent to contract and receive compensation benefits, as are adults.

15. Q: May employes waive their benefits, that is, agree that in case of injury no benefits will be claimed?

A: No, except epileptics and those totally blind, and those only if they have given notice to the commission and the employer in advance, and then only for such injuries as are caused by epilepsy or blindness. Any other agreement to waive benefits is illegal and absolutely void and of no effect.

WAGE BASIS

16. Q: On what basis is money compensation paid?

A: On the wage earned by the employe at the time of injury.

17. Q: What is the wage basis for compensation?

A: The normal full time wage at the time of injury in the employment in which the employe works at that time. Wage earned beyond normal full time hours is counted only if the employe has worked within six calendar weeks or more for the employer in whose employ he is injured, and then only if the average weekly wage earned is higher than the normal full time wage. For example, if the normal full time weekly wage is $60, but over a six week period the employe has put in overtime and earned $450, his actual average weekly wage is $75, and compensation is based on such wage. If, however, during the six week period the employe has lost a good deal of time and has earned only $360, or less, his wage will be $60 per week, based on normal full time.

18. Q: How is the wage of a part time worker fixed?

A: On the wage of a normal full time worker. If, for example, a part time worker performs service for one hour per day, and normal full time workers in the same type of employment work eight hours per day, the part time worker's wage is to be taken on the basis of an eight hour day.

19. Q: What is the minimum weekly wage for compensation purposes?

A: Minimum weekly wage is $12.50 and minimum weekly compensation 70 per cent of that wage, or $8.75. Minimum compensation is payable no matter how small a wage the employe may earn. Minimum weekly wage is always at least 30 times the hourly rate if such wage amounts to more than $12.50 per week. Minimum weekly wage for permanent disability is $20, with weekly compensation 70 per cent of that wage, or $14.

20. Q: What is the maximum weekly wage?

A: Maximum wage is $85.72, and maximum compensation is $60 for temporary, permanent total, and death. For permanent partial disability maximum wage is $61.07, and maximum compensation is $42.75. No matter how high the wage, no employe can receive more than these amounts except as increased compensation because of violation of a safety order, or because illegal hiring of a minor may produce a higher amount.

21. Q: Are tips counted in determining wage?

A: All things of value, as board and room, tips, bonuses agreed upon, etc., are counted when they are part of the consideration for work.

22. Q: Must notice of injury be given to the employer in order to obtain compensation?

A: Notice must be given within 30 days from the date of injury, or the right to compensation may be barred. Injury should be reported immediately, or as soon as possible to the foreman or other designated person to avoid doubt being thrown on a later claim, and also so that medical treatment may be promptly given.

23. Q: Suppose notice is not given within 30 days?

A: Claim may still be established if the employer was not misled by failure to give notice. If the employer can show he was misled benefits will not be payable.

FILING OF CLAIMS

24. Q: How soon must claim be made where no compensation has been paid?

A: Application for adjustment of claim must be filed with the Industrial Commission within two years from the date of injury unless compensation has been paid, when the application may be made within six years from the date of the last payment of compensation. The time for filing application may be extended to six years if it can be shown that the *employer* knew or ought to have known within the two year period that the employe had sustained an injury even without actual resulting disability at the time.

25. Q: Suppose the employe does not learn within two years that an occupational disease was caused by his work?

A: The time is then extended for two years from the time he knew or should have known of the connection between his disease and his work, but is not extended beyond six years from the last day of work before his disability commences.

26. Q: When claim for compensation is made, has the employer a right to have physical examination of an employe made by a doctor?

A: Yes, in order to learn the extent and character of the employe's disability, so that he may know whether or not to pay compensation. If the employe fails to submit to reasonable examination as requested from time to time, his compensation may be suspended. Applicant may have his own doctor present at the time of examination if he wishes. If the examination is considered unreasonable, the matter may be submitted to the commission for decision. The employe is entitled to compensation for time lost and to his traveling expense, if any, in submitting to examination.

27. Q: Suppose a dispute arises as to liability and the parties wish to settle on a basis agreeable to them?

A: They may do so, but always subject to the commission's approval. If the commission does not approve settlement, it has no effect, and further claim may be made. All compromise agreements are subject to review by the Industrial Commission within one year.

WHO BEARS COST?

28. Q: May an employer charge the employe for the cost of compensation insurance or benefits?

A: No; the law makes that illegal and provides penalties.

29. Q: Should an employe sign receipt for compensation?

A: Yes, but the signing of receipt does not prevent him from claiming and recovering additional compensation even though the receipt may state that the amount paid is in final settlement.

HEARING PROCEDURE

30. Q: In case of dispute what may the employe do to obtain compensation?

A: He may file his application for adjustment of claim with the Industrial Commission, Madison, Wisconsin. Blank forms are supplied by the commission upon request. After application is filed, hearing is set as soon as possible at a selected center, as close to applicant's residence as possible, upon notice given at least 10 days in advance to all interested parties.

31. Q: Must the applicant be represented at hearing by attorney?

A: No; the law provides he may appear in person, by agent or by attorney.

32. Q: If an employe is not represented by attorney, who assists him in bringing out the facts?

A: The commission's examiner who conducts the hearing will ask questions of all witnesses present at the hearing. (See 36. Q. and A.)

33. Q: Is there any limitation as to attorney's fee?

A: The law allows an attorney to charge up to 20% of the amount recovered, unless there is no dispute and no need for hearing, when the fee charged cannot ex-

ceed 10% and not more than $100 in any case.

34. Q: Who must pay the attorney's fee?

A: The person making claim must pay the fee from the compensation which is awarded. It is well to have a clear understanding in advance with the attorney as to the fee to be charged.

35. Q: May a union representative represent an employe at hearing?

A: Yes; any person, upon proper showing, may obtain permission from the examiner to represent a claimant.

36. Q: Must the applicant have witnesses at hearings?

A: Witnesses are not needed as to points not in dispute. As to points in dispute appearance of witnesses should be arranged. Each party must bear the expense of producing his own witnesses. If there is question as to what witnesses are needed, and no lawyer is retained, the commission may be consulted at the time of filing application, or as soon as possible before hearing.

37. Q: Are doctors' reports admissible as evidence for the employe?

A: Yes, of doctors licensed and practicing in Wisconsin and of doctors outside Wisconsin to whom the claimant had been sent for examination or treatment by the employer or insurance company. These must be notarized or certified, on forms provided by the commission, and filed with the commission at least 15 days before the time of hearing. They should be presented at the time application is filed, or as soon thereafter as possible. Forms are supplied by the commission on request.

38. Q: Who conducts hearings and decides cases?

A: Law examiners of the Industrial Commission.

APPEALS

39. Q: May there be appeal from the examiner's findings?

A: Yes, to the Industrial Commission as a body. This must be done within 20 days from the date of the order made by the examiner after hearing. If petition for review is not filed within 20 days from that date, the commission and the court loses jurisdiction.

40. Q: What further appeals are possible, after appeal to the commission?

A: One to the Circuit Court of Dane County within 30 days from the order of the commission as a body, and to the Supreme Court within 30 days from notice of entry of judgement of the Circuit Court.

EXEMPTION FROM DEBT

41. Q: May compensation be assigned?

A: No; neither can it be taken for debt, either by garnishee action or otherwise, except for Federal Income Tax. It is not necessary to report compensation payments for income tax purposes, as income tax is not charged on workmen's compensation benefits.

LIABILITY FOR COMPENSATION

42. Q: Who pays compensation?

A: Most employers carry insurance so that the insurance company pays benefits. Some employers are "self-insurers" and pay compensation directly. In either case, the employer is primarily responsible for payment.

43. Q: Are employers required to insure their compensation liability?

A: All employers subject to the act are required to insure unless excused by the Industrial Commission on a showing of financial ability to pay claims. Only a small number of employers are "self-insurers." Failure of employers to insure unless excused calls for heavy penalties.

44. Q: If a person is hurt by negligence of a "third party" may he take compensation and also sue the third party?

A: Yes. He will then receive his full compensation benefits and also one-third of the net amount recovered from the third party. All costs of collection, including attorney's fees, are taken out before division of proceeds is made. The insurance company or employer is then repaid the amount paid or to be paid as compensation, and if any balance remains that also is paid to the employe. Action against a third party is usually by joint action of the employer or his insurance carrier and the injured employe.

MEDICAL BENEFITS

45. Q: What are the benefits under the act?

A: (1) Medical treatment; (2) compensation for lost time, wage and disability; (3) death benefit; (4) maintenance during rehabilitation training.

46. Q: What medical benefits are provided?

A: Every sort of medical or hospital treatment reasonably necessary. Treatment by a doctor of osteopathy or a chiropodist (foot doctor) is included. Treatment by a

masseur or physical therapist is included when prescribed by a regularly qualified physician. Artificial limbs and appliances of all kinds when needed are also to be provided but are not required to be replaced. Employes are entitled to compensation for lost time and for necessary traveling expense when submitting to treatment.

46a. Q: Is treatment by a chiropractor provided?

A: There is no liability for chiropractic treatment unless such is prescribed by a regularly qualified physician.

46b. Q: Is Christian Science treatment provided?

A: Christian Science treatment may be provided in lieu of medical treatment unless the employer has filed notice with the commission not to provide such treatment.

47. Q: Is there any limit as to time or amount of medical and hospital benefits?

A: Absolutely none, except treatment must be reasonably necessary and the expense must be reasonable.

48. Q: Who supplies the physician?

A: The employer or insurance company must give the employe his choice from a reasonable number of doctors to be listed on a panel. The employe is also entitled to a second choice of physician if he is dissatisfied with the first physician chosen. The commission may, in addition, permit choice of some other doctor upon proper showing.

49. Q: What is a "reasonable number" of physicians?

A: That is to be determined by the commission in each case. Most employers list a very wide choice. If

the employe believes the employer does not list an adequate number, or that proper treatment is not being given, he should take the matter up with the commission.

50. Q: Must the employe give notice to the employer that he needs treatment?

A: Yes; otherwise he must bear the expense himself, except that in case of emergency the employer becomes liable for the reasonable value of necessary treatment before the time that it is possible to give notice. In case of occupational disease he may recover the reasonable expense of treatment incurred before he knew that his work caused his condition, even though notice is not given.

51. Q: Need artificial members, when worn out, be replaced?

A: No; only one suitable member is required to be supplied. If the member supplied is not suitable, a suitable one must be supplied.

52. Q: Suppose the employe refuses medical treatment?

A: If he refuses reasonable treatment he will lose his rights to compensation so far as his refusal results in greater disability.

PAYMENT AND BASIS OF COMPENSATION

53. Q: When does compensation commence?

A: On the 11th day after the date of injury. There is no compensation for the first three days following the day of first disability except as hereafter noted. For example, an employe who is injured and leaves work on the first day of the month is entitled to compensation only for such disability as results on and after the fifth day

of the month. The first payment is due on the eleventh day for such disability as has then resulted, and weekly thereafter during disability. If there is disability following the tenth day after the day of first disability, compensation is also payable for the first three days. If compensation is not received within two weeks after injury, the employe should inform the commission.

54. Q: Are Sundays counted in the first three days?

A: No, unless the employe works on Sundays. Sundays are, however, counted in the running of the ten day period.

55. Q: What money payments of compensation are to be made?

A: Seventy per cent of weekly wage during total disability but not more than $60 for temporary disability, permanent total disability, and death, and $42.75 for permanent partial disability, nor less than $8.75 in any case of temporary total disability, nor $14.00 in case of permanent partial disability or death.

56. Q: Suppose an employe earns $100 per week?

A: No matter how large his wage, the highest compensation payable is $60 per week, as stated in previous answer.

57. Q: Suppose there is disability which causes only partial wage loss?

A: Proportionate compensation is then paid; for half wage loss half of compensation payable for total disability is to be paid. If total disability calls for $60 compensation half wage loss calls for $30.

58. Q: Is compensation payable for all days lost?

A: For each day except Sunday one-sixth of weekly compensation is payable. That is true whether the employe works on Sundays or more or less than six days per week.

59. Q: Suppose disability prevents a man from ever earning again?

A: He receives compensation for the rest of his life.

60. Q: Suppose disability will always remain to the head or body but some work can be done?

A: Compensation is then paid for a limited number of weeks, dependent on age, but never for more than 1000 weeks in addition to the "healing period". To illustrate, if 50% disability results to one 50 years of age or under, compensation is payable for 500 weeks, if 25% disability, to 250 weeks, etc. In cases of persons over 50 years of age, the basic number of weeks for permanent partial disability to the head or body decreases by 2½% each year until age 70, at which age there is no further reduction.

REHIRING OF EMPLOYE

61. Q: Is an employer required to rehire an employe injured in the course of employment?

A: No, but if an employer refuses to rehire such an employe without good cause, or if the employer discriminates against such an employe, the employer is subject to a forfeiture of $50 to $500 in an action by the State of Wisconsin.

DEATH BENEFITS

62. Q: Who is entitled to receive death benefits?

A: Only persons named in the compensation act, including husband, wife, children 18 or under, grandchildren, parents, brothers and sisters, and members of family.

63. Q: How much death benefit can be paid?

A: The largest payment (in case of total dependency) is $17,144, and the smallest $4000.

64. Q: Suppose a person is receiving compensation for permanent disability and then dies from some cause other than injury?

A: Of the balance remaining unpaid, up to $350 is applied on burial expense. The remainder becomes payable to dependents not, however, in a sum greater than such dependents would have received if death had resulted from injury.

65. Q: What may parents receive as death benefit?

A: If they were on friendly terms with the son or daughter, $2000 is paid as death benefit. However, if parents are totally dependent they may receive as much as $4000 to $17,144 varying with the wage of the employe.

66. Q: What may other dependents receive?

A: They may receive the amount which they might have expected to receive from the employe as contribution to support but not more than $17,144 in any case.

67. Q: In addition to death benefit is burial expense payable?

A: Yes, but not more than $350.

68. Q: What is the provision for additional payments to children of a widow who herself is to receive benefits?

A: Children 16 or under living with the employe at the time of injury

may receive benefits from a state fund created for that purpose. The amount varies with age up to a total of $4,571 for one child, and is payable at the rate of 13 per cent for each child of the weekly amount paid to the widow or widower.

METHOD OF PAYMENT

69. Q: Are benefits payable in installments or in one sum?

A: The purpose of compensation payments is to replace wage loss as and when it occurs. All compensation, including death benefit, is to be paid in installments as are wages unless a showing is made to the commission that interests of the employe or dependent will be conserved by more rapid or lump sum payments.

70. Q: Do employes or dependents lose compensation if they receive a lump sum payment?

A: As payments are normally due only in installments, 3% compound interest is charged when payments are made more rapidly or in one sum.

SCHEDULES OF BENEFITS

71. Q: In case of loss of a member such as a hand, arm, leg, foot, eye, etc., how is compensation paid?

A: Schedules in the act provide payment for a certain number of weeks for loss by amputation, as of toes, arms, feet, etc., and for loss of vision or hearing. Loss of an arm at the shoulder, for example, calls for payment to a person aged fifty or under of 500 weeks' compensation in addition to compensation for healing period. Loss of vision of one eye calls for 250 weeks' compensation; loss

of hand at the wrist 400 weeks; loss of foot at the ankle 250 weeks; loss of thumb at the proximal joint 100 weeks, etc.

72. Q: Does it make a difference whether the right or left member is lost?

A: No, the amount is the same in either case.

73. Q: Does age make a difference?

A: There are reductions of 2½% for each year after age 50 in the number of weeks allowed. For example, one aged 60 when injured will have compensation reduced by 25% in the number of weeks allowed with no further reduction after age 70.

74. Q: In case of loss of members is healing period paid in addition to the number of weeks allowed by schedule?

A: Yes, in all cases compensation is paid for the actual necessary healing period, based on necessary wage loss during temporary disability up to the time the condition has become stationary and permanent disability can be fixed.

75. Q: Suppose there is not loss by amputation but stiffness or other disability?

A: A proportionate number of weeks is then payable. If, for example, the loss of use is one-half of the arm, 250 weeks would be paid instead of 500.

76. Q: Where more than one member, such as finger, arm, hand, leg, etc., is affected is there special provision?

A: Yes, additional amounts are allowed for multiple injuries.

DISFIGUREMENT BENEFITS

77. Q: Suppose disfigurement results?

A: Additional compensation up to $4,286 may be paid for disfigurement of the face, head, neck, hand or arm. It must be shown, however, that the disability is such as probably will cause wage loss—this because the employe is unable to obtain work or must accept a lower wage because of disfigurement.

INCREASED AND DECREASED COMPENSATION

78. Q: Suppose it can be shown that the employer or employe was negligent?

A: Negligence makes no difference as to payment of compensation except as there may be violation of a safety order.

79. Q: May compensation be increased for any reason?

A: Yes. The law requires the employer to furnish a safe place to work and to comply with orders of the Industrial Commission as to safety. If injury is caused by reason of a violation by the employer of the "safe place" statute, or of a safety order, or because of failure of an employer reasonably to enforce compliance by employes with a statute or order, 15% increased compensation becomes payable to the employe or his dependents.

80. Q: May compensation be decreased for any reason?

A: Yes, if the employe *willfully* fails to follow rules for his safety or to use safety devices which the law requires, adequately maintained and the use of which is enforced compensation may be decreased 15%. If injury occurs because of intoxication, compensation is also decreased 15%.

81. Q: What about illegal employment of minors?

A: If an employer is required to have a permit to hire a minor and no permit is obtained, the employe will receive double compensation for his injury. If he is employed at prohibited employment (whether or not he has a permit), he will receive treble compensation. Under provision of the Child Labor law, certain employments have been prohibited to minors of certain ages.

82. Q: Who pays such increased compensation?

A: It must be paid by the employer himself and not by the insurance company, except if the employer is shown to be insolvent.

PRE-EXISTING DISABILITY

83. Q: Suppose an employe already has disability and injury causes additional disability?

A: If disabilities are sufficiently serious, that is, if such as to call for payment of at least 250 weeks of compensation for each disability, he may receive additional payments from a fund set up in the state treasury for that purpose. The employer thus pays only for the disability caused by his work, and the fund pays additional compensation.

REHABILITATION BENEFITS

84. Q: What about rehabilitation benefits?

A: If the employe has a type of injury which makes it difficult or impossible for him to do work previously performed, he may, during a period not exceeding 40 weeks, receive expenses of travel and costs of maintenance, provided rehabilitation instructions are

received elsewhere than at the place of his residence. During the period of rehabilitation compensation is continued on the basis of wage loss.

85. Q: Is there provision for training in the use of artificial limbs?

A: Yes, during such period applicant will continue to receive compensation and is entitled to all training and expenses necessary to attain efficient use of artificial members and appliances.

REPORT OF INJURY BY EMPLOYE

86. Q: What should an employe do when he suffers injury?

A: He should report at once to his employer directly, or through a foreman or designated person; he should submit promptly to all necessary first aid and medical treatment; he should submit to medical examination by the employer's doctor from time to time as requested; if compensation is not promptly paid, he should notify the Industrial Commission.

Many slight injuries produce serious results because first aid or medical treatment is not immediately procured. Many claims are hard to prove because immediate notice of injury was not given to the employer.

HOW TO OBTAIN INFORMATION

87. Q: If an employe has doubt as to his rights or duties, what should he do?

A: He should promptly submit his question to the Workmen's Compensation Division, Industrial Commission, Madison, Wisconsin, or if at Milwaukee he may consult the commission's examiner at 794 North Jefferson Street.

EVC — Workmen's Compensation
(under Prof. Lab Legs)

OCCUPATIONAL INJURY CASES

SETTLED UNDER

THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT

Wisconsin: 1950-1962

The University of Wisconsin Extension Division

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

Benefits #

4

1 { Temporary Total, Permanent Partial, Permanent Total } Compensation for lost time (Schedule)

2 Death & Burial

3 Medical Costs

4 Rehabilitation

Schedule p. 57 of lawer
Weekly Comp. Schedule p. 46
Max. Limitation p. 48

Easy Taxes To figure
Proportional Taxes.

Age affects – 2½% for each year after 50
Not over 50% or no reduction after 70

Figuring Benefits – Begins 4th day
Payable 11th day
after 10 days, go back & pick up 1-3

Weekly wage for Comp.
70%
of Min. 12.50 = 8.75 (benefit)
of Max. 77.14 = 54.00 (benefit

Date of Accident fixes Benefit Rate

Filing
Decision 2 yrs from Time of knowledge of rel to job
If Comp. paid – Case open for 6 years
Hearing – if Dispute
Appeals Procedure [p. 11]

~~Claims~~ Reporting
Basically 30 days for Notice
Immediate Report of injury is best
Establish Case – & place of injury
For medical Treatment
} Reporting

Claims
2-years unless employer misled by failed to file

Name _____

We are sorry but the reservations you requested at the _____ are not available.

We can arrange for a _____ at the _____.

Would you please return this sheet immediately indicating if our substitution is acceptable or what other arrangements you would like for us to make (see attached sheet).

We understand that you will want your reservations for the nights encircled, November 15 16 17 18 19 20 21.

These reservations were requested in connection with one or more of the following programs: AFL-CIO Education Directors Fall Conference (Nov. 16 & 17), National Institute of Labor Education's Conference on Labor's Public Responsibility (Nov. 17-20), and the School for Workers 35th Anniversary Conference and Commemoration (Nov. 20 & 21).

Emory F. Via
N.I.L.E. Conference Director
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Basis for Compensation

Cash benefits

1) Specified minimum % of worker's normal or average wage (how determined)
2) Weekly min. & max. dollar amount
3) A maximum total amount (aggregate)
4) Maximum duration of time
5) Variations because of # of dependents
6) Waiting period & retroactivity if any
7) Formulas for determining average wages

Wis 3 days
Retro after 10

W. C.

Types of Insurance

(80% - 1957)

Private — Casualty insurance

Written by 3 types of carriers

Tend to resemble each other in operation

Stock Cos. 48.7% — profits paid to stockholders, who are non-participants in the insurance — brokers & agents handle business

Mutuals 30% — policy holders are the stockholders

Reciprocals 1.8% — groups of employers selling insurance to themselves — their carriers through an instrument "attorney in fact".

Less than 2% of total premiums

State Insurance 19.4% (most developed prior to 1920 — only 2 since

Exclusive 8.6 — 8 jurisdictions

2 do permit Self Insurance

Competitive 10.8 — 11 states

optional whether through state or private

Self Insurance — all but 7 jurisdictions allow employer carries own risk — Not too substantial

only 5 states does it amount to as much as 20%

Improvements — Problems — Supplements

Imp — Medical Care Coverage
~~Has~~ All States since 1930
Range: Time 4 weeks (Tex) — 9 mos (Mass)
Money $225 (Pa) — 2,500 (Ky)

Prob — Rise in Medical Costs

Prob — Ratio of Costs to Benefits — Tricky

Supp — Public. OAIS (Examples Centralia — Frankfort)
Next Page

Private 1) Group Life Ins.

Prob } Good for Strong Bargainers
Poor for others

2) Group Accident & Sickness Ins.
Exide Battery (CHICAGO)
Up to Actual Wages
UMW — Health & Welfare Plan

Prob. If Non-Work Coverage is greater, then attempt to report injury as Non-Work

5,000 employees fail of coverage / 66,000 employees
1M + Employees.

27.T comp a year
$13.5M/yr.

Admin —

98% of Employees (cases) paid on claim

If refuse, file petition with Ind. Com.
"Application for Adjustment of Claim"

4 copies — 1 for you — 3 Ind. Com.

Any doubtful case check with attorney

Witnesses
Hearings
Examiner
Close by
Co. M.D.
Attyn.

Payments cover from 4th day forward
After 10th, pick up 1st 3

15% increase by Co. if violation of Com. Safety order.

4) APPRAISAL OF THE ORDER

"Any party in interest who is dissatisfied with the...order ...may file a written petition with the industrial commission as a commission to review the findings or order...If no petition is filed within twenty days from the date that a copy of the...order...was mailed to the last known address of the parties in interest, such...order shall be considered the...order of the industrial commission as a body..."
102.18 (2)(3)

5) INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION REVIEW OF THE ORDER

"Within ten days after the filing of such petition with the commission the commission shall either affirm, reverse, set aside or modify such...order in whole or in part, or direct the taking of additional testimony. Such action shall be based on a review of the evidence submitted."
102.18 (3)

"The findings of fact made by the commission...shall...be conclusive; and the order...shall be subject to review only in the manner and upon the grounds following..."
102.23 (1)

6) CIRCUIT COURT REVIEW OF THE COMMISSION'S ORDER

"Within thirty days from the date of an order...made by the commission as a body...any party aggrieved thereby may commence, in the Circuit Court for Dane County, an action against the commission for the review of such order..."
102.23 (1)

"The court may confirm or set aside such order or award..."
102.23 (1)

7) SUPREME COURT REVIEW OF THE CIRCUIT COURT'S DECISION

The "commision, or any party aggrieved by a judgment entered upon the review of any order or award, may appeal therefrom within thirty days from the date of service by either party upon the other of notice of entry of judgment...All such appeals shall be placed on the calendar of the supreme court..."
102.25 (1)

(1)

Supplements to W.C.

Public

OASI — frequently greater than W.C.
Longer period (for survivors) — until children 18
and resumes if widow reaches 62
& the amount has been raised —

Centralia (Ill) Mine 1947
Widow & 7 children
1st 5 yrs $44, $24 of which from Ill
after 5 yrs no Ill. W.C.

West Frankfort Disaster
Widow & 2 children — Total Max $22,211 OAIS
W.C. (Ill.) (1951) $9,600

Private

Bargained on Uni-lateral

1) Groups Life Ins
Accidental death & dismemberment (AD&D clause)
(1951 — over 40% of all employees)
2) Groups Accident & Sickness Insurance
If supplement compensation cash benefits by making up the difference between Stat. Comp & an agreed on standard — either a % or actual wages

Compulsory
Elective
"Voluntary" — e.g. Agri workers
where not covered by law

Exclusions

1) Hazardous — slicing both ways
If hazardous, then covered (proper public power)
If hazardous risk too high (N.C. sawmills
not covered if less than 15, but general
numerical exception is less than 5)

2) Listed exclusions — usually pol. poll & stockyards of Chicago
Wis. only some Agri.
Ill. — none (can it be done "voluntarily")

3) Size of Firm
Insurance companies don't like to underwrite small co's.
Premiums need to be higher
Cost of servicing greater
Accident rate greater
So problem of small firm usually ignored
But 23 jurisdictions cover and seem to
have no problems of admin.
Wis. sets at 3
Ill. — none

Waiting-period exclusions
1940 estimate (p. 55) 30% of all time lost, not
compensated due to waiting period
Oregon has none, and has found possibility to
administer efficiently

Ag 1 week period renders non-compensable 47.1% of all
Temporary disabilities — American Accident Table (p. 54)

W.C. Supplants. (2)

Exide Battery in Chicago makes up to actual wages

It frequently happens that plans covering non-work disabilities are more favorable than W.C.

└ Sometimes workers claim job injury as a non-job injury

to claim this means that workers funds (contributory - non-work plan) diverted to pay for occupational injury -

Mine workers Health & Welfare Plans

"most dramatic and comprehensive" supplementation

Employers paying for their (& carriers) opposition to liberalizing W.C.

Good Bargaining position can bring results

However, W.C. tends to get ~~neglected~~ Neglected

Results - "Generous" benefits to some - others paltry.

Overlapping Programs in some cases give benefits greater than

Break — 7:55

Roll Call

Catch up on SFW

(Via — after class)

What precedent in WS.

1920

Wm F. Falk — W.S. Died at 84 few weeks ago
Started rehab

Fed. Off of Vocational Rehab.

Fed-State program

2¼M Handicapped in U.S.

¼M each year

? 92T all that are rehab. } Why? Just Backlog

Rehab is Coop. effort

Need Specialist M.D.

O.T. — PT

Counselors — Psychiatrist

Pub. Welfare — Handicapped Children — School for Blind, Deaf, Mentally Retarded

[Fed. Director of OVR Maggy Shiston]

Process

Call Voc. School

Want to see Voc. man where he lives

(Belair — Lucy Talley

Paul W. Rasmussen)

— Case supervisor

Don't let employer say: "Ins. Co. won't let us hire"

Sect 106.1 — V Rehab — pay tuition — & time beyond 40 days if retraining needed — then can be arranged through Voc. Rehab — Ins. Co. must pay — include transportation & room & Bd. 40 ~~months~~

?

What standards other than 16 yrs. of age —

Rehab = Certain Services

[Are there cases where Ins. Co. says have much to cut off]

Do you have to show need?

Probably — psychic phasing etc.

W. C. entitles as much training in use of artificial member

Ins. Co. may not recommend an unartificial Limb mfg.

Amount of Stump a problem — Ins wants as little cut — But good artificial may need more

School for Workers
Extension Division
University of Wisconsin

October, 1961

Workmen's Compensation
This course is sponsored by the Beloit Vocational and Adult School in cooperation with the School for Workers

October 5: Historical Development of Workmen's Compensation Legislation
--Emory Via, School for Workers

October 12: Workmen's Compensation in the United States Today: types of benefits, insurance, administration.
--Emory Via, School for Workers

October 19: The Provisions of the Wisconsin Law: benefits, claims, appeals.
--Emory Via, School for Workers

October 26: Rehabilitation: human, legal, and administrative problems.
--O. H. Richter, Senior Supervisor, Wisconsin State Board of Vocational and Adult Education, Rehabilitation Division.

November 2: Safety-what the law provides, worker attitudes, safety education programs.
--R. E. Puphal, Deputy of Industrial Commission, Industrial Safety and Buildings.

November 9: The Provisions of the Illinois Law: benefits, claims, appeals.
--Phillips Garman, Coordinator of Extension, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois.

November 16: A Lawyer Views the Practical Problems of Workmen's Compensation--the injured worke and his case, attorney relations, case examples.
--Bernie Kleiman, Attorney specializing in workmen's compensation cases, Chicago, Illinois.

November 30: New Challenges to Our Oldest Social Insurance Program.
--David B. Johnson, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin

INTERNAL REVENUE CODE, AS AMENDED;
Chapter 9-Employment Taxes
Sub Chapter C-Federal Unemployment Tax Act

SEC. 1600 RATE OF TAX

Every employer (as defined in section 1607 (a) shall pay for the calendar year 1939 and for each calendar year thereafter an excise tax, with respect to having individuals in his employ, equal to 3 per centum of the total wages (as defined in section 1607 (b) paid by him during the calendar year with respect to employment (as defined in section 1607 (c) after December 31, 1938.

SEC. 1601 CREDITS AGAINST TAX

(a) Contributions to State Unemployment Funds -

(1) The taxpayer may, to the extent provided in this subsection and subsection (c), credit against the tax imposed by section 1600 the amount of contributions paid by him into an unemployment fund maintained during the taxable year under the unemployment compensation law of a State which is certified for the taxable year as provided in section 1603.

(2) The credit shall be permitted against the tax for the taxable year only for the amount of contributions paid with respect to such taxable year.

(3) The credit against the tax for any taxable year shall be permitted only for contributions paid on or before the last day upon which the taxpayer is required under section 1604 to file a return for such year; except that credit shall be permitted for contributions paid after such last day, but such credit shall not exceed 90 per centum of the amount which would have been allowable as credit on account of such contributions had they been paid on or before such last day.

(4) Upon the payment of contributions into the unemployment fund of a State which are required under the unemployment compensation law of that State with respect to remuneration on the basis of which, prior to such payment into the proper fund, the taxpayer erroneously paid an amount as contributions under another unemployment compensation law, the payment into the proper fund shall, for purposes of credit against the tax, be deemed to have been made at the time of the erroneous payment. If, by reason of such other law, the taxpayer was entitled to cease paying contributions with respect to services subject to such other law, the payment into the proper fund shall, for purposes of credit against the law, be deemed to have been made on the date the return for the taxable year was filed under section 1604.

(b) Additional Credit - In addition to the credit allowed under subsection (a), a taxpayer may credit against the tax imposed by section 1600 for any taxable year an amount, with respect to the unemployment compensation law of each State certified for the taxable year as provided in section 1602 (or with respect to any provisions thereof so certified), equal to the amount, if any, by which the contributions required to be paid by him with respect to the taxable year were less than the contributions such taxpayer would have been required to pay if throughout the taxable year he had been subject under such State law to the highest rate applied thereunder in the taxable year to any person having individuals in his employ, or to a rate of 2.7 per centum, whichever rate is lower.

(c) Limit On Total Credits - The total credits allowed to a taxpayer under this subchapter shall not exceed 90 per centum of the tax against which such credits are allowable.

(d) Refund or Credit - Refund or credit of the tax (including penalty and interest collected with respect thereto, if any), based on any credit allowable under this section, may be made in accordance with the provisions of law applicable in the case of erroneous or illegal collection of the tax (including statutes of limitations). No interest shall be allowed or paid on the amount of any such credit or refund.

SEC. 1603 APPROVAL OF STATE LAWS

(a) Requirements - The Secretary of Labor shall approve any State law submitted to him, within thirty days of such submission, which he finds provides that --

(1) All compensation is to be paid through public employment offices or such other agencies as the Secretary of Labor may approve;

(2) No compensation shall be payable with respect to any day of unemployment occurring within two years after the first day of the first period with respect to which contributions are required:

(3) All money received in the unemployment fund shall (except for refunds of sums erroneously paid into such fund and except for refunds paid in accordance with the provisions of section 1606 (b) immediately upon such receipt be paid over to the Secretary of the Treasury to the credit of the Unemployment Trust Fund established by section 904 of the Social Security Act (49 Stat. 640; U. S. C., 1934 ed., itle 42, sec. 1104);

(4) All money withdrawn from the unemployment fund of the State shall be used solely in the payment of unemployment compensation, exclusive of expenses of administration, and for refunds of sums erroneously paid into such fund and refunds paid in accordance with the provisions of section 1606 (b): Provided, That an amount equal to the amount of employee payments into the unemployment fund of a State may be used in the payment of cash benefits to individuals with respect to their disability, exclusive of expenses of administration;

(5) Compensation shall not be denied in such State to any otherwise eligible individual for refusing to accept new work under any of the following conditions: (A) If the position offered is vacant due directly to a strike, lockout, or other labor dispute; (B) if the wages, hours, or other conditions of the work offered are substantially less favorable to the individual than those prevailing for similar work in the locality; (C) if as a condition of being employed the individual would be required to join a company union or to resign from or refrain from joining any bona fide labor organization;

(6) All the rights, privileges, or immunities conferred by such law or by acts done pursuant thereto shall exist subject to the power of the legislature to amend or repeal such law at any time.

University of Wisconsin
School for Workers

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

1. What is the purpose of the Wisconsin Unemployment Compensation Act?

TO PROVIDE MONETARY BENEFITS TO ELIGIBLE EMPLOYEES WHO BECOME UNEMPLOYED.

2. Who is covered by the Wisconsin Unemployment Compensation Act?

BASICALLY ALL EMPLOYEES OF EMPLOYERS OF FOUR (4) OR MORE EMPLOYEES AND THE EMPLOYEES OF EMPLOYERS WHO VOLUNTARILY ELECT TO COVER THEMSELVES.

"'Employe' means any individual who is or has been performing services for an employing unit, in an employment..."
108.02 (3)

"Any...employer, who has employed as many as 4 individuals in 'employment' on each of some 20 days during the taxable year, each day being in a different calendar week...shall become an employer..."
108.02 (4)(d)

"'Employment'...means any service...performed by an individual for pay." It does not include employment in agricultural labor, domestic service, and logging operations.
108.02 (5)(a)(g)

3. What conditions must exist before an employe is eligible to receive unemployment compensation benefits?

1) HE MUST BE EITHER PARTIALLY OR TOTALLY UNEMPLOYED

"An employe is 'partially unemployed' in any week for which he receives some wages but less than his weekly benefit rate."
108.02 (16)

"An employe shall be deemed 'totally unemployed' in any week for which he receives no wages."
108.02 (17)

2) HE MUST FILE A CLAIM FOR UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION BENEFITS

"To receive benefits for any given week of his unemployment an employe shall give notice to the (industrial) commission with respect to such week of unemployment, through a public employment office, within such time limit and in such manner as the commission may by rule prescribe."
108.08 (1)

3) HE MUST BE AVAILABLE FOR WORK AND PHYSICALLY ABLE TO WORK

"An employe shall be ineligible for benefits for any week in which he is with due notice called on by his current employing unit to

report for work actually available within such week and is unavailable for work or physically unable to do his work."
108.04 (1)(a)

"An employe shall be ineligible for benefits from an employer's account for any given week if his employment with such employer was suspended by the employe or by the employer or was terminated by such employer because the employe was unavailable for work... or physically unable to do his work, in case such unavailability or inability continues during the week in question..."
108.04 (1)(b)

"A pregnant woman shall be deemed unavailable for work and ineligible for benefits for the period which begins 8 weeks before the week which includes the expected date of childbirth and which ends 4 weeks after the week which includes the date of childbirth."
108.04 (1)(c)

4) HE MUST REGISTER FOR WORK EACH WEEK

"An employe shall be deemed eligible, for waiting period or benefit purposes, as to any given week for which he receives no wages, only if he has within such week registered for work in such manner as may then be prescribed by commission rules..."
108.04 (2)(a)

"Any claimant, thus registered, may also be required at any time to make such other efforts to secure work as the commission may reasonably direct under the circumstances, and to supply proper evidence thereof; and shall, if he fails without good cause to do so, be ineligible for each week such failure continues."
108.04 (2)(b)

5) HE MUST HAVE HAD 14 OR MORE WEEKS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE LAST 52

"An employe shall not be eligible to receive benefits for any given week of unemployment unless he has had a total of 14 or more 'weeks of employment' from one or more employers within the 52 weeks preceding the close of his most recent week of employment."
108.04 (4)(a)

6) HE MUST WAIT ONE CALENDAR WEEK IN EACH CALENDAR YEAR

"An employe shall become eligible to receive benefits for his weeks of unemployment ending within a given calendar year only after he has had 1 waiting period week, ending within such year..."
108.04 (3)(b)

"Only those weeks of an employe's unemployment for which he would otherwise be eligible to receive benefits shall be counted as waiting period weeks."
108.04 (3)(a)

"Not more than 1 of the weeks ending between October 31 and the following March 1 shall be required of an employe as waiting period."
108.04 (3)(c)

7) HE MUST NOT HAVE BEEN DISCHARGED FOR MISCONDUCT

"An employe's eligibility, for benefits based on those credit weeks then accrued with respect to an employing unit, shall be barred for any week of unemployment completed after he has been discharged by the employing unit for misconduct connected with his employment; provided, moreover, that such employe shall be deemed ineligible for benefits (from other previous employer accounts) for the week in which such discharge occurred and for the 3 next following weeks."
108.04 (5)

8) HE MUST NOT BE UNDER DISCIPLINARY SUSPENSION

"As to an employe's weeks of unemployment by reason of a disciplinary suspension by a given employer, the employe shall be ineligible for benefits from such employer's account as follows:

1. If the suspension was for misconduct connected with his employment, he shall be ineligible for each such week.
2. If the suspension was for other good cause connected with his employment, he shall be ineligible for the first 3 such weeks ending within any calendar year."

108.04 (6)

9) HE MUST NOT HAVE VOLUNTARILY TERMINATED HIS EMPLOYMENT EXCEPT FOR CAUSE

"If an employe terminates his employment with an employer, he shall be ineligible for any benefits based on such employment, and ineligible for benefits based on other previous employment for the week of termination and the 4 next following weeks" UNLESS:

"the commission determines that the employe terminated his employment with good cause attributable to the employing unit...(or) "the commission determines that the employe terminated his employment for compelling personal reasons; provided that, if the commission determines that he is physically unable to work or substantially unavailable for work, he shall be ineligible while such inability or unavailability continues...(or) "the commission determines that the employe terminated his employment to take another job; provided, that he shall be ineligible, for benefits based on the employment terminated, until he has been employed within at least 7 subsequent weeks."

108.04 (7)

10) HE MUST NOT HAVE FAILED TO APPLY FOR OR ACCEPT WORK OFFERED EXCEPT FOR GOOD CAUSE

"If an employe fails either to apply for work when notified by a public employment office or to accept work when offered to him, and such failure was without good cause as determined by the commission, he shall be ineligible for the week in which such failure

occurs and thereafter until he has again been employed within at least 4 weeks and has earned wages equalling at least 4 times his weekly benefit rate."

108.04 (8)(a)

"If the commission determines that such failure has occurred with good cause, but that the employe is physically unable to work or substantially unavailable for work, he shall be ineligible for the week in which such failure occurred and while such inability or unavailability continues."

108.04 (8)(b)

"When a claimant accepts new work which he could have refused with good cause, and then terminates such employment with the same good cause and within the first 10 weeks after starting work, his eligibility for benefits based on other previous employment shall not be suspended...by reason of such termination.

108.04 (8)(c)

"An employe shall be deemed to have good cause...if the commission determines that his failure related to new work for a new employing unit at a lower grade of skill or significantly lower rate of pay than applied to him on one or more recent jobs, and that he had not yet had a reasonable opportunity (in view of labor market conditions and his degree of skill, but not to exceed 6 weeks after he became unemployed) to seek a new job substantially in line with his job skill and prior rate of pay."

108.04 (8)(d)

"Benefits shall not be denied...to any otherwise eligible individual for refusing to accept new work under any of the following conditions:

(a) If the position offered is vacant due directly to a strike, lockout, or other labor dispute;
(b) If the wages, hours, or other conditions of work offered are substantially less favorable to the individual than those prevailing for similar work in the locality;
(c) If as a condition of being employed the individual would be required to join a company union or to resign from or refrain from joining any bona fide labor organization."

108.04 (9)

11) HE MUST NOT BE UNEMPLOYED BECAUSE OF A LABOR DISPUTE

"An employe who has left (or partially or totally lost) his employment with an employing unit because of a strike or other bona fide labor dispute shall not be eligible for benefits from such (or any previous) employer's account for any week in which such strike or other bona fide labor dispute is in active progress in the establishment in which he is or was employed."

108.04 (10)

12) HE MUST NOT BE RECEIVING "SUBSTANTIAL" RETIREMENT PAYMENTS

"If an employe claims benefits based on his past work for a covered employer, but...the commission determines that the employe is receiving or has claimed and will receive retirement payments, as to any week covered by his benefit claim, under a group retirement system to whose financing any employer has substantially contriuted or under a government retirement (or old-age insurance) system or under both, then the benefits thus claimed:

(a) Shall be denied for any such week, from the account of such employer, if the employe left his employment with that employer to retire before he reached the compulsory retirement age used by that employer.

(b) Shall not be denied for any such week, from the account of such employer, if the employe is otherwise eligible and left or lost his employment with that (or any other) employing unit because he had reached the compulsory retirement age used by the employing unit in question.

(c) Shall, if payable, be determined for any such week by treating all but $5 of the employe's weekly rate of such retirement payments as if it were 'wages.'"

108.04 (15)

13) HE MUST NOT BE RECEIVING VACATION PAY OR DISMISSAL WAGES

"'Wages' means every form of remuneration payable for a given period...to an individual for personal services, including...vacation pay, dismissal wages..."

108.02 (6)

4. What monetary benefits does the Unemployment Compensation Act provide for unemployed employes?

AMOUNT OF WEEKLY MONETARY BENEFIT

1) Weekly Benefit Rate for Total Unemployment - $11 - $38

"Each eligible employe shall be paid benefits from his employer's account for each week of his total unemployment at the weekly benefit rate, based on the employe's 'average weekly wage' from the given employer, shown by the following schedule:"

-- See the "Act" - p. 24; "Claiming UC Benefits" - p. 15 --

"An employe's 'average weekly wage' with respect to a given employer means the average weekly amount determined by dividing the employe's total wages (paid or payable with respect to his services performed for the employer in the calendar year, or other one-year period prescribed by the commission, which precedes a given determination date) by the total number of those weeks (completed in such year) within which the employe performed some wage-earning services for the employer or for which he received from the employer vacation pay or dismissal wages at least equal to his weekly benefit rate..."

108.02 (7)

2) Benefits for Partial Unemployment

"If an eligible employe's total wages for a given week are less than his applicable weekly benefit rate, but are at least one-half of said rate, he shall be paid one-half of his weekly benefit rate for such week."

108.05 (3)(a)

"If an eligible employe's total wages for a given week are less than one-half of his applicable weekly benefit rate, he shall be paid his full weekly benefit rate for such week."

108.05 (3)(b)

DURATION OF WEEKLY MONETARY BENEFIT

The number of "Weekly Benefit Rate" benefits payable to an employe on one UC determination is approximately 70% of his available credit weeks with the employer in question. It cannot, however, exceed 26½.

"Benefits to an employe shall be based on the number of his available credit weeks with respect to an employer...Based on each such credit week, the fund shall be liable to pay benefits to the employe (if otherwise eligible) in an amount equal to seven-tenths of the weekly benefit rate under the given benefit determination; except that the sum of the benefit credits thus resulting, based on all credit weeks under said determination, shall be adjusted to the nearest multiple of one-half of said weekly benefit rate."

108.06 (2)

See the schedule of "full benefit weeks" as a function of the number of "available credit weeks" in "Claiming UC Benefits" - p. 14

"There shall be counted as a credit week for benefit purposes each week of employment, of a given employe by a given employer, which is or has been completed...within the 52 weeks preceding the close of the employe's most recent week of employment by the employer..."

108.06 (1)(a)

"In case an employe has had more than 38 weeks of employment by an employer within the period specified (above)...only 38 weeks shall be counted as 'credit weeks' with respect to such employer under any one benefit determination."

108.06 (1)(b)

Duration of liability under a UC "Benefit" determination --

"In no case shall the fund remain or be liable to pay benefits to an employe, based on his employment by a given employer, for any unemployment occurring more than 52 weeks after the close of the employe's most recent week of employment by such employer."

108.06 (3)(a)

"Once a determination has been made...as to the amount of benefits potentially payable to an employe based on his available credit weeks with respect to a given employer, all benefits thereafter

payable to the employe based on credit weeks from that employer shall be paid in accordance with that determination, until it ceases to apply."

108.06 (3)(b)

"A given determination shall cease to apply only when all benefit credits available thereunder have been charged or cancelled, or as to unemployment occurring more than 52 weeks after the close of the employe's most recent credit week included in such determination."

108.06 (3)(c)

"After an employe has become eligible for a benefit check under a given benefit determination, he shall, while it remains valid... be eligible for benefits solely under that determination..."

108.07 (1)(b)

5. How is a disputed claim for unemployment compensation benefits adjudicated?

1) Employe must FILE A CLAIM FOR UC BENEFITS (UC-15).

2) Employer from whose account benefits are being claimed must APPROVE OR REJECT SUCH CLAIM IN WRITING (UC-203).

3) UC ADJUSTMENTS DEPARTMENT (Deputy) makes a UC determination on the basis of the claim "facts" obtained by the Local UC Office.

4) Deputy's Determination may be appealed to an APPEALS TRIBUNAL (UC Examiner). It conducts a Public Hearing on the claim and then issues a determination.

5) Tribunal's Determination may be appealed to the INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION for review.

6) Industrial Commission's Determination may be appealed to the CIRCUIT COURT OF DANE COUNTY for review.

7) Circuit Court's Determination may be appealed to the SUPREME COURT OF WISCONSIN.

TO THE EMPLOYE: - UC-9

YOU HAVE BEEN NOTIFIED THAT A JOB IS AVAILABLE WITH:

NAME OF EMPLOYER _____

YOU SHOULD APPLY FOR THAT JOB, IN PERSON, AT ONCE.

TAKE THIS FORM TO THAT EMPLOYER. ASK HIM TO FILL IT OUT AND RETURN IT TO YOU.

YOU MUST BRING BACK THIS FORM, WITH THE EMPLOYER'S SIGNATURE, TO CONTINUE YOUR BENEFIT CLAIM NEXT WEEK. (SEE OVER

EMPLOYER'S REPORT ON APPLICATION FOR WORK (USE INK
(TO BE COMPLETED BY EMPLOYER, & RETURNED TO EMPLOYE)

THE EMPLOYE NAMED BELOW TODAY INQUIRED ABOUT A JOB WITH US.
CHECK, AND FILL IN, THE ITEMS WHICH APPLY

1. ☐ HE WAS HIRED, AND WILL START WORK ON . . _____ DATE

2. ☐ NO JOB WAS AVAILABLE. 3. ☐ APPLICATION PENDING.

4. ☐ HE DID NOT QUALIFY FOR THE AVAILABLE JOB.

5. ☐ HE WAS NOT WILLING TO TAKE THE JOB.
IF HE WAS NOT WILLING TO TAKE THE JOB, FILL IN ALL ITEMS BELOW.

6. WHAT JOB DID YOU DISCUSS WITH HIM?

(A) KIND OF WORK? _____

(B) WAGE? $_____PER _____. (C) HOURS PER WEEK? _____

(D) SHIFT . . . . FROM ____ AM/PM TO ____ AM/PM

7. . . . . DID YOU CLEARLY OFFER HIM THAT JOB? _____ YES OR NO

8. HIS REASON FOR NOT WANTING THAT JOB WAS: _____

_____

9. YOUR COMMENT ON HIS REASON? _____

_____

DATE OF INTERVIEW _____ SIGNED BY _____
EMPLOYER'S INTERVIEWER

NAME OF EMPLOYE →

DATE OF REFERRAL →

10-45 INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN

TO THE EMPLOYE: -

YOUR CURRENT CLAIM FOR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS MEANS THAT YOU WANT A SUITABLE JOB--AND WILL ACCEPT ONE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

1. THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE HAS NOW NOTIFIED YOU THAT A JOB IS OPEN WITH THE EMPLOYER NAMED ON THE FRONT OF THIS SHEET.

   YOU SHOULD APPLY FOR THAT JOB, IN PERSON, AT ONCE.

   FAILURE TO APPLY CAN STOP YOUR BENEFITS. (SEE 4, BELOW.)

2. YOU MUST BRING BACK THIS FORM, WITH THAT EMPLOYER'S SIGNATURE, TO CONTINUE YOUR BENEFIT CLAIM NEXT WEEK.

   FAILURE TO DO SO CAN STOP YOUR BENEFITS. (SEE 4, BELOW.)

3. WHAT SHOULD YOU DO, IF YOU ARE OFFERED A JOB?

   IF YOU ARE OFFERED A JOB, YOU SHOULD TAKE IT, UNLESS YOU HAVE A REASON FOR REFUSING IT WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTED AS "GOOD CAUSE" UNDER THE LAW.

   FAILURE TO TAKE IT CAN STOP YOUR BENEFITS. (SEE 4, (BELOW.

4. WHAT HAPPENS IF YOU FAIL: -

   (A) TO APPLY FOR THE JOB?
   (B) TO BRING BACK THIS FORM?
   (C) TO TAKE A JOB OFFER?

   IF YOU DON'T HAVE "GOOD CAUSE" FOR YOUR FAILURE, THE LAW STOPS (OR POSTPONES) YOUR BENEFITS, UNTIL YOU DO GET A JOB AND (1) WORK IN 4 WEEKS AND (2) EARN 4 TIMES YOUR WEEKLY BENEFIT.

5. WHAT IS "GOOD CAUSE" FOR REFUSING, OR FAILING TO APPLY FOR, A JOB?

   THAT DEPENDS ON YOUR OWN CASE. NO FLAT ANSWER CAN BE GIVEN.

   IF YOU ARE IN DOUBT, YOU SHOULD TALK IT OVER WITH THE UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION REPRESENTATIVE. HE WON'T TELL YOU WHAT TO DO, BUT HE CAN GIVE YOU INFORMATION ABOUT LOSS OF BENEFITS TO HELP YOU DECIDE.

6. YOUR JOB PROSPECTS

   NOT EVERY WORKER WILL BE ABLE TO FIND JUST THE KIND OF JOB (AND PAY) HE WANTS.

   AND REMEMBER, WHENEVER YOU TURN DOWN ANY JOB IT MAY STOP (OR POSTPONE) YOUR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS.

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN

COMMISSIONERS
MATHIAS F. SCHIMENZ, CHAIRMAN
R. G. KNUTSON
JOHN H. ROUSE
HELEN E. GILL, SECRETARY

The State of Wisconsin

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

STATE OFFICE BUILDING

1 WEST WILSON ST., MADISON 2

FUNCTIONS
APPRENTICESHIP
EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES
INDUSTRIAL SAFETY AND BUILDINGS
STATISTICS
UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION
WAGE COLLECTION
WOMAN AND CHILD LABOR
WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

July 27, 1961

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO:
Ins. 128

TO ALL COMPENSATION INSURANCE CARRIERS
and SELF-INSURED EMPLOYERS

Re: 1961 Amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act

Gentlemen:

Chapter 269, Laws of 1961, which effects certain amendments to the Wisconsin workmen's compensation act, was signed by the Governor on July 17, 1961, and was published on July 25, 1961. Both the Bill 431, S. and the Act indicate an effective date the first of the month following publication, so it becomes effective at 12:01 A.M. August 1, 1961. These amendments were recommended by the Workmen's Compensation Advisory Committee, composed of representatives of labor, industry, insurance carriers and the public. A synopsis of the changes which will apply to injuries occurring on and after August 1, 1961, are set forth below.

Subsection 102.11 (1). The maximum weekly wage for temporary disability, permanent total disability and death is increased to $85.72. This increases the maximum weekly compensation from $54 to $60, and the maximum death benefit from $15,428 to $17,144. Compensation for permanent partial disability is increased from $40 to $42.75 per week, based upon an average weekly wage of $61.07, or more.

Subsection 102.03 (2). The legislative intent that workmen's compensation shall be the exclusive remedy between the parties is clarified by adding the words "and the workmen's compensation insurance carrier" to the end of this subsection.

Subsection 102.17 (1) (as). Amendment is made to allow either verified or certified medical report.

Subsection 102.17 (4). In cases of injury or death caused by exposure to ionized radiation the statute of limitations is extended to 25 years.

Subsection 102.565. The maximum allowance for nondisabling silicosis is increased to $7,000.

Yours very truly,

Ralph E. Gintz

Ralph E. Gintz, Director
Workmen's Compensation Division

REG/OS

I N V E S T I G A T I O N

To: ADJUSTMENTS DIVISION From: Office

Employe _____ Claim Number _____

Employer _____ Employer File No. _____

Employed by above at _____ Skills _____
City

Age _____ Height _____ Weight _____ Disability _____

I. ISSUE _____ Week Number _____

II. EMPLOYE STATEMENT

The above statement has been read by (to) me and is true and complete.

SIGNATURE _____

Date _____

O-157
Wis. 5-53 Rev.

III. INFORMATION BY _____ , _____ REPRESENTING EMPLOYER:
NAME POSITION

IV. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION _____ , _____
NAME IDENTIFY

V. "FINDINGS" AS TO DISPUTED ALLEGATIONS AND COMMENTS:

VI. RECOMMENDATION:

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

C-157
WIS. 11-52

TO the EMPLOYE:—

From: Wisconsin's INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

(1) Fill out this benefit-claim, AT HOME.

(2) PRINT each answer PLAINLY, in CAPITAL letters,—to prevent mistakes and delays.

(3) REPORT,—PROMPTLY after your lay-off,—to the nearest STATE employment office.

(4) If that's a full-time office (5 days; 7:45–11:45 A. M. and 12:30–4:30 P. M.), REPORT according to how your LAST NAME begins, in the HALF-DAY shown below:—

NAME	A	B	C–F	G–H	I–K	L–M	N–R	S	T–Z
DAY	Monday A. M.	Monday P. M.	Tuesday A. M.	Tuesday P. M.	Wednesday A. M.	Wednesday P. M.	Thursday A. M.	Thursday P. M.	Friday A. M.

(5) If there's no full-time office near you, REPORT during the hours our representative visits the nearest town.

(6) Your employer's poster ("How to Claim Unemployment Benefits") should tell you WHERE to report.

(7) BRING ALONG:—(a) this CLAIM-form; and (b) your employment service CARD.

TO the EMPLOYER:—

You are REQUIRED, under Wisconsin's U.C. law and rules, to give a copy of this NOTICE to EACH of your employes "whenever (his) employment is *for any reason* terminated or suspended for one or more weeks".

GIVE this form to each such employe on (or just before) his LAST WORK-DAY. PLEASE DO IT.

In advance, ENTER below your:— (1) FIRM-NAME; and
(2) Wis. U.C. FILE NUMBER; and
(3) ADDRESS - - where pay records are kept.

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN

ENTRIES by EMPLOYER

FIRM-NAME____

WIS. U.C. FILE NO. _____

ADDRESS where payroll records are ___ ___

If we later NAME this employe, and ask you for a REPORT on his work and pay, will NAMING him be enough to locate his records?

IF NOT, check what else you need:—

CLOCK Number ☐

LOCATION where he worked ☐

OTHER _____ ☐
Specify

UC-15 NOTICE as to CLAIMING Unemployment BENEFITS under Wisconsin's Law } FOLLOW the INSTRUCTIONS, over →

Leave Blank

PRINT each answer PLAINLY

Leave These Boxes Blank

1. Your NAME _____
FIRST NAME INITIAL LAST NAME

2. _____ _____ _____
Your Social Security Number

3. Your Home ADDRESS _____ _____ _____ _____
NUMBER and STREET (or R.F.D.) City and Zone No. STATE Code

4. LIST EACH EMPLOYER for whom you've worked WITHIN the PAST 52 WEEKS.

Leave Boxes BLANK	FIRM-NAME, and ADDRESS where you worked.	No. of WEEKS WORKED in past 52 weeks	LAST DAY WORKED
A.	LAST Employer _____	_____	_____ Month Day
	Street & City _____		
B.	2nd-Last _____	_____	_____ Month Day
	Street & City _____		
C.	3rd-Last _____	_____	_____ Month Day
	Street & City _____		

Leave blank

5. TOTAL wages FOR your last CALENDAR work-week? If Tuesday was last work-day, show wages FOR Sun. Mon. Tues. } $_____

6. Since your last work-day, have you REFUSED any work or job offer? _____
Yes or No

7. Have you worked OUTSIDE of Wisconsin, in the past 2 years? _____
Yes or No

8. Date of birth _____
Month Day Year

9. If a VETERAN, service ended _____
Month Year

10. I have answered ALL questions, CORRECTLY _____ DATE _____
SIGN your NAME claim is filed

V F M

6-56

DO these 3 things :- (1) WAIT, until your next REPORT-DATE, to fill out this form.
THEN:—(2) Answer EVERY question; and (3) REPORT in person, WITH this form.

UC-17
Wis.
6-54

Employe's CLAIM for Unemployment BENEFITS under Wisconsin's U. C. Law } for the Calendar WEEK ending SATURDAY _____

A. As to that WEEK, ending that Saturday:—

(1) Did you DO any work? [ ] Yes or No

(2) Are you getting holiday or vacation pay? [ ] Yes or No

If "YES" enter:—

(a) Total WAGES—FOR that week? $_____ from all jobs. Include pay still coming.
(include holiday and vacation pay)

(b) Your EMPLOYER in that week?
NAME _____
ADDRESS _____

(3) Were you OFFERED any work? [ ] Yes or No If "YES", explain on the back.

C. Are you working now? [ ] Yes or No

B. PRINT these items:—

Your Social Security Number _____ _____ _____

D. I know the law provides PENALTIES for FALSE STATEMENTS to obtain benefits. I have answered ALL questions correctly.

Your NAME _____
First Name Initial Last Name

Date signed _____
Report-Date

Street or Rural Route _____

SIGN your name HERE _____

City _____
(Post Office)

Have you moved since last week? [ ] Yes or No

Report in person, and bring this form, on your report-day.

Form UC—203
Wis. 6-56

1957 BENEFIT LIABILITY REPORT

by the Employer named below, under Wisconsin's Unemployment Compensation Law

1. BENEFIT RATE

→ *(Fill in:—A; or B)*

A. This Employe's "Average Weekly Wage" has been over ~~$70~~ $74 so his Benefit Rate is ~~$36~~ $38 . . ☐

B. His 1957 Benefit Rate should be based on:-

(1) Total "wages" from us in 1956 $ _____

(2) Paid him for how many weeks? ☐ *

* *If over 9 weeks, omit (3) and (4)*

(3) Total "wages" from us in 1957 $ _____

(4) Paid him for how many weeks? ☐

Date

2. CREDIT WEEKS

A. HOW MANY calendar weeks were there within which the Employe worked for you, at all, in covered employment:

From 195____ Wk. No. ____

through 1957 Wk. No. ____

B. Enter that number of "credit weeks" in the red box. ☐ CREDIT WEEKS

3. LAST WORK or WAGES *The Employe Says:-*

A. He last worked for you in 1957 Wk. No. _____, on _____

If wrong, correct here:- Wk. No. _____, on _____

B. He was partially UNEMPLOYED in weeks No. _____ _____ _____

for which his WAGES from you were $ _____ $ _____ $ _____

If wrong, CORRECT WAGES were $ _____ $ _____ $ _____

4. ELIGIBILITY (Leave BLANK unless the law & facts support a denial.)

WE deny benefits under the law (and "Instructions" UC-201) because this "eligibility PHRASE" applies:-

EVEN IF YOU BELIEVE BENEFITS ARE NOT DUE, FILL IN HEADINGS 1 and 2

List supporting FACTS on back.

The Employer concedes that benefits may be paid, based on this report,—except as shown above or reported later.

SIGNED,
for the Employer, BY _____

_____
Date

To the EMPLOYER:

Complete and mail within 5 days after the above date to the above "Unemployment Comp. Office."

A tardy or incomplete report may cost you an extra $1 of benefits. 108.04 (13) (c).

KEEP the CARBON COPY for your files

6a

Form UC—203
Wis. 6-56

1957 BENEFIT LIABILITY REPORT

by the Employer named below, under Wisconsin's Unemployment Compensation Law

1. BENEFIT RATE

→ *(Fill in:—A; or B)*

A. This Employe's "Average Weekly Wage" has been over ~~$70~~ $74 so his Benefit Rate is ~~$36~~ $38 .. ☐

B. His 1957 Benefit Rate should be based on:-

(1) Total "wages" from us in 1956 $ _____

(2) Paid him for how many weeks? ☐ *

* *If over 9 weeks, omit (3) and (4)*

(3) Total "wages" from us in 1957 $ _____

(4) Paid him for how many weeks? ☐

Date

2. CREDIT WEEKS

A. HOW MANY calendar weeks were there within which the Employe worked for you, at all, in covered employment:

From 195____ Wk. No. ____

through 1957 Wk. No. ____

B. Enter that number of "credit weeks" in the red box.

CREDIT WEEKS

3. LAST WORK or WAGES *The Employe Says:-*

A. He last worked for you in 1957 Wk. No. _____, on _____

If wrong, correct here:- Wk. No. _____, on _____

B. He was partially UNEMPLOYED in weeks No. _____

for which his WAGES from you were $ _____ $ _____ $ _____

If wrong, CORRECT WAGES were $ _____ $ _____ $ _____

4. ELIGIBILITY (Leave BLANK unless the law & facts support a denial.)

WE deny benefits under the law (and "Instructions" UC-201) because this "eligibility PHRASE" applies:-

EVEN IF YOU BELIEVE BENEFITS ARE NOT DUE, FILL IN HEADINGS 1 and 2

List supporting FACTS on back.

The Employer concedes that benefits may be paid, based on this report,—except as shown above or reported later.

SIGNED,
for the
Employer, BY _____

_____
Date

To the EMPLOYER:

Complete and mail within 5 days after the above date to the above "Unemployment Comp. Office."

A tardy or incomplete report may cost you an extra $1 of benefits. 108.04 (13) (c).

KEEP the CARBON COPY for your files

3

CALENDAR OF 1956 and 1957 "WEEK NUMBERS"

1956 Weeks

No.	Ending	No.	Ending
1	Jan. 7	27	July 7
2	14	28	14
3	21	29	21
4	28	30	28
5	Feb. 4	31	Aug. 4
6	11	32	11
7	18	33	18
8	25	34	25
9	Mar. 3	35	Sept. 1
10	10	36	8
11	17	37	15
12	24	38	22
13	31	39	29
14	April 7	40	Oct. 6
15	14	41	13
16	21	42	20
17	28	43	27
18	May 5	44	Nov. 3
19	12	45	10
20	19	46	17
21	26	47	24
22	June 2	48	Dec. 1
23	9	49	8
24	16	50	15
25	23	51	22
26	30	52	29

1957 Weeks

No.	Ending	No.	Ending
1	Jan. 5	27	July 6
2	12	28	13
3	19	29	20
4	26	30	27
5	Feb. 2	31	Aug. 3
6	9	32	10
7	16	33	17
8	23	34	24
9	Mar. 2	35	31
10	9	36	Sept. 7
11	16	37	14
12	23	38	21
13	30	39	28
14	April 6	40	Oct. 5
15	13	41	12
16	20	42	19
17	27	43	26
18	May 4	44	Nov. 2
19	11	45	9
20	18	46	16
21	25	47	23
22	June 1	48	30
23	8	49	Dec. 7
24	15	50	14
25	22	51	21
26	29	52	28

To the EMPLOYER:-

Please complete this required report—promptly.

Make SURE you fill in Headings 1 and 2.

(A) We need this report from you, in order to determine:-

(a) Whether this Employe has met the law's "qualifying work" requirement; and

(b) Whether he is eligible for benefits, based on his work *for you;* and, if so, for how much benefits.

(B) If you duly contest his claim, under Heading 4, by entering a valid "phrase" plus supporting facts, you will receive a separate determination on your issue; but only if the Employe actually claims *benefits based on his work for you.*

(C) If and when benefits are allowed, based on the Employe's work for you, you will receive a copy of the determination showing how much benefits he might draw, based on such work.

★ ★ ★

In filling out this report, please follow the directions printed under each Heading.

If in doubt, please refer to your copy of our printed "Instructions" (UC-201).

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN

Each TARDY or INCOMPLETE report may cost you $1 extra

Form UC-30

INITIAL DETERMINATION as to UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS (under Wisconsin's Law)

Wis. 7-56

A. The EMPLOYE has filed a VALID BENEFIT CLAIM, based on his work for the EMPLOYER. Benefits are ALLOWED, as follows:

B. _____ is the NUMBER of WORK-WEEKS, for the Employer, on which the benefit rights below are based.

C. $_____ is the Employe's "WEEKLY BENEFIT RATE", for a week of TOTAL unemployment.

D. $_____ is the MAXIMUM BENEFITS which may become payable under this DETERMINATION.

E. WK. NO. _____ of 19_____ is the FINAL WEEK for which any of those benefits can be paid.

F. _____ is the NUMBER of BENEFIT WEEKS for TOTAL unemployment.

G. WK. NO. _____ IS the FIRST WEEK for which benefits are being paid, by separate mail.

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN

Deputy, Unemployment Compensation Dept.

DATED_____
(and delivered or mailed to the Employe)

Benefits are payable only for those weeks in which the Employe is unemployed and eligible.

OVER

KELTY-BEST CO. • 232 KING ST., MADISON, WISC.

12259

APPEAL PROCEDURE

If you wish to object to any point in this determination, you may file a written request for hearing.

Your request (if any) must:—

(a) be filed within ten (10) calendar days of the date shown on the front; and

(b) specify to what point you object; and

(c) be filed with a representative of the Unemployment Compensation Department, at your district employment office, either in person or by letter.

(The commission will not accept responsibility for any request sent directly to its Madison administrative office.)

KEEP THIS RECORD
of each benefit check you receive

DATE on check, above your name	**Benefit Week**	Amount of check	DATE on check, above your name	**Benefit Week**	Amount of check

If you lose any check, or fail to receive it, **you will need this record**—to help you establish which check it was. Besides, you will need it to report your U. C. benefits on your Wisconsin Income Tax return.

Form UC-30

INITIAL DETERMINATION as to UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS (under Wisconsin's Law)

Wis. 7-56

A. The EMPLOYE has filed a VALID BENEFIT CLAIM, based on his work for the EMPLOYER. Benefits are ALLOWED, as follows:

B. _____ is the NUMBER of WORK-WEEKS, for the Employer, on which the benefit rights below are based.

C. $_____ is the Employe's "WEEKLY BENEFIT RATE", for a week of TOTAL unemployment.

D. $_____ is the MAXIMUM BENEFITS which may become payable under this DETERMINATION.

E. WK. NO. _____ of 19_____ is the FINAL WEEK for which any of those benefits can be paid.

F. _____ is the NUMBER of BENEFIT WEEKS for TOTAL unemployment.

G. WK. NO. _____ IS the FIRST WEEK for which benefits are being paid, by separate mail.

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN

Deputy, Unemployment Compensation Dept.

DATED_____
(and delivered or mailed to the Employe)

Benefits are payable only for those weeks in which the Employe is unemployed and eligible.

OVER

To the Employer:— This determination is based on your own report(s).

If you raised any eligibility issue, it has been finally determined under the law, and any disqualification imposed has been satisfied. Therefore this determination is not subject to appeal by you.

However, if you discover any error in your Benefit Liability Report(s) on which this determination is based, and wish to correct it, please write or wire at once to the Unemployment Compensation Dept., 137 East Wilson St., Madison 1, Wisconsin.

To speed any correction, give the employe's U. C. "claim-number", as shown above his last name.

(Adjustment will be made, so far as benefits then unpaid hereunder may permit.)

YOU WILL RECEIVE A COPY OF EACH BENEFIT CHECK issued under this determination.

If you offer a job to this Employe while he is drawing benefits, and he refuses it, report that fact at once. Send us a **special delivery** letter (addressed to **Adjustment,** Unemployment Compensation Dept., 137 East Wilson St., Madison 1, Wisconsin), and send a carbon copy of your letter to the Examiner at your district employment office. Label your letter "Refused Work,"—to show that it is urgent.

Form UC-30

INITIAL DETERMINATION as to UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS (under Wisconsin's Law)

Wis. 7-56

A. The EMPLOYE has filed a VALID BENEFIT CLAIM, based on his work for the EMPLOYER. Benefits are ALLOWED, as follows:

B. _____ is the NUMBER of WORK-WEEKS, for the Employer, on which the benefit rights below are based.

C. $_____ is the Employe's "WEEKLY BENEFIT RATE", for a week of TOTAL unemployment.

D. $_____ is the MAXIMUM BENEFITS which may become payable under this DETERMINATION.

E. WK. NO. _____ of 19_____ is the FINAL WEEK for which any of those benefits can be paid.

F. _____ is the NUMBER of BENEFIT WEEKS for TOTAL unemployment.

G. WK. NO. _____ IS the FIRST WEEK for which benefits are being paid, by separate mail.

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN

Deputy, Unemployment Compensation Dept.

DATED_____
(and delivered or mailed to the Employe)

Benefits are payable only for those weeks in which the Employe is unemployed and eligible.

OVER

Form UC-31
Wis. 2-54

INITIAL DETERMINATION as to U. C. BENEFITS
under
WISCONSIN'S UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION LAW

_____ EMPLOYE Wis. U. C. Claim No. _____

_____ EMPLOYER Wis. U. C. File No. _____

Code _____ Sec. 108.04 _____

An issue has arisen, as to the Employe's claim for U. C. benefits, starting with 195__ Week No. ____

It is hereby DETERMINED that:-

So the EMPLOYE is NOT DISQUALIFIED.

This determination applies only to the disqualification question which arose in the week specified.

If the employe's benefit credits have not yet been determined, they will be determined on Form UC-30, after the employe has had a compensable week of unemployment.

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN

Michael B. Torphy
DEPUTY, U. C. DEPT.

NOTE the TIME LIMIT governing appeals.

Dated and Mailed _____

Any Appeal Must Be RECEIVED by _____

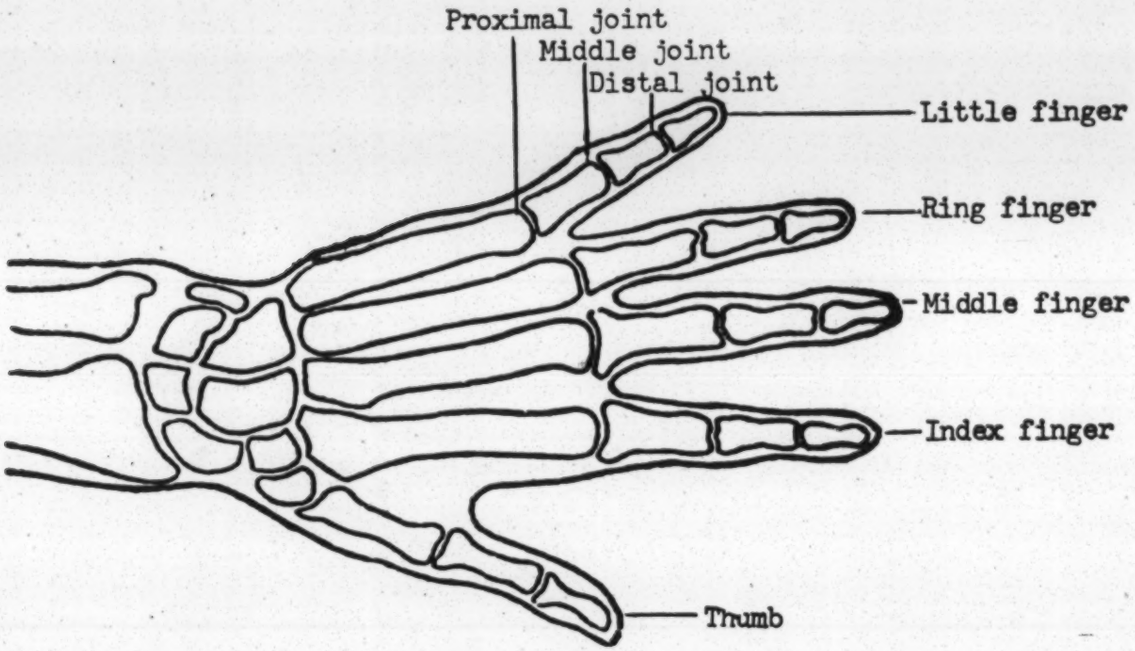
APPEAL PROCEDURE:

If you object to the above determination and want a public hearing, you should file a request promptly, as follows:

(a) Your request must be in writing, and specify your objection.

(b) It must be RECEIVED within 10 days *after the above mailing date, or it will be too late.*

(c) Make your request, in person or by letter, to a local office of the Unemployment Compensation Department or its representative, or to the office where benefits were claimed.



Instructions

Please use statutory terms in referring to fingers, such as thumbs, index, middle, ring, and little fingers, and distal, middle, and proximal joints. Where there is limitation of motion list separately the normal range of flexion in degrees, the *"degrees" loss of flexion,* and the *"degrees" loss of extension* for each joint of each finger. The Industrial Commission will evaluate the loss of use due to loss of motion of the fingers.

Where there are other elements of disability of the fingers, such as deformity, weakness, pain, or lack of endurance, give your opinion on the percentage loss of use as compared to amputation for such elements of disability and specify the joint or joints at which such loss is estimated.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Workmen's Compensation Div. Form A-16

PHYSICIAN'S REPORT ON ACCIDENT OR INDUSTRIAL DISEASE

1. Name of Employe .....
2. Name of Employer .....
3. Date of accident or first illness ..... Date released from treatment .....
4. Nature of injury .....
.....
5. Date employe able to return to full time employment at former occupation .....
6. Has he actually returned to work? ..... if so, on what date? .....
7. Has accident or industrial disease resulted in any permanent disability? .....
8. Has accident or disease resulted in disfigurement? ..... If so, describe .....
.....
9. Describe permanent impairment and percentage of loss of use resulting from accident or disease .....
.....
.....
.....
10. *How will disability affect employe in his work? .....
.....
11. *What sort of work will he be unable to perform? .....
*(Two questions above need to be answered only in case of injury to head or torso)
.....
12. What elements constitute disability (such as limitation of motion, deformity, weakness, pain, lack of endurance, etc.) .....
.....
.....
13. Does employe complain of pain? ..... Severe? ..... Is complaint justified? .....
14. If limitation of motion, describe nature and percentage of limitation of each member or constituent part. (Estimates will be made on voluntary, not passive motion.) Refer to back of this report for finger disabilities. .....
.....
.....
.....
.....
15. Previous to this injury, did employe have any permanent disability? ..... If so, describe .....
.....
.....
16. If amputation, give point of amputation .....
   1. Where amputation is between joints give exact measurement of remaining portion of bone as well as normal measurement obtained from comparative X-ray .....
   .....
   .....
   2. Has stump good, hardy pad or a tender pad? .....
   3. Is there any restriction of motion in remaining joints? If so, what loss? .....
   .....
17. What, if any, further treatment should be given? .....
.....
18. Remarks .....
.....
.....

Dated at ..... this ..... day of ..... 19....

(Signature of Physician) .....

(Required in doctor's own handwriting)

Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Form A-16-b

PHYSICIAN'S REPORT ON ACCIDENT OR INDUSTRIAL DISEASE

(Section 102.17 (1) (as)

1. Name of Employe _____
2. Name of Employer _____
3. Date of accident or first illness _____
4. State in patient's own words how the accident or illness occurred _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5. In your opinion did patient sustain (a) accidental injury_____ (b) occupational disease? _____
6. Give an accurate and complete description of the nature and extent of disability (including subjective complaints, objective findings and diagnosis) _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. Did you treat patient?_____ If so, between what dates? _____
8. Date of last examination_____ Date disability from work commenced_____
9. Date injured was able to return to full time work at former occupation _____

   If not yet able, when will he be able? _____

   In the meantime will disability be total or partial? _____

   If partial, what percent? _____
10. If accidental, in your opinion did the accident cause the disability sustained? _____
11. If occupational disease, did the work exposure cause the disability sustained? _____
12. If disability was not directly caused by accident or illness, did it result indirectly or by aggravation or acceleration of a preexisting condition? _____

_____

_____

13. Has accident or industrial disease resulted in any permanent disability? _____
14. If so, what percentage of disability to the member or organ involved; or to the entire body if injury is to torsa or head?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

15. What elements constitute disability (such as limitation of motion, deformity, weakness, pain, lack of endurance, etc.)?

_____

_____

_____

(over)

16. If amputation, state exact point bone was amputated _____

_____

_____

Has stump good, hardy pad or a tender pad? _____

17. If limitation of motion, describe nature and percentage of limitation of each part of each member affected. (Estimates will be made on voluntary, not passive motion)

_____

_____

_____

18. Previous to this injury, did employe have any permanent disability? _____

If so, describe _____

_____

_____

19. What improvement, if any, is anticipated? _____

_____

_____

_____

20. What, if any, further treatment should be given? _____

_____

_____

_____

21. I am a physician duly licensed in, and practicing in, Wisconsin, and graduated in the year _____

from _____ Medical College.

_____
(Written Signature of Physician)

Date _____

Address _____

_____

State of Wisconsin
County of _____ } ss.

_____ M. D.

being duly sworn, deposes and says: That he is the physician who subscribed to the above (or attached) report; that he has read the same and knows the contents thereof; that the same is true to the knowledge of deponent, except as to the matters therein stated to be alleged on information and belief, and as to those matters he believes it to be true.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

_____ day of _____ 196____

_____
(Signature of Notary)

Section 102.17 (1) (as) provides that the contents of medical and surgical reports presented by claimants for compensation shall constitute prima facie evidence as to the matter contained therein. Reports must be filed with the commission fifteen days prior to the date of hearing to be acceptable as evidence. If not so filed, it will be necessary to produce the doctor to give oral testimony at the time of hearing.

A-7-B

STATE OF WISCONSIN

Industrial Commission of Wisconsin

APPLICATION FOR REVIEW OF COMPROMISE

Workmen's Compensation Act

---------- Employe

vs.

---------- Employer

---------- Insurance Carrier

The applicant respectfully shows:

1. Address of Employe ----------

2. Address of Employer ----------

3. Accident occurred at ----------on the -------- day of ----------
(City or Town)

19----, and was caused as follows: ----------

---

4. That on the -------- day of ---------- applicant entered into a compromise agreement for settlement of his claim; that he now contends that the settlement made was unjust to him for the following reasons:

---

5. Hearing should be scheduled at: ----------

Wherefore the applicant prays for review of the compromise agreement made and that the respondent be required to answer the charges herein, and that an order or award be made by the Industrial Commission granting such relief as the applicant may be entitled to in the premises.

Dated at ---------- this -------- day of ---------- 19----.

Signed ----------
(Applicant must sign here)

Note: The original application and two copies must be mailed to the Industrial Commission, Madison, Wisconsin.

If it is alleged that greater disability has resulted than was anticipated at the time of settlement, application should be accompanied by physician's report, stating the extent of disability claimed.

PHYSICIAN'S REPORT ON EYE INJURIES

I. General

Employe _____ Employer _____

Date of injury _____ Date treatment ended _____

Date injured was able to return to work _____

Which eye was injured?_____ Is other eye affected by the injury? _____

If so, how? _____

Nature of injury and diagnosis _____

Is physical condition of eyes now stationary? _____

Have all adequate and reasonable operations and treatment been attempted? _____

If the injury caused cataract has the lens been removed? _____

Have permanent { glasses / artificial eye } been supplied, if needed? _____

II. Central Visual Acuity

The Snellen test letters or characters shall be used for testing distance acuity, and the A. M. A. Reading Card for testing near acuity.

Central Visual Acuity Readings

	1 Without Correction (May be omitted if Column 2 is applicable)		2 With Correction only for natural presbyopia and other conditions clearly not the result of the injury (See Section VI) (1)		3 With useful Correction for all conditions, inclusive of injury(2)	
	Distance	Near	Distance	Near	Distance	Near
Right Eye: Reading						
Correction used (formula)	xxxx	xxxx				
Left Eye: Reading						
Correction used (formula)	xxxx	xxxx				

For what condition is this correction applied?_____

(1) Did the employe use glasses for this condition prior to the injury? _____

Is the remaining impairment due to the injury?_____If not, explain under "Remarks".

(2) If the correction produces very little improvement, is it nevertheless necessary, to prevent eye strain or for other reasons, that correction be worn?_____Explain under "Remarks".

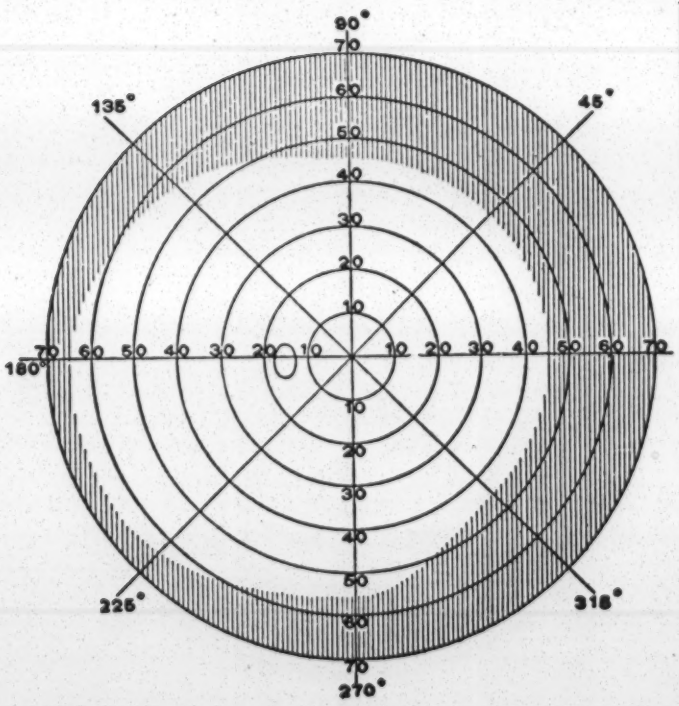
III. Field Vision

Note: The visual field shall be determined on a standard perimeter using a white test object which subtends one degree. This test object shall measure 0.223 inches (5.8 mm.) and the standard perimeter shall have a radius of 12.9 inches (330 mm.)

Is there any loss of the field of vision?_____Is it the result of the injury?_____ If so, indicate on the charts and table below. (Taken without correction if possible. Where the impairment of field is irregular and not fairly disclosed by the eight radii, sketch impaired area. Sketch areas of any scotomata.)

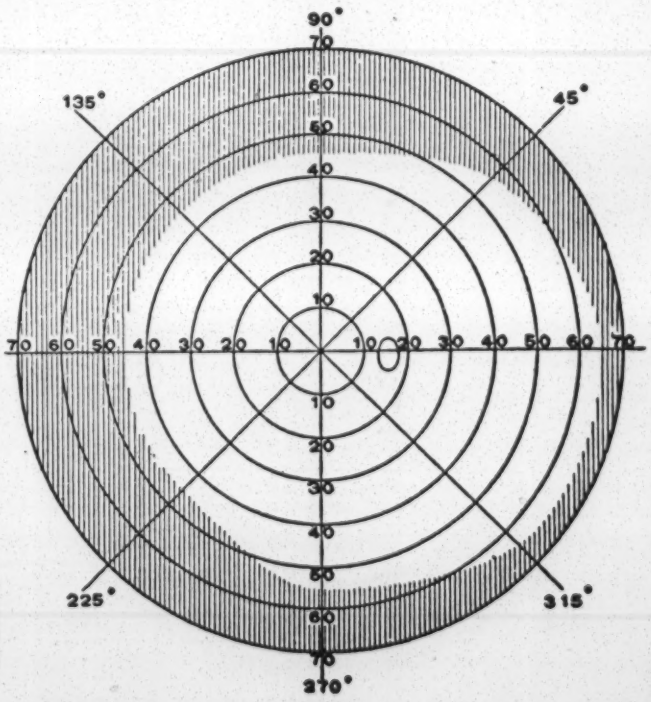
Industrial Visual Field Chart

Left



Left Eye	Meridian	Right Eye
	0	
	45	
	90	
	135	
	180	
	225	
	270	
	315	

Right



IV. Binocular Vision

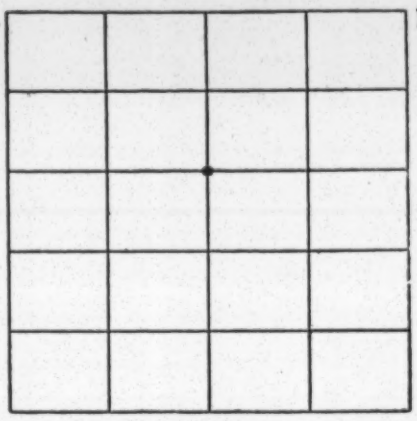
Is there absence of useful binocular vision? ---------- L R

Explain cause ----------

Is there any diplopia present? ----------

If so, this shall be plotted in the accompanying chart, by placing an X in each rectangle (4 by 5 degrees in size) in which diplopia is found. The test is to be made with any industrially useful correction applied.

Industrial Motor Field Chart



Was such correction used? ----------

If so, in what areas did it remedy the diplopia? ----------

V. Other Functions

Certain types of ocular disabilities are not covered in the foregoing sections, such as disturbances of accommodation not included under Section IV, of color vision, of adaptation to light and dark, metamorphosia, entropion, ectropion, lagophthalmos, epiphora, and muscle disturbances not included under diplopia. Is any such other disability present? ----------
If so, explain under "Remarks", stating whether it results from the injury, what it is, which eye, or whether both eyes are affected, and your percentage estimate of the impairment of the eye or eyes for industrial use resulting therefrom.

VI. Pre-existing Eye Disabilities

Is there a record or adequate and positive indication of pre-existing subnormal vision? --------
Please explain fully under "Remarks".

VII. Lapse of Time Before Final Examination

At least three months shall have elapsed after the last trace of visible inflammation has disappeared, except in cases of disturbance of extrinsic ocular muscles, optic nerve atrophy, injury of the retina, sympathetic ophthalmia, and traumatic cataract (in which cases at least twelve months and preferably not more than sixteen months), before final examination shall be made, on which this report is based. Is there danger of further impairment occurring as a result of the injury?---------- If so, explain under "Remarks".

VIII. Remarks:

Date of Examination ---------- Date of Report ----------

Doctor's Signature ---------- M. D.
(Required in doctor's own handwriting)

Address ----------

Note: The Industrial Commission has issued rules for determining loss of visual efficiency under the Wisconsin Workmen's Compensation Act. These rules should be followed in the execution of this report. Copy of rules in pamphlet form will be supplied upon request.

WC-28

STATE OF WISCONSIN

Industrial Commission of Wisconsin

PETITION FOR REVIEW OF FINDINGS AND ORDER OF COMMISSIONER OR EXAMINER

Workmen's Compensation Act

- - - - - - -

In the matter of

_____, Applicant

vs.

_____, Respondent

_____, Insurance Carrier

TO THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WISCONSIN:

The undersigned hereby petitions for a review of the findings of the examiner issued on the _____ day of _____.

The specific finding(s) appealed from, and which petitioner claims are unwarranted by the evidence are as follows for reasons herewith stated:

_____
(Petitioner)

Address _____

Dated _____ 19___ _____

NOTE CAREFULLY: Petition must be filed with the Industrial Commission at Madison, Wisconsin, within twenty days from the date that a copy of the findings or order of the commissioner or examiner was mailed to the last known address of the parties in interest. If not filed within twenty days, such findings or order shall be considered the findings or order of the Industrial Commission as a body.

5-8-61-3M

Industrial Commission—W-C-19

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN

STATE OFFICE BUILDING, MADISON, 2

COMMISSIONERS

MATHIAS F. SCHIMENZ, CHAIRMAN
R. G. KNUTSON
JOHN L. ROUSE

RALPH E. GINTZ, DIRECTOR
WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Gentlemen:

We are enclosing herein copy of an application for adjustment of claim which has been filed in this office. Under the rules of practice of the commission you will be given ten days within which to admit service and make your answer to the application. One copy should be mailed to us; one copy to the applicant or his attorney if he has one; and one should be retained for your record. Unless you deny liability you should proceed to pay compensation immediately, in accordance with the provisions of the law, and not require the applicant, as well as yourself, to incur the expense, incidental to a hearing before the commission. In the meantime all compensation which is concededly due and which has accrued should be paid and the commission notified. Payments clearly due should not be withheld because application has been filed.

Yours very truly,

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

ADMISSION OF SERVICE and ANSWER TO APPLICATION

File No. E

..... Applicant

vs.

..... Respondent

The respondent above named, for answer to the application herein, respectfully states:

1. It is { admitted / denied } that applicant sustained an injury on or about the date set forth in the application.
2. It is { admitted / denied } that the relationship of employer and employe existed at the time of the alleged injury.
3. It is { admitted / denied } that the parties were subject to the workmen's compensation act at the time of the alleged injury.
4. It is { admitted / denied } that at the time of the alleged injury the employe was performing service growing out of and incidental to his employment.
5. It is { admitted / denied } that the accident or disease causing injury arose out of the alleged employment.
6. It is { admitted / denied } that notice of injury was given employer as specified in application.
7. It is { admitted / denied } that applicant was temporarily disabled for the period stated in application. If denied state temporary disability admitted _____
8. It is { admitted / denied } that applicant is permanently disabled to the extent for the period stated in application. If denied state permanent disability admitted _____
9. It is { admitted / denied } that the rate of wages as set forth in application is correct. If denied state weekly wage admitted _____
10. It is { admitted / denied } that the alleged employer was insured under the workmen's compensation act at the time of alleged injury.
11. State exactly what matters are in dispute between you and the applicant, and your reason for denying liability as claimed. (If any statements are found to be incorrect an amended answer may be filed.)

_____

_____

_____

12. Amount of compensation paid to date: _____

Dated: _____ Signed: _____

Respondent.

(Use other side if necessary)

DEC 22 1952

MCOPNS

On the Importance of Saying, "No".

An appreciation of the core of Henry David Thoreau's Political ideas.

December 21, 1951
Robert Pickus
4520 S. Woodlawn Ave
Chicago 15, Illinois

[redacted]

Read this as the archetype of a series of reports on interviews between correspondents and German "War Criminals". In this case the criminal was an official in one of the Buchenwalds of Nazi Germany.

"Q. Did you kill people in the camp?

"A. Yes.

"Q. Did you poison them with gas?

"A. Yes.

"Q. Did you bury them alive?

"A. It sometimes happened.

"Q. Did you personally help to kill people?

"A. Absolutely not. I was only paymaster of the camp.

"Q. What did you think of what was going on?

"A. It was bad at first, but we got used to it.

"Q. Do you know the Russians will hang you?

"A. (bursting into tears) Why should they?

What have I done?"

* * * * * *

It needs more knowledge and skill than I command to fit Henry David Thoreau into the ten or fifteen pages of a course paper. Early in my reading, tangled in the contradictions of Thoreau the poet-naturalist, Thoreau the hermit, Thoreau the scholar, Thoreau the primitivist, Thoreau the writer, Thoreau the mystic, Thoreau the economist, Thoreau the man who did what

he wanted,[1] I decided to limit severely the atte pt in this paper. I had intended a fairly complete treatment of Thoreau. I have settled for a discussion of what drew me to him in the first place: the core of his political ideas.

Which is, in one sense, a mistake: "All or Nothing" is a demand appropriate to Henry Thoreau's stance in the world. Most of his students recognized that this is the way Thoreau should be taken, and much of the writing on Thoreau is simply an attempt to pin him down, to say what he is. Look through any of the Thoreau bibliographies and one title form recurs. [Cf. Henry David Thoreau: "Sauvage" (Bazalgette) and Henry David Thoreau: Oriental (Fletcher)]. Again and again, the name, the colon and then the apposition, the same form, however wildly varied the final term.

Still, in giving up the atte pt to "get" the other mind whole and concentrating on what, though partial, is the heart of the matter, I am one with Thoreau. In his translations, he was concerned primarily, not with the attempt to pin down the original, but to discover that in the original which set his own mind working. In discussing the Rig Veda, he doubted "...whether a real idea or sentiment has been...transmitted to us from so primitive a period." The doubt was, for Thoreau, unimportant, for "I do not care where I get my ideas or what suggests them."[2] — Which is not the approach of the careful scholar, not even the scholar who comes to his work with an end beyond understanding what the other mind meant. For Thoreau that further end, "truth", was always a personal exploration.

1/ See, for instance, Raymond Adams, Ethel Seybold, F.O. Matthiessen, Mark Van Doren, Henry Canby, V. Parrington, Brooks Atchison, Bartholow Crawford and their reports on, among others, Emerson, Channing, Lowell, Holmes, and Stevenson's reactions to H.D. Thoreau.

2/ Journal of Jan. 24, 1856, Walden Editio of "Writings", XIV, 135. Boston, 1905.

in which other minds may furnish the occasion for progress but never are such in themselves. Thus Thoreau, a less than excellent classic scholar, but a compelling, creative mind. ~~Surely a worthy model.~~

The beginning though, in this course paper, must be an attempt to state clearly what seems to me to be the core of Thoreau's political ideas. I want, further, to examine the roots of these ideas in Thoreau's life and writings, and finally, to give my reasons for believing these ideas to be of particular value in meeting the political problems of our time, and a permanently important contribution to American political theory.

The Heart of the Matter

Some mark Thoreau's ideas as "non-political". Most of the current definitions of the subject matter of "politics" draw lines which do in fact exclude Thoreau. He would be the last to object! Witness the blast at the end of Life Without Principle, beginning with "What is called politics is comparatively so superficial and inhuman that practically I have never fairly recognized that it concerns me at all", and ending with the "dyspeptic analogy". (Did he mean a fart or a belch? In any case, either "expression" covers Henry Thoreau's definition of what most men call politics!) But he should object; his objections to the division of labor apply with equal vigor to the narrow and stultifying effects of the intellectual division which would separate the description of how men act politically from the centuries old discussion of how men should act and organize communally. Thoreau is not a power theoretician. ~~xxxx

But he does make judgments on the key problems men interested in political thought have always discussed.

---He has his ~~xxx~~ own "contract theory", as in his "signing off" the church rolls:

> "'Know all men by these presents, that I, Henry Thoreau, do not wish to be regarded as a member of any incorporated society which I have not joined.'... The State having thus learned that I did not wish to be regarded as a member of that Church has never made a like demand on me since... If I had known how to name them, I should then have signed off in detail from all the societies which I never signed on to; but I did not know where to find a complete list." (C.D., p. 649)

> "The authority of government...is still an impure one: to be strictly just it must have the sanction and consent of the governed. It can have no pure right over my person but what I concede to it." (C.D., p.659)

---A definition of the best state:

> "There will never be a really free and enlightened state until the state comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly.... A state which can afford to be just to all men and to treat the individual with respect as a neighbor; which even would not think it inconsistent with its own repose if a few were to live aloof from it, not meddling with it, nor embraced by it, who fulfilled all the duties of neighbors and fellow-men. A state which bore this kind of fruit, and suffered it to drop off as fast as it ripened, would prepare the way for a still more perfect and glorious State, which also I have imagined but not yet anywhere seen." (C.D., p. 659)

---Judgments on the relation of conventional and ~~moral~~ Natural law:

> "The law will never make men free; it is men who have got to make the law free. They are the lovers of law and order ~~to~~ who observe the law when the government breaks it... Whoever can discern truth has received his commission from a higher source than the chiefest justice in the world who can discern only law." (Slavery, p. 669)

> "What is wanted is men not of policy but of probity--who recognize a higher law than the Constitution, or the decision of the majority." (Slavery, p. 674)

> (In praise of John Brown) "He did not recognize unjust human laws, but resisted them as he was bid." (Plea, p. 695)
>
> "In cases of highest importance it is of no consequence whether a man breaks a human law or not." (Plea, p. 706)

---A clear position on the question of progress toward the good society (as in his review of J. A. Etzler's book on a mechanical Utopia). For Thoreau, perfection of society will come as increase is given to the importance of love in men's lives, which, says Thoreau, "the wisest men in all ages have labored to publish... yet how little is it adually applied to social ends!" And "In this matter of reforming the world we have little faith in coporations... Nothing can be effected but by one man... We must first succeed alone that we may enjoy our success together."

Brush this off as "preachment", define political thought so that ~~the~~ these ideas lie beyond its purlieu and you exclude more than Henry Thoreau. The history of political theory includes more than the attempt to describe man's political life, or to understand the regularities in the shifts of power. It is also the story of man's constant attempt to define the good life in social terms and to indicate the way in which that good life can be achieved. In this wider older definition of the attempt at "political" thought, Thoreau holds an honorable and important position..

It is not however the accents of the moral philosopher in Thoreau that rouses the ire of many people active in thinking about or dealing with political problems. They know what he says is relevant to their field. They know <u>well</u>, how often in their own experience and in the world's history men proceeding on the strength of ideas like those quoted above, have been at the center of crucial power shifts in the state. No, the heart of their objection to Thoreau is not "irrelevance", or "moralist", but the opposite of the last term. They think him <u>immoral</u>.

"Henry Thoreau", they would say, " is politically irresponsible."

I believe Thoreau's conception of political responsibility to be the single most valuable contribution he has to make to political thought; certainly his major statements on political matters center on this problem. Ask Henry Thoreau how a man should act in relation to other men in society so as to be morally and rationally accountable in highest degree and he has a very clear answer.

First, he would say: Recognize that you are responsible for what you do and never attempt to burke that responsibility under cover of "respect for the law".

> "Must the citizen ever for a moment or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man such a conscience then? I think that we should be men first and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate respect for the law, so much as respect for the right." (C.D...637)

> "It is not a mans duty, as a matter of course, to devote himself to the eradication of any, even the most enormous wrong;.... but it is his duty, at least to wash his hands of it, and, if he gives it no thought longer, not to give it practically his support. (C.D.....642)

Then, concentrate on being, not on "Doing good", or being merely a good ~~citizen~~ citizen. See for example, the ending to his essay on philanthropy in Walden which, after this summary,
(P.71) "Do not stay to be an overseer of the poor, but endeavour to become one of the worthies of the world." explains thru the words of Sadi, a Sufi poet, what a "worthy" of the world is. In the same section of Walden, he points the tragedy and waste that would attend, for example, the attempt of the Sun to "do good", instead of merely "increasing his genial heat and benificence, till he is of such brightness that no mortal can look him in the face" and going in his own orbit, letting the "world go about him, getting good". Or still more clearly, though Thoreau calls it obscure, in his conclusion to Walden, which encourages men to "direct your eye right inward" , to "maintain (yourself) in whatever attitude(you)find (yourself) through obedience to the laws of (your) being." To, in sum, strive for perfection as does Thoreau's artist of Kouroo; for, says Thoreau, "I do not value chiefly a mans uprightness and benevolence, which are, as it were, his stem and leaves. I want the flower

and fruit of a man...fragrance....wafted over from him to me. His goodness must not be a partial and transitory act, but a constant superfluity, which costs him nothing." (Walden P.69)

It is in the existence and multiplication of men like these that we shall find the good society says Thoreau.

> " The fate of the country does not depend on how you vote at the polls.. ...on what kind of paper you drop into the ballot box once a year, but on what kind of man you drop from your chamber into the street every morning." (Slavery..674)

> " We are accustomed to say that the mass of men are unprepared. but improvement is slow because the few are not materially wiser or better than the many. It is not so important that many should be as good as you, as that there be some absolute goodness somewhere..." (C.D. .640)

It comes to a simple summation: "Society is full of folly and will deceive us in the matter of humanity. It is an unreliable horse and blind in the bargain. Woe to the driver if he falls asleep." (Albert Schweitzer)

Thoreau refuses to idealize society, to leave ethics to the social mechanism. F.O. Matthiessen, despite what appears at times ask a complex Marxist bias, defends "individualist" Thoreau, and refutes the charge that Thoreau completely rejects all institutions. (Witness Thoreau himself: Civilization he says, involves institutions " in which the life of the individual is to a great extent absorbed in order to preserve and perfect the life of the race.". Matthiessen, points out that Thoreau was insisting, not on the rejection of that absorbtion, but on the imperative to examine the terms on which the absorbtion is made. It is not enough to say Thoreau was an individualist. " Unlike those who call themselves no government men, I ask for not at once, no governemnt, but at once a better governement." (C.D. 636) The very core of his political ideas lie in an adjudgement of the importance of the individual, socially. He said, in sum, that the final reservoir of human values, was, has, and always will be, the conscience of individual men.

His Roots

> " To tell the truth, I saw an advertisement for able bodied seamen when I was a boy sautering in my native port, and as soon as I came of age, I embarked" (Life ...715)

> "You will, pardon some obscurities, for there are more secrets in my trade, than in most mens', and yet not voluntarily kept, but inseparable from its very nature." ....."I long ago lost a hound, a bay horse, and a turtledove

and am still on their trail."

(Walden... 15)

Ethel Seybold's book, "Thoreau: The Quest and the Classics", seems to me the clearest, and F.O. Matthiessens the most complex though adequate statement of the simple fact that so many students of Thoreau seem to have avoided or half understood: He was a mystic. Seybold in a very detailed study of Thoreau's use of the classics, shows how his classical studies were only a tool in his larger investigation: the search for spiritual reality, which was the center of his life. FO. Matthiessen interested in the secret of life, the quality of illumination that are the roots of Thoreaus' literary reputation, points to his mastery of the union of the concrete and the absract as the distinctive quality of his style. Always, says Matthiessen, there is a mystical element in Thoreau's writing, yet even when "swept beyond the moments of physical sensation, he did not forget his debt to them." This "check reign of the senses", says Matthiessen, constitutes his chief asset as an artist. When Matthiessen writes under the heading, "What Music Shall We Have?", of Thoreau's reaction to sound, of "the analogy of the pulses" (Thoreau's and natures') as central to Thoreau's experience of the world and his attempt in writing, the quality of Thoreau's search becomes crystal clear.

But you don't need the extraordinary perceptiveness and fertility of a mind like F.O. Matthiessen's or the clear careful statement of Ethel Seybold to make evident the nature Of Thoreau's quest and its importance in all his judgements. He tells you. Again and again, with a persistence and clarity rarely achieved by travelers on this road, lamenting philosophically the necessary obscurity, he does, nevertheless, try and tell you what he is about. He seldom describes any striking experience without making the tie to the mystics quest: as in his disgust with California and Australian gold-diggers, "Is not our native soil auriferous? Does not a stream from the golden mountains flow thru our native valley? and has not this for more than geologic ages been bringing down the shining particles and forming nuggets for us? (Life....720). Or again in his many nature analogies, using growth and design in the universe to interpret the personal exploration of a man seeking to realize his spiritual nature:

"The life in us is like the water in the river. It may rise this year higher than man has ever known it and flood the parched uplands; even this may be the eventful year which will drown out all our muskrats"
(Wladen....295)

It is there, right at the heart of Walden: his description of where he lived and what he lived for

"to be ~~abiwb~~ awake is to be alive. I have never yet met a man who was quite awake. How could I have looked him in the face." (Walden. .81)

"I perceive that we inhabitants of New England live this mean life that we do because our vision does not penetrate the surface of things. We think that is , which appeasto be...We are enabled to apprehend at all what is sublime and noble only by the perpetual instilling and drenching of the reality that surrounds us." (Walden.. 87)

It is at the center of the "Week"

"I see, smell, taste, hear, feel that everlasting Something to which we are allied...." (Week...364)

All of "Walking" is clearly an analogy of the quest; but enough, the important point in this paper is the relevance of this mystics view of the world and life to Thoreau's political judgements. It is, I believe, essential, providing the base and frame for all he says. It is his answer to those who point the evil in man, the terrible division of the will to live against itself so that inherent in society are the pressures and immoralities that make law, tradition and authority the only guard against a life " nasty, brutish and short". From this point of view Thoreau's view of man is incredibly shallow and romantic; it ignores the key eleement in the landscape Thoreau - a surveyor, who should know better - is trying to describe. It ignores what men are like; what, in fact, would be the effects of each man putting himself above the law.

Thoreau knew men. It is difficult to understand how anyone reading "Life Without Principle" or "Walden" could charge him with a sentimental or romantic view of "John or Jonathan". According to Channing, his favorite quotation was, "Unless above himself he can/ erect himself/ how poor a thing is man "

Thoreau knew men, but he knew something else too. He found it in the purity and sweetness of the water lily, "What confirmation of our hopes...if Nature can compound this fragrance still annually, I shall believe her integrity amd genius unimpaired, and that there is virtue even in man too, who is fitted to perceive

and I love it." He found it in the forest, " Every little pine needle expanded and swelled with sympathy and befriended me. I was so distinctly made aware of the presence of something kindred to me" . In another phrase, the echo of "What Music Shall we Have?" he asked "What do we want most to dwell near to?".

Thoreau knew the answer for himself, and almost all his writing -this journal keeper's - was an attempt to tell men his answer and the way in which he forged it.

Thoreau subscribed to the whole lexicon of the perennial mystic. He believed in a spiritual reality underlying the phenomenal world of matter and individualized consciousness. He believed that human beings were capable not merely of perceiving but of uniting with this reality and he believed, despite an occasional demur, bidding each man follow "his own" genius, that men should seek this reality, develop that of it which is in them, until they become, in truth, "realized" men, who having lived, could die and not " deliquesce like fungi"; who having realized them selves spiritually could live together in society as men have always dreamed, "But not yet anywhere seen."

That such men are rare, Thoreau knew all too well. He bid those "Who know of no purer source of truth, who have traced up its stream no higher, (to) stand, and wisely stand, by the Bible and the Constitution and drink at it there with reverence and humility; but they who behold where it comes trickling into this lake or that pool, gird up their loins once more and continue their pilgrimage toward its fountainhead."

It is to the man who has perceived a higher truth and is himself disciplined by it that Thoreau speaks. "High treason," he says in the "Plea", "when it is resistance to tyranny here below, has its origin in and is first committed by, the power that makes and forever recreates man." Thoreau knew the value, politically, of the kind of spiritual independece that enables a man to stand out against the powers of this world.

Because he believes in the light in all men, he believes what he says has some relevance for all men, "What right have you to enter into a compact with yourself that you will do thus and so against the light within you?". Thoreau did believe

in a moral universe, "any man knows when he is justified, and all the wits in the world cannot enlighten him on that point". Though he had a very clear perception of the imperfections of man and the necessary imperfections of the social mechanism, he would have no patience with the kind of modern theology that sets about justifying them. "Thus", he has already said, " men will lie on their backs, talking about the fall of man, and never make an effort to get up."

He is a man of principle, a civil disobeyer when necessary, because his roots were outside society. This mind and this self were formed in other waters than G.H. Mead's. True and important, or dangerous and the only successful kind of insanity, he stands on this world view.

A Whisper in the Ear of Daniel Boorstin

> "While this America heavily thickening to empire settles in the mould of her vulgarity; and protest, a bubble in the molten mass, pops and sighs and dies out and the mass hardens....."

All the main currents of political thought are now authoritarian. Across half the globe the most powerful human communities are moving toward a heirarchic, regimented society, in which the individual, dominated by vast mechanisms, that in theory speak his voice, becomes not simply a slave, but, shaped by modern methods of terror and propaganda, the author of his own enslavement.; which is not to derogate the important differences still remaining, but only to point the terrible unity of direction.

In such a climate it is difficult to accept the wisdom of the conservative political thinker. For his truths are twisted to fit the end of communal self adulation, his warnings become the justification for the increasingly rigid pattern of conformity essential to an authoritarian society. Yet, in such a climate, thinking which is primarily historical, in that it would use history to justify the institutional present and to decry the individual attempt to challenge that present by seeking roots outside history, finds a ready audience. A five page announcement spread and an extra run of 10,000 for John Dos Passos come lately discovery of the value of our institutions or more seriously, a likely publishers welcome for a

scholarly University of Chicago attempt to develop a conservative theory of American political practice and ideas. But no room for the political ideas of Henry Thoreau!

I believe we had better make room. There is something wrong with our Western (I include Russia) civilization, something terrible, radically wrong; far too radically wrong to admit of solution thru any theory of institutions or any political, in the sense of power, thinking. I believe Henry Thoreau restated the only set of ideas which offers us a chance of fronting and besting the kind of evil that dominates political life in all the "great" powers today. Thoreau offers only a beginning, but a beginning fundamental to the positive institutional planning to meet war and totalitarianism, that many recognize as necessary. Missing Thrpeau's message few will act on their recognition; most in their complicity with the main drift of our times will in effect deny their knowledge.

Thoreau says simply that it is not men's particular institutional arrangements, but the human spirit drawing on its best resources that keeps men human.

"Denumanization", a terrible word, does in fact describe the effect of many of our present institutional arrangements. Surrounded by ostensibly civilized cultures willing to rely on genocide as a weapon of war, do you hear the faint, faint protest? And how much of it comes thru the regular political channels? All we sense as individuals and much of what modern social science has to teach us, tends to verify Thoreau's distrust of the idea of protest and progress thru the usual political channels. It has become, I would think, sufficiently clear that any genuine attempt to modify the course of events must have as its base a personal committment - a reassertion of our own responsibility toward other men.. For our present situation, Alex Comfort puts it well.

"If you forget your humanity and exchange its daily expression as a human being....for abstract loyalties, it is a matter of accident whether you find yourself in the end as bomber or victim, prisoner or guard."

There is a possible error in Thoreau's conception of political responsibility. The kind of spiritual independence that nerves a man to say "no" to the power of the state does make it difficult for him to work "responsibly". Cyril Connolly, announcing, "the pleasure gardens of the West are closing", published the last issue of Horizon - the outstanding English cultural magazine of the 40's - a year or so ago. The whole

issue, marked by the most profound discouragement and depression in its recognition of the main drift of our times, did nevertheless carry a story, which points Thoreau's possible error. Titled, "The Boy Who Wrote "No"", the story, by James Lord, is a chilling reminder of the dead end, the sterility, the personal disaster that often attends the refusal to accept the institutional framework within which you must live and work.

There is an error in saying no. But what of the other error: the average citizen troubled, but accepting, who participates in acts that would have disgusted Ghengiz Khan, because he has "no choice", because he cannot conceive of his personal, political responsibility; what of, for example, the paymaster, at Buchenwald whose interview opened this paper?

Which error is the greater? Which error is after all the prevalent one today; the saint's error which Thoreau states, or the paymaster's? Are there so many who in their attempt to clear their conscience, cut the selves off? Are there even many, still sufficiently senstive, to attempt -having abandoned the attempt to clear their conscience - to bear their conscience with dignity?

Far from "individualist", or "socially irresponsible", Thoreau's case is in good part based on the reflection in the individual of something in the social nature of the species. To catch this reflection, to live responsibly in its light, is Thoreau's charge. Doing so, will, he believes, advance us toward the kind of society that has been our constant dream.

Failing to do so, in this 20th century, can the western world avert catastrophe?

If the answer is no, if we do fail and our failure brings the collapse of our civilization, Thoreau's charge remains the important one. To paraphrase Augustine, the great question both from the standpoint of history and from the the standpoint of eternity, will still be whether there are some who will be citizens of the city of God, whose foundation stone is love, rather than devotees of the City of this World which seems able to dominate and destroy all, but is itself "destroyed by its own lust for power".

-**********-

Bibliography

Wm. White	"A Henry David Thoreau Bibliography 1908-1937 "	Faxon Co. (1939)
Raymond W. Adams	"Thoreau and Immortality"	Philology xxvi, 1, 1929
Ethel Seybold	"Thoreau: The Quest and the Classics"	Yale Univ.Press (1951)
F.O. Matthiessen	"American Renaissance" (Sections relating to Thoreau)	Oxford Univ. Press (1941)
Mark Van Doren	"Henry David Thoreau, A Critical Study"	Houghton Mifflin (1916)
Henry Canby	"Thoreau"	
Bartholow Crawford	"H.D. Thoreau " (introduction)	American Writers Series American Book Co. (1934)
Vernon Parrington	"Main Currents in American Thought" (section on Thoreau)	Harcourt Brace and Co. (1927)

Henry David Thoreau
- Walden
- A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers
- Walking
- Civil Disobedience
- Slavery in Massachusetts
- A Plea for Captain JohnBrown
- Life Without Principle
- Journals (leafed thru them, read carefully a few sections)

Brooks Atkinson — Introduction to Modern Library edition of Thoreau's Writings

Note: All references are to the 1937 Modern Library Editions of Thoreau's Writings, unless otherwise noted.

W C & Lib Ed.

An old argument (on how to teach) but in context of workers ed.

Functional approach to ed. — and functionalism includes liberal ed. But there is only so much time, energy & motivation available as well as only so much time left in the world (this is lib. ed. focus) — but how do we get the job done —

Not so much a phil. debate as a how to do — certainly would not want all lib. ed. to start in an W. C.

...e students.

Workmen's Compensation and the Liberal Education of Workers(adults, union members)

If the question is asked, "Is it more important to teach about the common law than (if a choice must be made) about the practical procurrment of benefits?", the ansewr should obviously be no. The negative applies for two reasons: 1) the ethical requirement to stick to the agreed upon knitting and 2) that a discussion of the procurrment of rights is more immediate in interest, concrete in expression, and more lively for a consideration of the fundamantel forces at play and thereby a better tool for liberal education than a discussion of the common law backgrounds.

Now obviously it is being argued that there be an appropriate mix of emphases. But it (appropriate) means that priority is given to should be equally obvious that that the first emphasis must be placed on what we normally term the practical aspects of the subject.

Federalism and the foreign visitor: ILl - Wis, the differences, but almotrue for the class of US citizens.

I am not "above" asking the braod question in class or of thereizing. I will admit that some bread questions recieve no profitable answers.

In labor education circles you will semi still hear a humorous use of the reference mad to the statement "nothing is too good for the workers". Under such a banner all manner of deeds might conceivably be wrought. I would suggest that it is worth contemplating a correlary(which math term do I want) which would be "Philosphy is not good enough for the workers."

One Aim (Unstated): To spread some of the W. C. practical facts among Ed. Educators: e.g. could say Important for teachers understanding and his identification with class to know a great deal beyond legal provisions — that in some jurisdictions a plate the M.D's available at restricted that the failure to have witnesses when co. does its work's accident may be covered, that some Co's may have the therapy made on the health plan rather than W. C.

W.C. and lib ed.

Common law relation to statute law, role of the courts, social philos and the cts
(on this latter I can remeber greatly perplexed graduate students when confronted with the notion that the constitution feceived differing interpretatin

and was not a document lending itself to precise derivations and that some of these dif

had to do with differences in social phiolosphy beetween ages or between justices.

Industrial revolution and its impact on human life

Legislative process

Federal state relations (the nature of federalism)

Relation of private admins.(the plant, the union, the medical profession, the insurance

industry) and public administration. Also adminsi carry through of legis "intent"

That someone in the educational set up gives a damn about the severed digital joints of

workers — translated, gives a damn about workers

Value of "collective (cooperative) action" even ~~in~~ under established legislative ion
and set administra ive procedures — organizing for the protection of workers rights.
This is a s fundamental and necesaary in its own way in the defense of the the violation

of privacy which brings bodily harm as it may be in the civill libertarial sense of
of organizing to protect the rivacy of ~~citizens/on/~~ citizens on other counts.

No mention of Aristotle, Carlyle, Mill, the founding fathers, or even Huthhins. There coul

be. But there is a discussion of live democrtatic ideas, the rights of man under lwa in

the daily/~~place/of/work~~ work place.

In teaching WC one has an obligation to cover certain material — the focus is not on
lib ed; but what in this paper is maintained as lib ed fits the need of in WC to understand
a process in society, how it operates, changes, meets needs, and relates to life.

Concerned
Clergy of
Atlata

Presentation To: The Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation

From: The Concerned Clergymen of Atlanta

Purpose of Presentation: To Request Financial Support from "The Foundation" In Order to Continue and Expand Our Crusade Against Social Injustices.

COPY

Founding and Purpose of Our Organization:

Several months ago three concerned ministers took it upon themselves to marshal together the concerned clergymen of Atlanta in order to more effectly combat the forces of oppression, discrimination and injustice heaped upon the black, the poor and the underprivileged of the city of Atlanta. Our aim was to gather together action oriented ministers with out regard to type of church, color of ministers and the beliefs peculiar to them. It was and still is our conviction that the responsibility for leadership aimed at providing social justice rest principally upon the corporate voice of the ministry as much as upon government.officials.

We readily recognize that we have, generally speaking, in the past shirked this most important responsibility, but now feel compelled to move to the front, thus humbly accepting the role in which we have been cast by the Almighty. We are no longer content to be an echo of the concensus of our following. Similarly, we have begun to act rather than react. In short, we feel compelled to assume our prophetic role as did the Prophet Amos as he said: "Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, Saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit?...Hear this word, ye ine of Bashan, that are in the mountain of Samaria, which oppress the poor, which crush the needy, which say to this masters, Bring, and let us drink...Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate: it may be that the Lord God of hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph...But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." (Amos 3:4-6, 4:1, 5:15,24)

Our Membership:

Our numbers are increasing from week to week and at present show promise of becoming a force that will number in the hundreds. The ministers of our organization minister to the needs of better than 50,000 church members every week. Of the forty-four ministers who are active in our group more than one-third are Negro. The Churches represented include Roman Catholic, Southern Baptist, United Methodist, Church of Christ, Episcopal, American Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, Salvation Army, Lutheran and Christian. We feel that it is extremely important that our group always maintain and include a very broad cross section of the ministry. The reasoning behind this is to guard against accusations that we speak for and in behalf of any narrow racial or sectarian group. It is our hope that our makeup, actions, and pronouncements will be of such character that we will be thought to be the conscience of the community rather than the spokesmen of special interest groups.

Our Most Significant Work To Date:

Several weeks ago we under took to make an investigation of the pricing and practices of ghetto area supermarkets. It was thought that some of these stores were offering inferior merchandise and charging relatively exorbitant prices. Investigations indicated that one of the worst offenders was a ghetto chain that operated four stores in largely black communities. Further investigation revealed that meats and produce in their stores were frequently below health department minimum standards and that prices, even on brand name items, averaged being 20-30% higher priced than those offered to suburban dwellers. The cleanliness of the facilities and customer service was also inferior to that usual to suburban stores. In order to correct this injustice we decided to meet with the area manager of these stores. The first confrontation led to token improvements, but far from appropriate justice. The second confrontation, however, between the management of these stores and our group brought the following results:

1. Pledge to bring prices, quality and variety of goods into line with the major suburban chain stores.
2. Pledge to institute and maintain sanitary standards normal to the industry.
3. Pledge to hire or appoint one black store manager and four black assistant store managers.
4. Pledge to elevate the wages of store employees to that of the rest of the industry.
5. Pledge to return a portion of the profits derived from these four stores to a charity designed to benefit the ghetto community.

The conservative value of these concessions is estimated to be well over $200,000/annum.

Organizational Needs:

In order to preserve that which has been done thus far and to move on to other areas of injustice, we are in need of certain things which are:

1. Researchers and data gathers to enable us to draw valid conclusions before embarking upon remedialy oriented action.

2. An office apart from any of our member churches to maintain neutrality and facilitate communication between our membership.

3. Recruiters and organizers to expand the Atlanta organization and establish counterparts throughout the rest of the Nation in order to intensify and diversify the ministerial cry for social justice.

Potential For Our Organization:

The voice of the ministry crying for social justice adds a new dimension to the fight against poverty and discrimination. Laws, riots, noble public officials, sit-ins and federal programs all have contributed greatly to the alleviation of our social ills, but none of these offers

COPY

the potential possible from viable ministerial leadership. Fear of financial loss, personal harm and legal reprisal have their place in motivating men, but none of these appeals to man's higher instincts.

The most lasting and significant changes wrought throughout the history of man have been spiritually motivated. Such is the potential of a group of truly concerned clergymen. It is obvious that the voice of hundreds will be much more effective than forty-four and, likewise, obvious that voices from many cities will be much more effective than from one.

COPY

Concerned Clergymen Contact List

Rev. Tom Patterson-Chm. 1931 Honeysuckle Lane, Atlanta, 30311 - 758-2858
Rev. J.A. Wilborn-Chm. 2726 Collier Dr. NW, Atlanta, 30318 - 799-7638, 799-8154
Rev. J.D. Grier, Jr. 25 Whiteford Ave. NE, Atlanta, 30307 - 522-6545, 344-6484
Capt. Howard Lynch 1130 Blue Ridge Ave. NE, Atlanta, 30306 - 876-4616, 872-8490
Rev. W.L. Cottrell 890 Venetta Pl. NW, Atlanta, 30318 - 688-2298, 794-4996
Rev. Howard Creecy, Sr. 200 Ashby St. SW, Atlanta, 30314 - 753-6172, 758-7717
Rev. J.C. Ward 1471 Eason NW, Atlanta, 30314 - 758-1695, 753-8185
Rev. R.E. Faulkenberry 1895 Blvd. Dr. SE, Atlanta, 30317 - 377-6353, 377-6757
Rev. Don Paulk 850 Euclid Ave. NE, Atlanta, 30307 - 523-2073, 523-3714
Rev. Ken Jones 265 Washington SW, Atlanta, 30303 - 688-1567, 939-4124
Rev. Phil Barnhart 2500 Blvd. Dr. NE, Atlanta, 30317 - 377-1505, 373-3777
Rev. Earl Paulk, Jr. 850 Euclid Ave. NE, Atlanta, 30307 - 523-3714, 373-1941
Rev. Harmon Moore 4389 Abingdon Dr., Stone Mountain, 30083 - 443-7774, 524-1167
Rev. John Mulroy 335 Ivy St. NE, Atlanta, 30303 - 525-2001
Rev. Dave Patterson 335 Ivy St. NE, Atlanta, 30303 - 525-2001
Rev. Simon Slattery 335 Ivy St. NE, Atlanta, 30303 - 525-2001
Rev. Richard Leary 551 Harwell Rd. NW, Atlanta, 30318 - 794-8022, 794-8206
Rev. Joe Boone 4520 Clement Dr. SW, Atlanta, 30331 - 344-1831, 525-2761
Rev. Austin Ford 1017 Capital Ave. SE, Atlanta, 30315 - 525-5948
Rev. Charles Webster 2866 Port Royal Ln., Decatur, 30032 - 523-6629, 241-8044
Rev. Andy Hairston 245 Simon Terrace East NW, Atlanta, 30318 - 799-8476
Rev. E.H. Dorsey 66 W Lake Ave NW, Atlanta, 30314 - 876-1779, 794-6433
Rev. Tommie Clay 1461 North Ave NW, Atlanta, 30318 - 799-9024, 872-0215
Rev. W.J. Stafford 1590 Paxon Ave SE, Atlanta, 30317 - 525-6371, 378-2010
Rev. John Gregg 2601 Arrowwood Dr., Marietta, 30060 - 428-7404
Rev. Frank Ross 634 W Peachtree NW, Atlanta, 30308 - 874-9789, 355-6985
Rev. Don Doughtry 73 Ashby St. SW, Atlanta, 30314 - 688-6161, 755-5517
Rev. Herbert Leslie 6900 Roswell Rd. NW, Atlanta, 30328 - 255-7760, 255-6327
Rev. Larry Grimes 6900 Roswell Rd. NW, Atlanta, 30328 - 255-7760
Rev. Don Harrison 4575 Stella Dr. NW, Atlanta, 30327 - 255-9359, 255-3131
Rev. George Kinney 1475 Lucille Ave SW, Atlanta, 30310 - 758-9635, 755-5392
Rev. Edward Dillon 928 Gordon St. SW, Atlanta, 30310 - 758-8861, 755-8869
Rev. Bob Kinast 3340 Stone Rd. SW, Atlanta, 30331 - 766-5033, 349-0177
Capt. Robert Hussey 172 Carroll St. SE, Atlanta, 30312 - 523-3331
Rev. Dan Brand P.O. Box 29062, Atlanta, 30329 - 524-4462, 451-5732
Rev. Ike Powell 205 Peachtree Cir. NE, Atlanta, 30309 - 575-1569, 688-1567
Rev. Wes Lachman 205 Peachtree Cir. NE, Atlanta, 30309 - 575-1569, 688-1567
Rev. Charles Helms 1255 Briarcliff Rd. NE, Atlanta, 30306 - 876-5682, 688-7917
Rev. Montene 1790 LaVista Rd. NE, Atlanta, 30329, - 634-3336
Rev. Harky Klinefelter 1130 Piedmont-Apt. 6, Atlanta, 30309 - 522-1420, 874-7672
Rev. Christian Kuchenbrod 551 Harwell Rd. NW, Atlanta, 30318 - 794-8022
Rev. M.L. King, Sr. 407 Auburn Ave NE, Atlanta, 30312 - 688-7263, 799-3306
Rev. Fred Bennette, Jr. 334 Auburn Ave NE, Atlanta, 30303 - 522-1420
Rev. Malcomb Dean PO Box 10492, Atlanta, 30310 - 525-7245, 523-2956

RFK Memorial Created To Fight Poverty, Crime

By JEAN HELLER

WASHINGTON (AP) — Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., announced Tuesday the creation of a Robert F. Kennedy foundation to work in areas of poverty, crime and education as "a living memorial" to his assassinated brother.

The $10-million foundation, to be called the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, will be "an action-oriented program that we think will carry on his concerns, his actions, his efforts to work on so many of the problems in this country that have no solutions," Kennedy said.

He made the announcement at a news conference on the sprawling back lawn of Robert Kennedy's McLean, Va., estate, Hickory Hill.

He was flanked by his sisters, Patricia Kennedy Lawford and Jean Kennedy Smith, and surrounded by dozens of family friends and aides.

Robert Kennedy's widow, Ethel, did not appear, but said in a statement that she feels the memorial will "carry forward the ideals and carry on the work so important in the life of my husband."

"He wanted to encourage the young people and to help the disadvantaged and discriminated against both here and abroad, and he wanted to promote peace in the world," she said. "These will be the goals of the memorial."

No specific foundation projects were outlined but Kennedy said there will be an announcement "of some significance within the next few weeks."

Memorial funds, which will be raised through donations, will be used on projects in the areas of poverty, education, housing, crime and violence in this country and poverty and hunger abroad, Kennedy said.

Robert S. McNamara, former secretary of defense and now president of the World Bank, will act as chairman of the executive committee of the memorial. Thomas J. Watson, chairman of the board of IBM, is finance chairman and Frederick G. Dutton, former assistant secretary of state under President John F. Kennedy, is the memorial's director.

Honorary cochairmen are Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, Robert's parents.

Four Georgians were named to the committee. They were Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., John Lewis of the Southern Regional Council, State Rep. Julian Bond and the Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Lewis, who attended the announcement ceremony Tuesday, is also a member of the executive committee.

Gentlemen:

Shortly after the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a white concerned preacher called two white preacher friends together to analyze the position of the clergy in the American society. It was the concensus of these three preachers that 1) the clergy, generally speaking, has failed to assume its proper role in the fight for social justice and human rights, 2) the Country is heading in a frightful direction and disaster is almost certain if many trends are not reversed, and 3) the best hope for a socially redeemed America is its collective religious leadership.

With these assumptions as a base these three men set out to marshall together the religious leadership of Atlanta in order to begin the burdensome job that was so sadly lacking. Letters were sent and calls were made to contact and arouse the interest of their fellow ministers. The only rigid guideline used was that no religious group should be excluded. As a result of these activities the Concerned Clergy of Atlanta came into being. As of November 15, 1968 the group numbered among its participants better than 50 black and white pastors, priests, ministers, rabbis, etc. with an average of three to five new ones joining each week. It has become a rather loose knit, self supporting, socially active force which has been and must be reckoned with.

Several months ago the group began investigating the practices of a small food store chain that operated exclusively in the ghetto communities of Atlanta. It was learned that the stores in question charged higher prices and offered poorer merchandise than their suburban counterparts. Also it was learned that the store's facilities were definitely sub-standard in cleanliness and in many cases unsanitary. Even though the clientel in these stores was better than 90% Negro, there were no Negro managers. The inequities were capped by the knowledge that the profits from these stores went to help support a plush segregated rest home.

With these facts in mind the Concerned Clergymen began discussions with the manager of these stores. After six weeks of promises followed by broken promises, the Concerned Clergy voted to initiate a boycott of their four ghetto stores. In less than four days the management of these stores entered into an agreement with the Concerned Clergy as follows:

We, (Buehler's) hereby agree:

1. To bring prices, quality and variety of goods offered into line with the Atlanta rea Kroger, Big Apple, Colonial and A & P stores as well as with the Associated Grocer stores. This will include all items, commonly carried including name brand items. In this matter we agree to accept the impartial judgement of a professor of Economics at Georgia State. We agree to bring our prices back into line in all areas determined by this professor where the Buehler Stores may not be truly competitive.

2. We agree to equalize the prices and quality of all merchandise offered among the four Atlanta area Buehler Stores. We will have the same variety of goods in all Atlanta area stores with the exception of dry goods at our Broad Street Store which must be limited due to lack of space.

3. We agree to the best of our ability to maintain the cleanliness of all our stores. We will encourage our customers and the Concerned Clergy of Atlanta to inspect our stores and report any violations to the general manager, who will immediately correct the situation. Within 10 days all our stores will be brought up to the standards of cleanliness.

4. We agree that as of December 1, 1963 the Manager of the Broad St. store will be black--Mr. George Shinhotster. He will have complete supervision of this store subject only to the General District Manager of all our Atlanta area stores. His salary and bonuses will be equal to our other store managers. We agree to upgrade immediately three black assistant managers or Department Heads who will be equal to our other assistant managers and department heads as to salary and responsibility. They will be Mr. William Gardner, Mr. John Whittersen, Mr. Theo Jackson and at a future date we will employ three as yet unnamed management trainees.

5. We agree that our employee benefits will be:

On employment the Buehler stores will pay 75% of the premium on a $2000.00 Life Insurance policy.

If an employee agrees after 90 days of employment, the Buehler stores will pay 50% of the cost of a Hospitalization Plan. Our present plan is with the Occidental Life Insurance Co paying $20.00 a day for hospital room, surgical fees and after $100.00 deductible 80% of all major medical and weekly sick benefits, except for pregnancy. The present policy is inadequate for female heads of households. We will review our present policy and will include the dependents of working women without husbands.

Vacation will be one week for each of the first 2 years and two weeks per year thereafter.

A leave of absence will be granted up to 90 days after the birth of a child.

In case of a death in the immediate family of a part-time employee who has had one (1) year of continuous service, or any full-time employee (one year of continuous service not required) the employee will be paid for a reasonable period of absence, depending upon the circumstances but not to exceed (3) days, provided he attends the funeral. In no case will he receive more than his normal week's pay. "Immediate family" shall mean spouse, parent, mother-in-law, father-in-law, child brother, sister, grandparents or any relative residing with the employee.

We will request the Buehler Foundation to research the possibility

of instituting a retirement plan for the Atlanta area employees.

WAGE SCALE: FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES

We agree that the minimum wage at the time of employment of all our full-time employees will be a $1.75 an hour. The minimum wage after six months will be $1.81 an hour. After 18 months the basic minimum for full-time employees will be $1.88 an hour. After 3 years the minimum will be $1.95 an hour. After 4 years the minimum will be $2.00 an hour.

This wage scale will be applicable to the present seniority of all Buehler employees.

WAGE SCALE: PART-TIME EMPLOYEES

Part-time employees under 29 hours will receive a minimum of $1.30 an hour with the exception of part-time high school students under 18 years of age with a work permit from the school will receive a minimum of $1.39 an hour.

Over 40 hours each employee below managerial status will receive time and a half for overtime.

6. The capacity (191) of the Buehler Home of Peoria, Illinois will be maintained and the next five vacancies will be filled by black residents. If no black applicants are available those vacancies will be reserved until five black applicants be accepted to the home, and a report will be given to the Concerned Clergy every three months as to the progress. This progress must reach 10% black before black applicants are not given special preference.

The value of this agreement to the ghetto area shoppers, the store employees, the black community as a whole and the aged applying to the rest home is inestimable, but significant to say the least. At present the Concerned Clergy of Atlanta is broadening its activities to include all the ghetto area food stores and has also begun to investigate the practices of lending institutions serving ghetto area residents.

All of the foregoing is the background upon which this appeal for funds is being made. It is not our purpose to request funds to finance the work of the Concerned Clergy for they are pledged to their own support. The appeal for funds is for the purposes of expanding the membership of the Atlanta group, establishing like groups all across the country and providing communication and coordination among such groups. It only stands to reason that if one such group can accomplish so much in so short a time that many such groups in cooperation with one another might provide the impetus for the social redemption of America.

Our needs for funds therefore may be classified as follows:

1. Office space, equipment, help and services.
2. Printing, supplies and communication equipment.
3. Staff recruiters, coordinators and administrators.
4. Travel and transportation expense for staff workers.

The amount and extent of our budget will be limited and governed by the funds made available.

Tentative First-Year Budget

Office Space	$ 3,000
Office Equipment	3,000
Secretarial & Clerical Help (2)	10,000
Office Supplies	2,500
Telephones	5,000
Printing	4,000
Travel Expenses (for staff & volunteers)	28,000
Staff Recruiters & Administrators (4)	32,000
Office Expenses	2,500
Unforeseen Expenses	10,000
	$100,000

It is estimated that this staff could assist in the organization of from twnety-five to fifty chapters per year and maintain communication and coordination among the several chapters. We hope that these funds required may be acquired from several different sources in order to help us maintain a posture of impartiality and non-sectarianism.

Although this organization, to be known as Concerned Clergy of America, will work very closely with the Concerned Clergy of Atlanta and the Concerned Clergy of other cities, it is not proposed that there be any organic ties. The Concerned Clergy of each city would finance their own activities receiving assistance from Concerned Clergy of America only in the areas of literature, recruiting, communication and coordination.

The Concerned Clergy of America, it is proposed, would be governed by an ecumenical-type board with appropriate representation from white and black as well as protestant and catholic ministers. The operations would be under the direction of an executive director who would operate within the framework of a budget approved by the board and any other special allowances made by the board. Your kind consideration is appreciated.

Rev. Tom Patterson
Chairman and Founder
Concerned Clergy of Atlanta

APR 1964

25 cents

Edward Lamb on

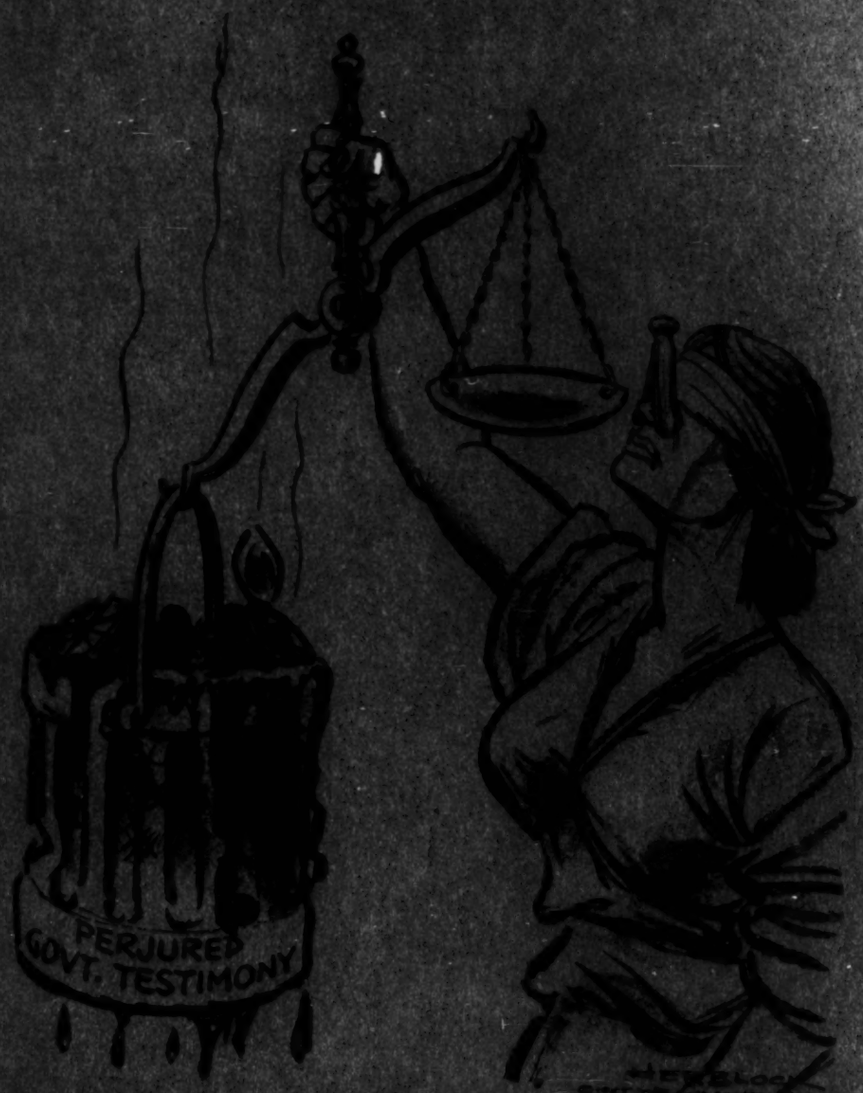
"Trial by Battle"

The Case History of a Washington Witch-Hunt

AN OCCASIONAL PAPER ON THE FREE SOCIETY PUBLISHED BY THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

This is one of a series of Occasional Papers about significant issues involved in the maintenance of a free society. These Occasional Papers and related materials are published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions of The Fund for the Republic, Inc., and are devoted to clarifying basic questions of freedom and justice, especially those raised by the emergence of twentieth century institutions. The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions is a non-profit educational enterprise established by the Fund to promote the principles of individual liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Contributors to publications issued under the auspices of the Center are responsible for their statements of fact and expressions of opinions. The Center is responsible only for determining that the material should be presented to the public as a contribution to the discussion of the Free Society.

Copyright © 1964 by The Fund for the Republic, Inc. *No Lamb for Slaughter* copyright © 1963 by Edward Lamb.
Sample copy free; 2-24 copies, 25¢ each; 25-99 copies, 20% discount; 100-199 copies, 25% discount; 200-399 copies, 30% discount; over 400 copies, 35% discount.



Introduction by Harry S. Ashmore

The character and personal style of Edward Lamb are reflected in the title he chose for his recent autobiography: *No Lamb for Slaughter*. The range of his interests is indicated by an early chapter in that work, "Practicing Law Can Be Dangerous," and another toward the end, "The Art of Making Money."

Lamb took a full measure of the hazards of his profession as a young labor lawyer skirmishing on the civil liberties front in the Depression years. His mastery of the financial arts is manifest in Lamb Enterprises, a multi-million-dollar personal holding company currently controlling such corporate giants as Seiberling Rubber Company.

The two careers of Edward Lamb are linked by an epic trial, which saw an agency of the federal government exhuming the first in an effort to halt the second. The form of his ordeal was a hearing before the Federal Communications Commission, but the substance was the evil compound of innuendo, guilt by association, and venal political practice that has come to be called McCarthyism.

As a contemporary hero of the market-place, Lamb is regularly called upon these days to enlighten the students of the most conservative schools of business administration. The young men who avidly take notes on his standard lecture, "How to Make a Buck," might find even greater utility in sober contemplation of the fact that such an entrepreneur could have been formally branded a Red enemy of capitalism, and thereby rendered unfit to hold broadcasting licenses in his native Ohio. The most critical investment Lamb ever made was the $900,000 his government forced him to spend simply to clear his name.

Although it was a *cause célèbre* less than ten years ago, the Lamb Case has largely passed from the national consciousness. In February, 1964, *Time* magazine published an article respectfully reviewing the manner in which Lamb achieved his estimated current worth of $50,000,000. No mention was made of the tortured months he spent in a Washington hearing room, cast in the nation's headlines as the wanton villain of "a spy melodrama, soap opera, and detective story all wrapped up in one package."

A more conventional financier might be content to let the record of that trial rest quietly in the archives. But Lamb believes the bizarre history points a moral and provides a warning. Certainly the basic issues he raised in the course of his spectacular defense have maintained an unhappy currency.

The Lamb Case dramatically exposed the systematic use of *professional witnesses* by government agencies dealing with alleged subversion, and as a direct result the practice virtually has been halted in the federal service. Yet many of these hired character assassins went off the federal payroll only to find similar employment with official agencies in the Southern states, where the Red smear technique is still industriously employed against those who support the Negro rights movement. In 1959 I encoun-

tered a road company operating under the aegis of Attorney General Bruce Bennett of Arkansas, and wrote this summary comment in an editorial in the *Arkansas Gazette*:

"Mr. Bennett's latest campaign document is an alleged report on the findings of his recent televised 'hearing' on subversion in Arkansas. The first eight pages of this tract consist of the political speech Mr. Bennett made in opening the investigation. The remainder is a heavily edited distillation of the testimony given by a collection of professional witnesses Mr. Bennett imported to read into the record the same discredited charges they had made before similar committees in Louisiana, Florida and elsewhere. The bellwether of this troupe was J. B. Matthews, a reformed radical who was fired from a Senate investigating committee upon the insistence of Senator John McClellan of Arkansas after he made a blanket attack upon the Protestant clergy of the nation.

"In every instance in which these hired witnesses (Mr. Matthews collected upwards of $900 from the state) made charges of subversion against persons still resident and identifiable in Arkansas, the charges were publicly denied. Yet no one of the accused, although readily available to Mr. Bennett and in most cases obviously anxious to testify under oath, was called to the stand."

In Alabama the embattled segregationist governor, George C. Wallace, is currently backing up his strong-arm state troopers with a set of McCarthy-style dossiers. On February 9, 1964, the *Birmingham News* reported under a Montgomery date line:

"Alabama's Department of Public Safety is amassing a formidable collection of 'criminal files' for use —if 'needed'—in keeping tabs of supposed suspicious persons and groups. Gov. George C. Wallace has endorsed the move. . . .

"The Department's files have been expanded to include records of supposedly questionable or controversial newspapers, magazines, radio and TV corporations.

"The [Department's annual] report did not detail the exact type of information included in the dossiers but indicated a typical file would include a picture, arrest record (if any), and *other information, provable or not, from most any source.*" (Emphasis added.)

Although the cure obviously is not yet complete, it may be that the infection has been localized. And Lamb deserves credit, too, for much of the salutary change in the procedures of the Federal Communications Commission, and in the attitudes of the commissioners and staff. The Lamb Case is the lineal antecedent of the recent favorable ruling by the FCC on the Pacifica Foundation's broadcasting licenses. Pacifica's educational radio stations in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York were subjected to a sustained attack by right-wing critics who charged that they had been infiltrated by Communists, and were guilty of broadcasting subversive, obscene, and otherwise controversial matter. Early in 1964, in sustaining Pacifica, the FCC used the occasion for a full-dress policy statement:

"We recognize that as shown by the complaints here such provocative programming as here involved may offend some listeners. But this does not mean that those offended have the right, through the Commission's licensing power, to rule such programming off the airwaves. Were this the case, only the wholly inoffensive, the bland, could gain access to the radio microphone or TV camera. No such drastic curtailment can be countenanced under the Constitution, the Communications Act, or the Commission's policy, which has consistently sought to insure the maintenance of radio and television as a medium of freedom of speech and freedom of expression for the people of the Nation as a whole."*

In this occasional paper, an extensively revised version of a section of his autobiography, *No Lamb for Slaughter,* Lamb, a director of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, sets forth the story of his melodramatic trial from beginning to end. The title is taken from Edward Livingston's warning to the young American republic that the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 could "establish a code compared to which the ordeal is wise and the trial by battle is merciful and just."

*The text of the Memorandum Opinion and Order in the Pacifica case is published as an appendix to this occasional paper.

"Trial by Battle" by Edward Lamb

On a quiet Saturday afternoon in 1953 an acquaintance walked over from the teletype bank in Washington's National Press Club and handed me a wire service bulletin reporting that the name Edward Lamb had been dropped by a witness testifying before Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The fateful word came from New York, where McCarthy had taken his one-man road show, ostensibly to conduct an inquiry into the affairs of the United Nations.

Without preamble, and wholly out of the context of previous testimony, McCarthy had addressed this question to a witness named John Lautner:

"Do you know Edward Lamb, the broadcaster?"

"I do not know Lamb," Lautner replied, "but I can say he was highly respected by the top Communists. I wouldn't be able to say whether Lamb himself was a card-carrying Communist."

In my turn, I had never even heard of Lautner. Nor would this total stranger, except for this brief passage, have any further connection with my affairs. Yet I soon discovered that John Lautner had great symbolic importance. His presence at Joe McCarthy's "hearing" provided a clear forewarning of the bizarre events that would occupy most of my time for the next four years.

Lautner, I found, was not an eccentric who had found his way to Joe McCarthy. On the contrary, he was a professional witness, one of a sizable pool maintained on the payroll of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice. These were admitted ex-Communists retained as "consultants" with the primary duty of testifying at deportation proceedings. They also were made available to other federal agencies and Lautner, the Justice Department's hired talebearer, was on loan to Joe McCarthy for his New York opening.

The tale he bore was pretty thin stuff on its face. He had not in fact accused me of anything, and had admitted that he had no personal knowledge of me or my past. It may be that he didn't even lie under oath; for all I know, at some time in my career as a civil liberties and labor lawyer I may have been "highly respected" by some "top Communists."

But Lautner had done what Joe McCarthy knew very well he would do. The season of national hysteria marked by McCarthy's "hearings" was now well advanced, and Lautner's innocuous statement was enough to link my name to the Communist conspiracy in headlines across the land. A stock of new ammunition had been handed to powerful men in politics and business who were already gunning for Edward Lamb and his enterprises.

If the source of the accusation came to me as a surprise, the direction of the attack did not. By 1953, I had moved on from my Toledo law practice to the operation of a number of prosperous businesses. I was then owner-publisher of the *Erie Dispatch-Herald,* and had invested heavily in the development of radio and TV properties. I had become a wealthy man, and in the process had acquired the usual set of financially potent business competitors. Moreover, in the course of Adlai Stevenson's 1952 Presidential campaign, I had become prominently identified with the Democratic Party—and 1953 marked the beginning of a new Republican administration.

As far back as 1951, Republican partisans had taken note that a figure of some means and influence had arisen in Ohio and Pennsylvania and was capa-

ble of making things uncomfortable for such Old Guard demigods as Senator John Bricker. The Republican leadership of the 81st Congress decided there might be political hay to be harvested from my crusading past. A committee of the House, chaired by Representative Forest Harness but masterminded by Representative Leonard Hall, then Chairman of the Republican National Committee, paraded a long list of witnesses who attacked my character and associations. Despite my repeated requests, I was never allowed to testify in my own defense. But I had my own forum, and on November 4, 1951, I wrote in my signed column in the *Dispatch-Herald*:

"Congressman Leonard Hall, a pip-squeak congressman from Oyster Bay, recently opened up his money-hungry hands and slapped me. I have always noticed that the smaller the pip, the louder the squeak.

"He had the scoop of all time. He had gone to 'Who's Who in America' and to 'Business Executives of America' in the public libraries and found out all about me. He discovered that in the 1930s, along with other lawyers seeking security for the bar of America, I had helped organize the National Lawyers Guild.

"His vilification of me now qualifies him to become the national chairman of the GOP."

The first of this "documentary evidence," which was to be used against me across the years as a Red smear, had been put together as early as 1945 by a business competitor. That was the year I bought the moribund Erie afternoon paper and began to provide serious and aggressive competition for the dominant *Daily Times*. John Mead, Jr., the proprietor of the *Times,* tried to fight back by having put together fourteen full-page articles allegedly reviewing my background. A web of innuendo was woven in an effort to make a Communist conspiracy out of the unpopular underdog cases I had defended as a lawyer for various groups including the American Civil Liberties Union; the court battles I had fought as union counsel in the days of the sit-in strikes; the blows I had dealt to the pocketbooks of many industrialists when I won the key case that established the principle of portal-to-portal pay; and a book called *The Planned Economy of Soviet Russia* I had written in 1934 after a round-the-world trip.

The series petered out in dullness and proved such a dud the *Times* did not even publish the last half-dozen installments. But somehow the entire fourteen articles were collected and printed separately, and enjoyed a wide if anonymous mailing to members of Congress and businessmen and financial institutions around the country. This long-discredited material still shows up when I get into a rousing fight on the corporate front—as I did not long ago when I took control of the Seiberling Rubber Company after a protracted stockholders' battle.

In 1953, with Joe McCarthy's star still on the rise and my broadcasting affairs intricately involved in the decisions of a government agency, I had to recognize the Lautner testimony as something more than another skirmish in a partisan political campaign. John C. Doerfer of Wisconsin had been appointed to the Federal Communications Commission by President Eisenhower, and was known to be a protégé and close associate of Senator McCarthy. I had pending before FCC several matters that ordinarily would have been routine —applications for renewal of television licenses, for permission to extend broadcasting range or alter technical equipment, and the like. Commissioner Doerfer now sat in a place where he might determine whether I would receive favorable action on these matters—or, as it turned out, any action at all.

When I ran into the new commissioner at a Washington cocktail party he was pleasantly sociable, but seemed inordinately interested in the financial details of my television affairs. One item of unusual concern was my recent sale of Columbus TV Station WTVN to the family of the late Senator Taft for $2,000,000.

A month after this casual encounter the broadcasting trade papers reported that Commissioner Doerfer was "gunning for the liberal Democrat, Edward Lamb." At the same time the Washington rumor mill ground out the intelligence that McCarthy's Committee on Government Operations was getting ready to move against the broadcasting industry, with Edward Lamb scheduled as the first horrible example. The Lautner testimony in New York was in fact the signal that a two-pronged attack was under way.

On the FCC front my business suddenly came to a dead halt. When my attorneys pressed for action, officials at the operating level said they were now

powerless since every proceeding involving Edward Lamb had been flagged to go to the desk of Commissioner Doerfer for "personal processing."

What this could mean is demonstrated by my experience in the Massillon-Canton area of Ohio, where in September 1952 I had received FCC authorization for the construction of a television station. I had bought real estate, optioned broadcasting equipment, hired personnel, and opened an office in Mansfield—in all committing myself to invest some $300,000. Engineering and technical difficulties prevented our completing construction by May 4, 1953, the date stipulated in the original authorization. Doerfer's freeze blocked our routine request for an extension, and by the time this was finally granted—on June 14, 1957, after my public "trial"—an adverse competitive situation had developed so that the great potential value of the license had literally vanished.

My broadcasting interests were then represented by the experienced and able James Lawrence Fly, a former chairman of FCC. Those wise in the ways of Washington advised me that I ought to get rid of my "New Deal lawyer." And some of these further advised me to see a certain legal middleman, or "bagman," in Washington and be ready for a pay-off. I did meet secretly with the gentleman thus designated, heard his proposition, which involved a $60,000 "legal fee," and turned him down. At no time, of course, have I ever said or implied that this lawyer, or any of the other intermediaries who approached me, actually were authorized agents of anyone in FCC or elsewhere in government. The fact that such overtures were made to me—as they often have been made, before and since, to others with difficulties before FCC and other federal agencies—is simply noted here as relevant to the atmosphere in which I had to wage a four-year campaign to clear my good name and protect my properties.

Having decided to press head-on for a showdown, I called in person on the various FCC commissioners and complained about the delay in dealing with my applications. The reaction was unanimous. Under the new regime, I was told, the key to my problems was Commissioner Doerfer.

So, on September 10, 1953, I paid a formal call on Doerfer in his Washington office—still hoping that we might talk over our problems like adult and honorable men.

Face to face, he was pleasant enough, but he promptly launched into a line of questions about my defense of trade unions in the 1930's. He wanted to know all about my book, *The Planned Economy of Soviet Russia,* and as he pressed these questions he fumbled with documents on his desk with the air of a man who holds a secret dossier.

"Who," he asked, "paid your way to travel in Russia?"

I told him I had paid my own way, and pointed out that I had traveled in a number of other countries on the same trip, a fact that did not seem to interest him.

Doerfer shook his head in disbelief when I admitted helping to organize the National Lawyers Guild. I rather proudly insisted that the Guild was a worthwhile instrument for improving the lot of the American legal profession. At one point in our conversations, he intimated that he couldn't understand why a lawyer of my background would defend colored people, Communists, or labor unions. He gave me the impression that he felt anyone with all my money who was a liberal must be some kind of traitor to capitalism. I told him flatly that if helping my fellow-man made me a liberal, I intended to remain one.

Doerfer listened dubiously as I told him that I had been a Republican, like himself, until Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal seemed to me to offer an appropriate, constitutional way out of many of our economic problems.

"It's too bad," he remarked as we parted, "that you aren't still a Republican."

Later, Doerfer confided to friends of mine that in our meeting I wasn't "contrite enough."

This behind-the-scenes maneuvering was already having a punitive effect on my business affairs, and the innuendo accompanying it began to be felt on the national political scene.

Adlai Stevenson had returned from the extended round-the-world tour with which he followed the 1952 campaign, and Stephen A. Mitchell, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, decided this would provide an occasion for a badly needed display of unity by the party leadership. He asked if Mrs. Lamb and I would sponsor a "welcome-home"

buffet dinner in Chicago honoring Stevenson and former President and Mrs. Harry S. Truman. I agreed, and the National Committee sent out a thousand or more invitations to the top party brass.

There was, my friends intimated, a little more to the suggestion that I serve as host than the need to find someone to pay for the dinner. It was to be the occasion when plans would be announced to elect me treasurer of the Democratic National Committee.

As it turned out, my visit to Commissioner Doerfer took place just a few days before the dinner was scheduled. Immediately thereafter, word reached Steve Mitchell that the Republicans had a little surprise waiting that would permanently embarrass Stevenson and Truman. On the night of the welcoming party, Mitchell was told, Republican Chairman Leonard Hall would "expose" host Lamb's "Communist associations."

The threat came straight enough from inner Republican circles for Mitchell to accept it at face value. At an emergency session attended by Charles Murphy, one of Truman's assistants, and J. Lacey Reynolds, my Washington representative, it was decided that the most politically profitable part of valor was discretion. I accepted the judgment, even though it ran counter to my own conviction that no one, politician or not, should bow to such intimidation. Truman and Stevenson, needless to say, had nothing to do with any of this.

New invitations to the party were issued in the name of the Democratic National Committee. My name appeared only on the check for several thousand dollars that paid the bill for food and drink. No one was embarrassed, publicly at least; the Republicans made no hay; and it may be that I escaped becoming the moneybags for the Democratic National Committee—one of the few events in this history which, on second thought, I can recall with any feeling of gratitude.

This inside hatchet-job left no doubt that I was destined for the full smear treatment, and it seemed a reasonable guess that the FCC would be the chosen instrument to deliver it. I sat down with my own conscience and considered again whether I should attempt to head off the personal attack and protect my multi-million-dollar broadcasting affairs by retaining the suggested "Republican law firm." I publicly announced the result of that private deliberation in my *Dispatch-Herald* column, under the title, "How It Feels to Be the Victim of a Frame-up":

"I have chosen to make a defense, rather than 'make arrangements' in Washington. I do this simply to preserve a good name which I hope to pass on to good children."

Committed to do battle, I retained former U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, whom I had known for many years, to take over my representation before the FCC. He asked his Providence law partner, Russell Morton Brown, to assist him in handling the details. McGrath knew everyone of any consequence in both political parties, and he had ways of finding out the background of most issues on Capitol Hill.

In March 1954 I received a so-called "McFarland letter," *after* the FCC had first released its contents to the public. ("McFarland letter" is the general term for a letter that must be sent by all federal administrative agencies to anyone whose rights are challenged, specifying the basis of action to be taken against him.) The FCC's notice stated that I was to face charges that I had misrepresented my qualifications for a television license in affidavits supporting my applications, wherein I had sworn that I had never been a Communist. It went on to say that the FCC had information in its files containing charges "that for a period of years, particularly the period 1944-1948, you were a member of the Communist Party."

Thus I was not only well-smeared, but the FCC had publicly invited my rival applicants for the valuable Toledo television license to use the Communist issue against me. The commission staff certainly knew that their false declaration could be played up in my home town, and that my business competitors and possibly a local political hatchet-man or two could be counted on to help the commission "prove" its charge that I had been a member of the Communist Party. Some of my competitors around the country did actively spread the FCC charge among the businessmen I dealt with—people who bought my products, suppliers of parts and materials to my industries—and in conservative banking circles where I would have to go for credit.

This was not true in all cases, happily. The *Toledo Blade,* although a competitor for a TV license, pointed out that it was well-informed about me, and that while "anyone would have to get up pretty early

in the morning to get the best of Lamb in anything," any charge that I was a Communist was "a lot of bunk."

I answered the McFarland letter, categorically denying all such charges, and requested an early hearing. Thereafter the FCC magnanimously said that I could try to "disprove the charges."

That's quite a trick—proving a negative. But I set out to do it, if it took my last penny.

Early in May 1954, my attorneys went into the United States District Court for the District of Columbia seeking an order to compel the FCC either to renew my licenses or to issue a list of the charges it proposed to assert against me. We also asked the full membership of the commission to give me a hearing so that I could face my accusers, or at least find out what the charges were. The federal court, however, held that the FCC, as an administrative agency, at this preliminary stage of the proceedings could not be compelled to grant these ordinary rights of citizenship.

On May 6, 1954, I ran an advertisement in *The New York Times* and many other newspapers and magazines throughout the country, offering to pay $10,000 to anyone who could disprove a single one of my many non-Communist affidavits. Of course, there were no takers. The unusual advertisement caused a stir in broadcasting circles, and at least let my enemies know that I was digging in for a fight.

On June 4, 1954, President Eisenhower reappointed Doerfer to a full term on the Federal Communications Commission. Senator Bricker immediately called a meeting of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the U.S. Senate to consider the appointment. I asked for, and received, a chance to appear in opposition to Doerfer's continued presence on the federal agency regulating the broadcasting industry. There, under oath, I recited some of the experiences I had suffered at the hands of Senator McCarthy's lieutenant. Senator Estes Kefauver, also appearing at his own request, was most vehement in pointing out Doerfer's deficiencies. He emphasized that Republicans were in charge of the Senate committee, and warned that Doerfer would prove to be a real embarrassment to President Eisenhower's administration. How correct he was! The Senate approved Mr. Doerfer's appointment on June 28, 1954; six years later Doerfer resigned from the FCC, at the request of President Eisenhower, in the midst of an influence-peddling scandal.

In the meantime, we had put together a considerable staff of lawyers and special investigators, many of them drawn from my own journalistic enterprises, to work with McGrath. We now had reason to fear that the hearings might run on for years—and we had to counter a small army of government agents who were busily working in my own backyard.

The FCC sent men to Toledo, Erie, Columbus, and elsewhere to find "evidence" that I was a Communist. Drew Pearson reported that these men had caused a professional ex-Communist stool pigeon in Toledo, one William Garfield Cummings, to offer another ex-Communist, Emmett L. Wheaton, the sum of $10,000 if he would "remember" that I had attended the opening of a Toledo Communist bookstore, known as Lincoln House, in 1944.

FCC investigators went to a former secretary in my office, Evelyn Runge, who had moved to Elyria, Ohio, after leaving my employ. They asked her if she could give them any information about any possible income tax or "girl friend" problems.

"Lamb had good accountants prepare his financial returns, and his accounts were approved after especially thorough examination by the government," she told them. "And what does his sex life have to do with the charge of communism?"

She did give the FCC investigators four half-truths they tied together for later use. Fortunately, we learned about her "revelations" before she took the witness stand, and were able to explain away many of her fantasies.

These are only two of many such instances we uncovered by mounting our own diligent, widespread, and expensive counter-investigation. The FCC had asserted that it had proof that I had been a Communist—but now, after the fact, the agency was employing apparently unlimited government funds and manpower to seek any sort of "evidence" to back up the verdict already publicly rendered.

Day after day the FCC kept the headlines hot with publicity releases referring to new secret "evidence" against me. But the agency continued to reject repeated demands of my counsel for a bill of particulars—and it held to this position even after the Senate

Interstate Commerce Committee formally directed the agency to provide me with details of the charges against me and the names of my accusers.

Finally, after long delays, we went into open court to face an unsubstantiated charge of what amounted to treason brought against me by an agency of my own government—and we had to go to trial on the agency's own terms.

The hearing opened on September 5, 1954, in the ornate auditorium of the Interstate Commerce Building. In those days, when someone hollered "Communist," he automatically had a circus, and the television crews and reporters were there in force.

The one encouraging sign was the presence of the Trial Examiner appointed by FCC to preside over the hearings. The assignment had fallen to Herbert Sharfman, a veteran of more than twenty years of government service. He had a reputation as a fair-minded and scholarly official, and able to make use of the independence guaranteed by his civil-service status.

Sharfman had to operate, however, within a set of procedures that ran contrary to every ordinary legal practice I had been accustomed to in my years in the courtroom. The chief prosecutor for FCC, Walter F. (Bucky) Powell, Jr., was free to introduce any charge against me he saw fit—with the burden of disproving the allegation falling upon the defendant.

To me, as a lawyer, perhaps the most shocking procedural aspect of the case was the ability of the prosecution to shift the ground of the "indictment" drastically in the course of the trial. The specific charge set forth in the McFarland letter was "that for a period of years, particularly the period 1944-1948, you were a member of the Communist Party." This we were fully prepared to refute. By the time we got to court the FCC lawyers knew as well as I did that the charge was wholly false and would never stand. But under FCC procedures they were now allowed to take out a new hunting license, and this one virtually without limits. The charge we now faced was that a dozen or more years ago I had "associated" with Communists.

Our inability to force any advance disclosure of Prosecutor Powell's list of witnesses gave him an opportunity to time their appearance for maximum publicity effect. To assist in this effort, the press agents of the FCC issued daily releases—these dealing in a highly prejudicial way with a trial the agency itself was conducting! Day after day a colorful and highly damaging piece of testimony coincided with the deadline for afternoon papers; day after day our cross-examination exploded the allegation and discredited the witness—but almost always the truth lagged the lie by a full day in the publication cycle.

And what a parade of witnesses Powell produced —perjurers, bigamists, homosexuals, and even a convicted murderer were brought on to testify against me, and most of them were paid to do so with my own government's money.

The first of the FCC witnesses was William Garfield Cummings, a Toledo informer who set the style and the tone of the entire prosecution.

Cummings asserted that he had been a member of the Communist Party during the 1940's and that he had seen me at the opening of the Lincoln House, a bookstore in Toledo, standing among a group of Communists. He testified for three days about my "contributions" to the Communist Party.

I was certain that I had never seen him before, and I knew that his specific statements were false. But, since we had discovered that he was likely to testify, we had found out plenty about Cummings. Our cross-examination began to bring out the character of this key government witness.

One of his claims to distinction was that he had recruited several people among his own family and his "best friends" for the Communist Party and then reported them to the Federal Bureau of Investigation! It also came out that, in taking out a second marriage license at Bowling Green, Ohio, he had denied under oath that he had been married before. Cummings, who had five children by his second and possibly bigamous marriage, was arrested for perjury during my trial.

Our cross-examination also brought out the reason that a man of Cummings' dubious background was willing to expose himself in court. He testified that his sole current income was the $25 a day he received from FCC to testify against me. He was one of the Immigration Service's professionals.

Perhaps the most trivial testimony was provided by Carl Wideman, a bespectacled real estate man from Columbus, Ohio. This witness swore that at Marion, Ohio, in the early 1930's, when he was seventeen, he had attended an after-lecture coffee session at which I talked for two hours about the Soviet economy. He swore he could remember every word I said—although he could not remember a single other person who had been in the room.

Wideman's great value to us was that under cross-examination he admitted what we believed to be the case with all these witnesses—that his questions and answers had been prepared for him by the investigative staff of the FCC.

After him came short, yellow-haired Louis Budenz, who in those days spent most of his time testifying for pay for the United States government. As a veteran of innumerable Communist "exposure" trials, he knew how to arrange the wildest story to make fodder for headlines. Innuendo, guilt by association, "identification"—at this he was the master. Budenz was America's number-one professional witness, and I am proud that this FCC hearing probably ended his profitable career as a government-sponsored character assassin.

Budenz could in fact claim to know me, for he had once been my client in a civil liberties case during the bitter Electric Auto Lite strike at Toledo. But the "evidence" against me did not come from this brief association, but was drawn from his standard resource as a professional witness. It was Budenz's claim that the names of 400 secret Communists, given him by a high party official named Jack Stachel, were permanently etched in his mind. He had memorized the list, he said, before he and Stachel tore it up. For the purposes of this "trial" Budenz cheerfully placed me on his secret list. Why not? As a government witness he had total immunity from libel action, and in 1953 he claimed he had earned $70,000 in the witness chair.

Budenz admitted under cross-examination that he had written several books and articles and delivered hundreds of speeches without once having mentioned my name as an associate or friend of Communists. He had no explanation for this oversight. We were able to suggest that it might be because no one had previously hired him to do so.

Another prosecution witness was Ernest Courey, a man who sanctimoniously described himself as a "respected summer-resort operator" in Mercer, Wisconsin. He related how he had once joined the Communist Party as an undercover operative for a private detective agency. He said the Communists trusted him to collect dues and sell tickets for their various affairs.

In 1938, he said, he went to my Toledo law office and received $2 as a contribution for a Communist picnic. Later, he said, I gave a donation to hire a hall where Earl Browder planned to speak.

Under cross-examination, this "respected" operator at first denied he had a criminal record. But our investigation had disclosed that he was a convicted murderer who had shot to death one Joseph Benjamin in Cleveland in 1925. He could recall selling me a $2 ticket to a picnic a dozen years before, but it was left for us to find out and recall that he had served a penitentiary sentence for murder.

"I shouldn't have served an hour," he protested.

"Well, did you obtain a liquor license to operate your tavern in Wisconsin?" my attorney asked.

"Yes."

"Did you represent to the Wisconsin State Liquor Authority that you had never been convicted of a crime?"

"Nobody asked me that question," Courey growled.

At this point we produced a certified copy of the application in which Courey stated, in his own handwriting, that he had never been convicted of a crime at any time or place.

It was Courey who provided us with the opportunity to show that the Immigration and Naturalization Service had more than money to assist in producing these professional witnesses. Courey was a Syrian facing deportation. He had reason to assume that he was expected to tell the "right" story, or back to Syria he would go. A cornered lawbreaker is not difficult to suborn.

The most spectacular witness in the whole charade, and the one whose rise and fall marked the turning point in our defense, was a quiet-spoken, squat woman with thick glasses and short-cropped gray hair. She gave her name as Marie Natvig and her address as Miami,

Florida. Astonishingly enough, she was cast as a *femme fatale.*

Elaborately, she spelled out her background: member of a socially prominent Cleveland family of substantial wealth, she had been educated at Eastern schools and had taught in the public schools in Cleveland.

She had first met me, she said, at a Communist meeting of agricultural workers in Chicago in 1936. She said that she had been a member of the Communist Party from 1925 to 1937, lured into the movement by the Depression, which cost her the penthouse, Rolls-Royce, and three servants she had enjoyed in the booming 1920's.

This imaginative woman claimed that she had again seen me at a Communist Party conference in Columbus early in 1936. She recalled that while I was addressing the meeting, I had pulled out of my pocket a "sketch" of my plans for setting up the National Lawyers Guild "as the legal arm of the Communist Party." She told how "Comrade Lamb" had led discussions of intricate problems of dialectical materialism, and said I had outlined practical ways to lure non-Communist lawyers into the National Lawyers Guild. She recalled that I had described the course of events to come in Asia, including the cold and hot wars raging through the 1930's.

"Didn't those terms come into existence years later?" Examiner Sharfman asked.

"No, Comrade Lamb invented them," she replied.

Mrs. Natvig built up steam when she said that I had been in favor of a modern American revolution —that I had proposed first to seize communications, then transportation, and finally prepare for insurrection in the armed forces, because "only through revolution could the intolerable living conditions of the oppressed masses be alleviated."

The mild little lady had already produced a first-class newspaper sensation, but on the second day of her testimony she found a way to make the headline type grow even larger. Testifying about the meetings I had supposedly attended in Columbus, she shyly confided that "Mr. Lamb and I had a 'liaison' in the Chittenden Hotel." Then, with bowed head, she added movingly that this was "my first infidelity and led to my divorce."

It would have seemed that a revolutionary conspiracy plus a sex scandal would have been enough to satisfy the most avid member of the FCC's staff, but Mrs. Natvig was encouraged to bring her exotic adventures up to date. Now she testified that right there in Washington, only the night before, a romantic encounter in a night club had produced the offer of a bribe of $50,000 if she would agree not to testify further against me. This sum, which she had indignantly spurned, had been proffered by a railroad-yard worker named Millings Underwood. Now the prosecution had a spy melodrama, soap opera, and detective story all wrapped up in one package.

Incredible as it now seems, this maundering tale was allowed to run into many thousands of words of testimony; with our cross-examination and her subsequent return appearances Mrs. Natvig's time on the witness stand actually ran into weeks. This at least gave us time to launch our own investigation. And here we had to start from scratch, for, as I listened in awe to these intimate details of my biography, I knew I had never seen Mrs. Natvig before, at any time, at any place, under any circumstances.

Our detectives found the first clue in the criminal records. We found that the sheltered flower had been arrested for soliciting in Madison, Wisconsin, as early as 1928, and had faced embezzlement charges in Florida. Members of her family revealed that her "socialite father" had in fact been an honest, hard-working second-hand furniture dealer in Cleveland, who had long since severed all connection with his wayward daughter. We were told that she had been married at least three times, and each of her husbands had gone bankrupt. We found a sad explanation for her violent reaction to questions regarding her children; she had been denied their custody years before and they had grown up to lead decent, respectable lives. But this delicacy did not apply to the Lamb children, who heard Mrs. Natvig accuse their father of a wide variety of immorality, scarlet and otherwise. "Let Comrade Lamb start paying for his sins!" she declaimed happily to the reporters—and we had no option but to parade her own varied history for the record in such overwhelming detail that she was later convicted of perjury.

Her testimony against me was so outlandish that we tended at first to dismiss the tale of Millings Underwood and his bribe as another cut from the whole cloth. But in the course of a routine check one of our detectives discovered that there was in-

deed such a person, and he delivered a highly embarrassed Virginia railroadman to the hearing room.

The hapless Underwood, with his wife sitting in the packed courtroom, said that he had been "out on the town" on the night of September 24, and had picked up a lone woman sitting at one end of a hotel bar. They went down the street and had a "few beers" together at the Lotus Restaurant. They were getting a little high, when the lady excused herself to make a telephone call.

It developed that Mrs. Natvig had called Walter Leahy of the FCC staff, who was "assigned to sleuthing Lamb," and told him a man had offered her a $50,000 bribe not to testify against me. After the telephone call she insisted that Underwood take her back to her own hotel. The unsuspecting and unrequited Underwood left her at the front door—in full view of two waiting FCC witnesses.

The morning after Mrs. Natvig's story of the proffered bribe, the bewildered Underwood saw his name in newspaper stories tacked on the railroad-roundhouse bulletin board. He was kidded by his fellow-workers. But the stories didn't seem a bit funny to Mrs. Underwood.

When our attorneys called at his Arlington home about eleven o'clock the night after Mrs. Natvig's testimony, he broke down and frankly told the story from the beginning. He was quite forthright about how he had intended to entertain the lady that night. But, he said, all he did was eat chow mein and have "a few" more drinks. He was emphatic that my name wasn't even mentioned at the Lotus Restaurant.

"The only Lamb I've ever heard about is the Art Lamb I look at on television at home with my wife," he said.

The Natvig debacle put the FCC clearly on the defensive. In checking on her past we found the FBI willing to assist in such matters as establishing that she had signed non-Communist oaths in applying for federal jobs—and probably had not in fact ever been a party member. It was clear that the FBI was no longer supporting the FCC prosecutors. And it was difficult to see how anyone could. As the more than 800 printed pages of Mrs. Natvig's transcript went over to the United States attorney as the basis for perjury action, Howard McGrath pointed out that there was at least one patent and glaring contradiction on every page. The Trial Examiner finally abandoned the effort to extract any sense from her, and excused her with the stipulation that she remain under subpoena for possible recall.

This was the point where the sympathy of much of the nation's press began to swing to my side—and outspoken commentators like Drew Pearson, Robert S. Allen, Doris Fleeson, Peter Edson, and Joseph C. Harsch began to ask what the devil the government lawyers were up to in the Lamb case. In time the radio and television industry also began to lend me some support—but by and large the record of the timid broadcasters was one of extreme prudence, even though I was surely fighting their battle for freedom of the air against an overbearing bureaucracy.

The changing atmosphere had a practical effect on our conduct of the trial. Now honest men and women in government began to feed us advance information about the prosecution's "surprise" witnesses, and we were able to launch our counterattack quickly. Soon we were in position to do our own "leaking" to the reporters. On one memorable occasion we actually obtained recordings of the FCC lawyers' coaching session with a witness, and when he began to recite his well-rehearsed lines members of the audience chanted his answers before he could gulp them out.

Even though the prosecutors continued on their collision course they had lost important support in high places—even among the FCC commissioners themselves. It was widely believed in Washington, and with reason, that for many purposes Joe McCarthy could control the commission. In addition to Doerfer, he had persuaded President Eisenhower to give a seat to Robert E. Lee, who had been a clerk for McCarthy's "un-American Committee," had been employed in the extreme right-wing propaganda enterprises of Texas oil millionaire H. L. Hunt, and was best man in McCarthy's wedding. Yet, as we were to discover later, even Joe McCarthy was getting a bellyful of the blundering ineptness of the FCC legal staff.

In 1955, in his office in the Senate Office Building, McCarthy told J. Howard McGrath, "I won't have anything more to do with investigating Ted Lamb. Let those bastards in FCC wash their own linen!"

And as a manifest of his good faith he turned over to McGrath all the information he had about me in his files, including possibly confidential material obtained from government sources. This was, of course, an invaluable aid in permitting us to diagnose the opposition's strategy.

Still, the FCC attorneys showed no disposition to back away from the case. And, on our side, I was equally determined to have our full day in court. It was now clear that we had the means of laying bare the whole, despicable machinery so widely used in Washington for hiring, intimidating, and suborning witnesses in the era of the Red witch-hunt.

We found early in this protracted ordeal that the FCC attorneys were deliberately engaging in an endless juggling of hearing schedules to affect the timing of testimony. One result was to put our witnesses to the inconvenience of standing by in Washington, sometimes for weeks, waiting to testify. We, of course, had to bear the expense of maintaining them.

Now we discovered that the same technique was being used with reverse English against the FCC's own witnesses. Those who balked at going along with some of the demands made upon them found their maintenance funds and promised fees withheld—and were forced to pay their own way, leave town, or testify exactly as the prosecution demanded. Under our pressure the practice began to rebound, and the witnesses began to collapse in the face of stringent cross-examination.

Lowell Watson, a dairy farmer from Olathe, Kansas, took the stand to testify that he had visited my office in 1931 along with the Ohio Communist leader, Eugene Stoll, and had received from me "numerous" contributions "for the Communist Party or its legal arm, the International Labor Defense."

When our attorneys bore down, Watson admitted that during the noon recess he had been instructed by the FCC attorneys to swear falsely that he was not being compensated by the government but was testifying against me purely as a "patriotic gesture."

Shaken by being caught in that lie, and perhaps also by the realization that he was confronted by a former Attorney General of the United States in the person of Howard McGrath, Watson returned to the stand next day to counter the whole of his testimony.

He began by revealing that he had talked to Eugene Stoll in Washington the previous night, and Stoll had told him he would not go along with the FCC's "plot." Stoll said that he had never heard of me until the year 1934, some three years after Watson had testified that he and Stoll had visited my Toledo law office. He told Watson that he had better "come clean" and tell the truth about the details of his employment by the government.

Now Watson testified that the word "Communist" had never been mentioned in my law office. He pleaded that he was merely a disillusioned witness, but admitted that he had been hired by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for "good money." He confessed that the FCC attorneys had given him a prepared script when he arrived in Washington, and had ordered him to memorize it down to the last detail.

Nelson Meagley, an owlish former Socialist and anti-Communist, of Toledo, said he "thought" that I had contributed "some amount" in 1934 or 1935 to the defense of Ben Grey, the head of an A. F. of L. affiliate in Columbus, Ohio. My attorney wanted to know why any American lawyer should be castigated for aiding in the defense of a fellow-citizen in trouble. Prosecutor Powell replied that if it turned out later that Grey had been a Communist, then I would have sworn falsely that I had not contributed to Communists!

Whatever the FCC lawyers had in mind for their nineteenth witness, it did not materialize. He was Edward T. Cheyfitz, a red-headed, smooth-talking Toledo and Washington lawyer who described himself as a witness "more reluctant than the reluctant dragon." He had reason to be. He had been an active and well-known Communist from 1932 to 1939, and also had been a sort of personal protégé of mine, one of many bright young men I had helped get established.

Cheyfitz, so far as the prosecution was concerned, went off the reservation from the outset. He testified that so far as he knew I not only had never been a Communist or a contributor to Communist causes, but that in fact I had persuaded him to leave the party and concentrate his considerable talents in organizing for the trade union movement. (He had by

this time moved on from his union career to practice on the side of management, and he later became an associate of the distinguished civil liberties lawyer Edward Bennett Williams—who, in a later epoch, would wind up defending an underdog named Joseph McCarthy.)

Cheyfitz told in colorful detail how, when he broke with the party in 1940, I had supported him in a fight against the Communist faction in the Die Casters Union, which I served as general counsel. He conceded that I had been instrumental in getting him elected president of the union on an anti-Communist ticket.

Perhaps the most damaging statement he made was that he had seen Earl Browder, the head of the Communist Party, in my law office. The interesting sequel to that revelation was that it was Cheyfitz who had brought him there, and that the result of the conference was that I had refused to accept a libel suit Browder wanted to bring against the *Toledo Blade* on the ground that it had no merit.

The FCC had called Cheyfitz, but by the time he was through the infuriated prosecutor, Powell, demanded that the Trial Examiner declare him "a witness hostile to the government."

It was obvious that Powell didn't want to make that mistake again, and so it was only after powerful argument on our part that the Trial Examiner forced him to bring to the stand another key figure the government had brought to Washington—Eugene Stoll.

Stoll, who had been mentioned by other witnesses, clearly was in position to know the truth about many of the charges of Communist activity that had been hurled against me. He was the long-time leader of the Communist Party in Toledo and the Middle West.

It was established by now that Stoll had refused to take any FCC money (except for his actual expenses on the trip to Washington) and *in absentia* he had already blown up the testimony of Lowell Watson. He had been kept on ice in Washington for more than a month, and the FCC lawyers had made an effort to soften him up by withholding the nine dollars a day he was allowed for food.

He turned out to be the most credible FCC witness in the entire case, and the most damaging to the prosecution.

The gaunt, ascetic Stoll lived in a miserable shack on a sand patch at Swanton, Ohio, a small town outside Toledo. He had been secretary of the Communist Party in Lucas County and had suffered extreme poverty from the very first day he became a radical. He proudly admitted that he had been active in left-wing labor union matters. He said that the only times he saw me were on occasions when I was defending labor unions in courtrooms. Calmly, he told the Trial Examiner that he had visited me in Toledo in June of 1954, after he himself had been thrown out of the Communist Party. He had asked me "just one question."

Alone in my private office in the Edward Lamb Building, he had said, "I ask you man to man, eye to eye, and face to face—do you have any connection with the Communist movement?"

And Stoll quoted me as saying in reply, "Gene, as God is my witness, man to man, eye to eye, and face to face, I have no connection and never have had any connection with the Communist Party anywhere, any place."

"I am absolutely certain that Lamb told the truth," Stoll testified.

Stoll proceeded to explode the testimony of every earlier government witness. His presentation was direct and precise, and it was devastating. He denied that he had ever solicited or received any funds from me, or that there was a "must list" of contributors to the Communist Party, as William Cummings had testified.

Mrs. Natvig had testified that she and her fellow-Communists in their frequent meetings were wont to "eat caviar and drink gin." Stoll, the real Communist, grimaced as he said bluntly that he had never even seen—much less tasted—caviar.

Mrs. Natvig had said that she had seen me in "state Communist meetings in Columbus, Ohio." Stoll—who knew—insisted that the party held its meetings always in Cleveland, never in Columbus.

Mrs. Natvig had testified that she and I had romantically "held hands in the low light of the cocktail bar known as the Purple Cow in Columbus." Stoll pointed out that the Purple Cow was a brightly-lit coffee shop and didn't sell liquor.

Stoll was followed by a witness billed by an FCC press release as "another woman to testify against Lamb." The FCC lawyers called her to the stand under the name of Mabel Flicker, the "former wife of a Communist by the name of Kenneth Ostheimer."

Actually, she was now the wife of Gene Stoll—and the effect of her testimony was to corroborate her husband's account of the efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to put them on the government payroll as "consultants" if they would "go along" in prosecuting "the case against Lamb."

"Could this be the American government doing this?" Gene Stoll asked. "Anyway, I'll never be so hungry that I can stoop to taking that kind of blood money."

Now the long hearing passed over to 1955. Walter Powell, the FCC prosecutor, suffered a heart attack and nervous exhaustion, and suddenly resigned. In February we went back to court to face his replacement, Joseph Kittner, an abler lawyer but one apparently no less determined to give credence to anyone who offered hope that he might sustain the indictment he had inherited.

But this was to be the season of recantation. And the first of those to hit the sawdust trail was none other than Marie Natvig. She sent word to our counsel that she wanted to set the record straight—and now it was the turn of the FCC lawyers to listen with open mouths as she primly offered her revelations from the witness stand.

"Just tell the truth," Howard McGrath instructed her, and stood aside while the lady began with the statement that all the charges she had made against me were completely false. Comrade Lamb had been replaced by Prosecutor Powell as the villain in the piece.

She testified that she had been coerced by the FCC lawyers, that she had lied about having sexual relations with me, that she had never been a member of the Communist Party. She emphasized again and again that she had been induced by Powell to relate the story of having seen me with "maps" of the "forthcoming revolution in Asia and Europe." All of her original testimony had been a fabrication bought and paid for by the prosecution.

Powell, she testified, at one point had told her: "Okay, kid, let's murder this bum, Lamb."

"The FCC lawyers told me it was my duty to testify, because Lamb's radio station could beam atom bombs from foreign countries and also beam in enemy broadcasts," Mrs. Natvig said. "They told me to repeat over and over that Lamb had close connections with the Communist Party."

Powell, she claimed, had also dreamed up the romance between us. "Make it gory," she quoted him as telling her. "It's good for big headlines."

Mrs. Natvig admitted that she had never known me in Chicago or Columbus or anywhere else. She testified that the bribe-hoax involving the railroad worker Millings Underwood had been plotted by the FCC lawyers after she had met Underwood the night of their "date," even though she and Underwood had never had any discussion of money.

Fear of criminal action by us probably was the prime motivation for this turnabout, particularly with Powell no longer on hand as a protector, but she insisted piously that she felt compelled to "right the grievous wrongs which I did to Mr. Lamb."

Kittner then made a remarkable error for an experienced courtroom lawyer. In a futile effort to repair the damage, he gave this marathon witness another inning by undertaking cross-examination.

Mrs. Natvig's answers made the whole FCC squirm. Now in quiet, subdued clothes, lace collar and all, she insisted that by her retraction she was making peace with man and God. She felt now that she was righting a horrible wrong against me and my family. She insisted that "only an idiot" could have believed her earlier testimony. She said that when she told the FCC lawyers she wanted to repudiate her falsehoods against me, they first offered her new inducements and, when she refused, threatened her with arrest for perjury.

Mrs. Natvig told of her enforced confinement in Washington hotel rooms, with FCC lawyers sitting outside to prevent access to her by "outsiders." She charged that these lawyers often had "browbeaten" and "brainwashed" her, forcing her to go along with the prepared script. She offered harrowing tales of skull sessions with the FCC lawyers and said, "We were manufacturing evidence which I was forced to memorize."

At the end the Trial Examiner observed, perhaps with irony, that Mrs. Natvig appeared to be exercising moral courage in recanting her previous testimony. McGrath, without irony but with obvious relief, said repeatedly in open court that he would not at any time attempt to vouch for the lady's credibil-

ity, but only hoped that we had finally arrived somewhere in the vicinity of the truth.

Behind Mrs. Natvig came Clark Wideman, the Columbus real estate man. He had falsely uttered words put in his mouth by the FCC lawyers, he said.

Lowell Watson, the Kansas dairy farmer, said grimly that throughout the year-end recess he had battled with his conscience after having publicly lied for pay.

"My previous testimony was false," he said. "It was the result of constant and consistent coaching by legal representatives of the FCC."

And this somber man added a note of low comedy that might well summarize the season of recantation. On the opening day of his testimony his first duty was to identify me, and he had been shown many photographs and had been told exactly where I would be sitting in the hearing room. As additional insurance, two FCC lawyers had been stationed directly behind me and made high signs so that the finger of accusation would be certain to find the proper target.

Then Watson added thoughtfully, "Before I was briefed, however, in my own mind I had already picked out the person in the hearing room I thought was Mr. Lamb."

"Who was it?"

"Mr. McGrath."

We had finally broken through the diversionary effect of sensational testimony and made the point that I was clearly being victimized by perjurers hired for the purpose—and that the government's lawyers were parties to a conspiracy to manufacture evidence against me. The *Christian Science Monitor,* the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* the *Washington Post,* and dozens of other influential newspapers began to cite the Lamb case as an example of justice perverted. The phrase "professional witness" came into the public vocabulary.

There were stirrings on Capitol Hill, too. Estes Kefauver, Mike Monroney of Oklahoma, Henry Jackson of Washington, John Pastore of Rhode Island, and Albert Gore of Tennessee began to speak up on the Democratic side of the Senate, and were joined across the aisle by Republicans James Duff of Pennsylvania and Margaret Chase Smith of Maine. Thomas Ludlow Ashley, Congressman from my own district in Toledo, who was in a position to know my record, ripped into the FCC for staging what he called a witch-hunt and a political frame-up.

This came directly home to the FCC when Senator Warren G. Magnuson of Washington, chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, invited me to appear at a public hearing and said: "I propose to make it my business to see to it that Edward Lamb at long last gets fair and equitable treatment in view of all the abuse to which he has been subjected. We will want a careful look at what happened in his case before the Federal Communications Commission. Our committee has supervision over FCC and we will want a lot of explanation about the goings-on in the Lamb case."

Magnuson went on to say that the committee would take a close look at the whole of FCC's operations to see "what it takes to get or keep a TV license." That was the moment when an unhappy new Eisenhower appointee, Ohio Republican George C. McConnaughey, came before the committee to be confirmed as new chairman of FCC.

McConnaughey backed and filled and pleaded innocent to any knowledge of the Lamb case, but the questioning was so pointed that his old friend and supporter, Senator Bricker, frequently had to ride to his rescue. Then Senator Kefauver took over with a series of incisive questions that culminated in this:

"When a matter like this, a matter of outright coercion of witnesses, comes up, Mr. McConnaughey, the entire Committee and the public has a feeling of revulsion. As chief administrator of the FCC, haven't you looked into this just a little bit?"

"I planned to," McConnaughey said. "As a result of the Lamb case, I want to look into the general principles of license renewals."

Against this background we might have been able to bring the long inquisition to a halt. My attorney, Howard McGrath, announced that we would file proceedings to have the whole case tossed out by the FCC. Prosecutor Kittner demurred – and we promptly switched our motion for dismissal to a demand for a complete hearing, which would give me a chance to take the stand and have at my adversaries under oath.

McGrath's associate, Russell Brown, argued that we should press for dismissal, and he was certain the

now acutely embarrassed FCC would grant it. I said no, that I had paid dearly for my day in court and I intended to enjoy it—and maybe serve the public interest in the process.

I finally took my place in the witness chair on April 1, 1955. More than twenty-five reporters and a half-dozen photographers were on hand as the Trial Examiner called the courtroom to order for my presentation. Noticeably absent from the hearing room were the commissioners of the FCC, although their administrative assistants kept slipping in and out, carefully recording in their notebooks the details of the proceedings. One reporter observed that "history would record Lamb had the guts to face his accusers, but no one could ever claim that the FCC members had the guts to face their own hired professional witnesses."

All the members of my family were in that Washington hearing room. I was especially anxious to have them hear my testimony, given under oath.

In my opening statement to the FCC I told of my early days as a workingman's lawyer—days of depression and social upheaval, bitter strikes, hungry men, and economic disorder. I described the lunatic fringe groups that crowded into our struggles, the phony philosophers and political quacks who came not to advance the welfare of the workers or to settle strikes, but merely to obtain for themselves personal publicity and personal advancement.

A union, I pointed out, seldom chooses its own members. Thus, while I represented many unions, it was not up to me to inquire into the political, social, religious, or economic attachments of those who belonged to unions. I merely had defended strikers who were seeking their legal rights. Of course, I sought improved working conditions for them, and that meant the better life.

"I defended dozens of labor cases at the request of the American Civil Liberties Union and others," I said. "I may even have taken cases for members of the International Labor Defense, a perfectly legal organization at that time." And in connection with the American Civil Liberties Union, I testified that I had been a member since its earliest days, and "I am proud to be a member now; and I shall continue to be a member.

"Most of all, I don't want anyone to get the notion that I appear here on this public stand to withdraw from my past associations or activities on behalf of the underprivileged," I added. "I have always fought for the things that I considered to be in the highest tradition of American democratic liberties."

Then, pointing at the FCC staff, I said, "My government, not I alone, is on trial here.

"I am waiving my obvious objections to the propriety of this inquiry into my opinions, so that you people, who have put on your professional witnesses, may ask me any question you want about my past activities. But don't for one second get the idea that I am here to apologize for my life, any part of my life, or any of my social, political, or economic activities."

In 1947 Attorney General Tom C. Clark had published a list of organizations that he had decided were "subversive." This list contained the names of many organizations I had defended—such as the International Labor Defense, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the American League Against War and Fascism, and others. During the 1930's my name appeared on the letterheads of some of these organizations. Now, twenty years later, I had no particular recollection of ever having authorized such use of my name, since at the time I would not have considered it important.

Prosecutor Kittner repeatedly charged me with membership in the International Labor Defense. Two professional witnesses had already attempted to link me with that organization, but one, Lowell Watson, had retracted his statement and said that he had been coached into giving false testimony by Powell and other FCC attorneys.

"I first heard that I was a member of the National Committee of the International Labor Defense from your own professional witness, Louis Budenz," I told Kittner. "But I have heard more about it since you people have tried to hang these disgraceful Communist charges on me than I ever did before. You were the ones who hired the liars to repeat your manufactured slanders, and now we have the spectacle of your same people in the FCC passing judgment on the truth or falsity of your own manufactured evidence.

"I assure you that I am not unhappy that it has fallen to me to defend the American freedoms which

are at stake in this hearing," I said. "I have defended many minority groups, many trade unions, and many unpopular causes. I suppose any person is a 'controversial' figure who defends the rights of the unorthodox. But by defending this case, I am fighting the hysteria of this sad era while, at the same time, I am defending my own good name.

"As a result of this proceeding, I feel certain that such a violation of American liberties will not be attempted again. I have only one hope. This is that I may go down in history as a man of sufficient courage to have thwarted such encroachments on our freedoms as are represented in this attempted frame-up. I am shocked that my own government should have been used in such a dastardly fashion."

I had waited a long time for this moment, and I gave them both barrels. I said that I was prepared to stay on the witness stand as long as any person in the world had any conceivable question to ask of me, and that I was perfectly conscious of their attempt to entrap me into statements that might appear inconsistent with the millions of words of prior testimony as grounds for a possible perjury trial.

"For it is clear to everyone," I said, "that certain people high in the government, including at least one member of the Federal Communications Commission, are seeking by any means whatsoever to bring the strength of the government itself down upon my head."

Kittner and his associates met that challenge with what must be one of the most protracted cross-examinations in history. For almost three weeks we traversed the old ground as if, anticipating my clearance by the Trial Examiner, the prosecutor was trying to perfect a record for appeal to the FCC. All the infamous tricks of the McCarthy era were brought into play; at one point Kittner produced dozens of obscure left-wing publications and, even though he could not connect me with them in any way, argued that they represented the opinions of men I had somehow "been associated with."

The assault on my 1934 book, *The Planned Economy of Soviet Russia,* gave me an opportunity to place into the record a summary of the view I have held since I first began to study economics at Dartmouth, the view I have preached to the industrial leaders of the country and put into practice in dozens of my own successful business ventures:

"I have been a student of the economy of the United States. I did not believe then, and I do not believe now, that any organization or society can run without planning. In those early depression days, Americans saw the 'paradox of plenty,' when warehouses bulged with stored food even as men starved. While we have not resolved matters of equitable distribution of our resources or the paradox of farm surpluses, our country at least inaugurated during those early days many intelligent and far-reaching supports for our economy. As it is with large corporations and even with nations, so it is with smaller units such as states and communities. All of them require sensible surveying and planning."

As the hearing dragged toward a close in May 1955, I experienced one of the few moments of pleasure I had known since the FCC declared war on me in 1953. Old friends, on their own motion and without subpoena, began to come forward to testify as witnesses to my loyalty and character.

Estes Kefauver led the parade; then came Lowell Baldwin, a prominent Republican businessman of Maumee, Ohio, who is my oldest law client; Sam Sponseller of Cleveland, a regional director of the CIO who had known me in the 1930's when I took my first labor cases; David L. Lawrence, then mayor of Pittsburgh and later governor of Pennsylvania, who had known me as a labor lawyer since 1935 and testified that he was so confident of my integrity that he had once, on behalf of Philip Murray, tried to persuade me to move to Pittsburgh and become general counsel of the CIO.

And finally there was August Scholle of Detroit, as staunch an anti-Communist as any in the trade union movement. Gus Scholle told of our close association for more than two decades, and recounted the battles we had fought—some of them to head off Communist efforts to infiltrate the union movement.

The Trial Examiner asked Scholle if he had ever heard me express any anti-Communist sentiments.

"Of course I did—on a thousand occasions," replied Scholle.

"Did you ever ask Lamb if he ever belonged to any Communist-front organizations?"

"I never went to Ted Lamb and said, 'Ted, are you sympathetic to Communists?' It would be like asking the people in this room, 'Are you a bunch of traitors?' It would be stupid."

The day in court was over, but the legal in-fighting wasn't. There were delays, motions, counter-motions — and in my judgment at least one more double-cross by the prosecution, in violation of an agreement between counsel to expedite the submission of final arguments to the Trial Examiner. At one point Kittner suddenly tossed in a new document of 350 pages consisting of lengthy, violent attacks on me—and of course released this privileged matter to the press. But there were repercussions from above, and Kittner and Curtis Plummer, another member of the prosecution staff, were suddenly relieved and transferred to other posts within FCC. They had joined what finally would be a considerable list of fall guys.

In September, Trial Examiner Sharfman fell victim to the terrible strain of this fantastic hearing, and went into Georgetown Hospital with a severe heart attack. He recovered, however, and finally, on December 1, 1955, he completed his 25,000-word decision and sent it to the printers.

Every one of the issues submitted to the Examiner for finding of fact was decided in our favor. The opinion held that "Mr. Lamb possesses the qualifications necessary for a broadcast station licensee," and that the requested TV grant "would be in the public's interest, convenience, and necessity."

TV Digest, the leading trade publication, commented:

"Sharfman's 140-page decision, noteworthy for its literary embellishments, its curious analyses of grammar, its capsule book reviews and its sparklings of witticisms and sarcasms, concluded that: 'There is no proof that Lamb personally engaged in any subversive activity.' The picture of Lamb is that of a shrewd, successful and aggressive lawyer. The 'initial decision' of the Trial Examiner gives the FCC good opportunity to get off the hook if it so chooses in a case that has been marked from beginning to end by incredible bumbling, fumbling and blundering. It is clear now that the Lamb case was conceived by an inept and fumbling Commission which bowed to pressures of the times when Communist hysteria was at its peak.

"The whole case with its recanting witnesses, charges of bribery, etc., was born of tortured logic within the Commission."

In one passage of the opinion Examiner Sharfman summarized the millions of words devoted to calculated assassination of my character:

"Lamb's possible naivete in allying himself with these groups cannot, on this record, be transformed into something more sinister; his professed sympathy with the underdog, his espousal of 'liberal' causes, and his prominence in the community, undoubtedly made him attractive to certain organizations; and the first two factors must also have made him personally susceptible.

"But to say that he was starry-eyed is not to conclude that his eyes must also have been shot with malevolent gleams.

"That Lamb was personally sympathetic to the Soviet regime for Russia, felt that planning was indispensable to an orderly and equitable society in that country, and that we could learn from and profit from Russian experiences, is manifested from his writings; but there is nothing to indicate that he called for the importation of Communism in the United States and destruction of American institutions."

There was still room for dilatory tactics, however, and the FCC lawyers used them to the full in an effort to delay consideration of Sharfman's favorable opinion by the commission. On February 6, 1956, Howard McGrath forced the issue with a brief which stated our position in these blunt words:

"It has now been three years since Lamb's licenses expired. This proceeding has been, in our opinion, unnecessarily protracted. The chief stockholder and applicant, Edward Lamb, holds interests in other broadcasting licenses whose license renewals also have been held in abeyance awaiting the outcoming of this proceeding. These licensees, as well as Mr. Lamb's family, have suffered, and continue to suffer, economic harm beyond calculation. A favorable decision by the Commission, if rendered immediately, can do partial justice only. The economic and social damage which has been done to Mr. Lamb personally can never be repaired, and it is extremely doubtful if the expenditures of hundreds of thousands of dollars by the Government can ever be justified.

"The only hope of this applicant is that this entire matter will be concluded at an early date. To this end, and with the belief that oral argument is unnecessary, applicant Lamb foregoes any request therefor and urges that the Broadcasting Bureau ex-

ceptions be denied and that the Examiner's decision be affirmed."

And so the Lamb case came finally before the presiding members of the Federal Communications Commission. It would remain there for more than another year before, on June 14, 1957, the FCC finally and grudgingly gave me clearance and renewed my radio and television licenses.

How could such a thing happen in these United States? It is easy enough to write off the "Lamb Case" as a product of the hysteria of the McCarthy era—one not different in kind from thousands of others that were less spectacular, and had less happy endings, because the victims did not, or could not, fight back.

It is proper enough to name that lurid period after Joe McCarthy. He was not the only practitioner of the dark art of the Red smear, nor the most expert, but he was the most callous and the most conspicuous. His malicious disregard for truth and for the elementary principles of justice, and his ruthless pursuit of his petty personal and political ends, set the tone for a horde of perverse ideologues, and provided an opportunity for the personal advancement of hundreds of cynical opportunists, in government and out.

But to blame it all on Joe McCarthy is like blaming the temperature on the thermometer. No one man could have ripped apart the fabric of our democratic processes, and so stained our national honor, without the acquiescence of those who sat in positions of power and trust.

In the beginning I did not believe that McCarthy and his kind would be allowed to run amuck with virtually no opposition from the responsible leaders of his own political party. At the outset Sherman Adams and Charles Willits, two of President Eisenhower's key White House assistants, assured me personally that they would help get the McCarthyites on the FCC to give me a fair hearing on the "unusual" charges brought against me. At one point Mr. Eisenhower himself remarked in response to a press conference question that he disliked what the government was doing with professional witnesses in the Lamb case. But there was no effective intervention against the disgraceful tactics that marked my trial until we had by our own efforts in the hearing room exposed the scandal so thoroughly that it could not be ignored—and until my own personal and political friends in the Senate and House had acted to make the Lamb case a *cause célèbre*.

It seemed to be a time when people of good-will suffered a sort of paralysis in the face of the marauding McCarthy and his followers. And as always happens under those circumstances the highbinders in government, and their allies and procurers on the outside, were free to operate without restraint—even though their real objectives had nothing whatever to do with the emotion-charged issue that had been used to promote public hysteria.

I must have seemed an ideal victim for those who saw an opportunity to cut me down for political purposes or financial gain. I was an outspoken liberal, a maverick businessman, and I was in a position where not only my reputation but my bank balance could be severely damaged. By simply examining my public record, which I have no disposition to hide since I am in fact rather proud of it, they could link me with causes many a conservative citizen would characterize as radical. In the Frantic Fifties it took no skill at all to bill me in newspaper headlines as a flaming Red by nudging the facts with a little innuendo, and the sly suggestion that there must be fire behind all that smoke.

Proving the charge against me turned out to be another matter, but I am sure that in the beginning those who touched off the attack were convinced that they would never have to face that necessity. There were many, as innocent as I, who did not stand and fight, but capitulated in the face of the first volley and "made arrangements" of the kind I have mentioned earlier. There were others who simply abandoned the field and let their adversaries gain the political or financial advantage they sought.

I am a fighter for causes by temperament, and always have been, which is possibly one of the reasons I am a controversial figure. But in the situation I faced the will to fight was not enough; one also had to have the means. And I was one of the few victims of that sordid era who could afford to mount a full-fledged counterattack against the massed resources of a federal agency, and stand by the guns for four grueling years. It cost me, first to last, around $900,000 to clear my name and protect my properties—a

sum far beyond the reach of the hundreds of minor officials, hapless intellectuals, college professors, and innocent bystanders who were run down by the McCarthy juggernaut during the great witch-hunt.

Account must be taken, too, of the physical and emotional strain such a battle entails. I remember, without pride, the time when my self-restraint broke under the bullying of Prosecutor Powell and I yelled at him in the hearing room, "You're a lousy, lying legal prostitute." There was a riotous moment when Marie Natvig assaulted a lawyer with a water pitcher. These were symptoms of the pressures that affected all the parties during the hundreds of days of the interminable trial, the tensions that sent Examiner Sharfman to the hospital, and brought on the heart condition that removed Powell from the case.

This, then, is how this appalling thing happened to me. There remains the question of why it happened.

Venality, ambition, greed, personal malice – all these were involved, and in various combinations the deadly sins affected many of the principals. The political motivation to discredit a prominent Democrat was obvious – and it was undoubtedly compounded by the fact that I personally had crossed Joe McCarthy on occasions when I demanded that he meet the usual requirement of submitting advance scripts of his political speeches before they were broadcast over my stations. One did not easily get away with a refusal to bend the knee to the omnipotent McCarthy, and his hatchet-man, Roy Cohn.

Then, there was a great deal of money riding on the outcome of the Lamb case. This was the time when new television broadcasting frequencies were being made available by FCC, and the grant of one of those licenses in a major market area like Toledo was worth millions of dollars to the recipient. Under the circumstances there were usually several applicants for each of these plums, and the FCC had broad discretion in choosing among them. All, obviously, would be qualified so far as financial capacity, credit rating, and the like were concerned. The question would come down to an appraisal of the character of the licensee—the FCC's presumed judgment as to which of the contenders would best serve the "public interest, convenience, and necessity." Nothing could destroy character, and remove an applicant from contention, as quickly as a Red smear.

I do not suggest that all of my competitors behaved dishonorably in these circumstances; I have already cited the case of the *Toledo Blade's* editorial dismissing the original FCC charge of communism as "bunk." But there were some who were more than willing to take advantage of the situation and encourage the downfall of a man who stood between them and a multi-million-dollar property.

For these reasons, the FCC in any season operates in what amounts to the eye of a hurricane of political and financial influence, and the record is replete with cases in which commissioners—including Doerfer—and lesser functionaries have succumbed to temptation. I cannot prove, and do not charge, that any of the $60,000 that the influence-peddler sought from me to "fix" my case would have found its way to any person connected with the FCC had I paid it. It may be that the influence he offered for sale, if he actually had any, was personal, or political, and that he was simply an opportunist lining his own pocket.

The truculence of many of the lesser figures in the trial may have been no more than the product of ambition to make a good showing in a sensational case—and, after the travesty in which they were engaged had been exposed, a stubborn pride that prevented them from admitting they had been wrong. There came a point in the hearing, certainly, when the tide turned against the prosecution in such a dramatic fashion that many of those who had rigged evidence and influenced witnesses to lie under oath had reason to fear dismissal, and perhaps even prosecution and disbarment, unless they could somehow vindicate themselves by winning their case. There were shivers in the FCC staff when one of the appellate judges hearing argument on Marie Natvig's appeal from her perjury conviction repeatedly asked if "suborning perjury is not in itself a penitentiary offense."

In the end there was no real punishment of the guilty FCC lawyers, although some undoubtedly were shunted into oblivion and lost their place on the ladder of advancement. But there was some reform of FCC procedures, and—perhaps the most important victory I can claim—as a direct result of the revelations in the Lamb case the Immigration Service's pool of professional "consultants" was dis-

banded and the disgraceful practice of traducing American citizens with the testimony of hired witnesses was largely ended in the federal service.

A legal system is more than laws and procedures and institutions. It must rest on a tradition of simple decency, and it must be supported by the personal commitment to justice of those who operate within its shelter. It was here that we saw the tragic and alarming failure in my own case, and it was this that raised it far above an issue between a non-conformist lawyer-businessman and a collection of bureaucrats.

I have often stood before the bar as advocate for the underdog, demanding that the case against him be tried on its merits and not in terms of prejudice against his unpopular cause. Once I had so stood in defense of the Communist Louis Budenz. Now I once again shared a courtroom with Budenz, but I no longer enjoyed the detachment of an officer of the court whose own life would go on unaffected whatever the outcome of the case at issue. Now I sat in the seat of the accused, and heard Budenz blandly lie in the service of men who sought my destruction, and believed they would attain it.

It was then, for the first time, that I fully understood the words I have tried to live by—the testament and the prophecy uttered at the beginning of this Republic by Edward Livingston in opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798:

"If we are to violate the Constitution, will the people submit to our unauthorized acts? Sir, they ought not to submit; they would deserve the chains that these measures are forging for them. The country will swarm with informers, spies, delators and all the odious reptile tribe that breed in the sunshine of a despotic power. The hours of the most unsuspected confidence, the intimacies of friendship, or the recesses of domestic retirement afford no security.

"The companion whom you must trust, the friend in whom you must confide, the domestic who waits in your chamber, all are tempted to betray your imprudent or unguarded fellow; to misrepresent your words, to convey them, distorted by calumny, to the secret tribunal where jealousy presides; where fear officiates as accuser and suspicion is the only evidence that is heard. We are absurd enough to call ourselves 'free and enlightened' while we advocate principles that would have disgraced the age of Gothic barbarity and establish a code compared to which the ordeal is wise and the trial by battle is merciful and just."

Appendix

The "Lamb Case" is the lineal antecedent of the recent favorable ruling on the Pacifica Foundation's broadcasting licenses. Pacifica's educational radio stations in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York were subjected to a sustained attack by right-wing critics who charged that they had been infiltrated by Communists, and were guilty of broadcasting subversive, obscene, and otherwise controversial matter. [FROM THE INTRODUCTION]

The text of the FCC opinion and order on the "Pacifica Case" follows:

I. The Commission has before it for consideration the above pending applications of the listed broadcast stations licensed to Pacifica Foundation. There are three aspects to our consideration: (a) certain programming issues raised by complaints; (b) issues of possible Communist Party affiliation of principals of Pacifica; and (c) a question of possible unauthorized transfer of control. We shall consider each in turn.

2. *Programming Issues.* The principal complaints are concerned with five programs: (i) a December 12, 1959 broadcast over KPFA, at 10 p.m., of certain poems by Lawrence Ferlinghetti (read by the poet himself) (ii) *The Zoo Story,* a recording of the Edward Albee play broadcast over KPFK at 11 p.m., January 13, 1963 (iii) *Live and Let Live,* a program broadcast over KPFK at 10:15 p.m. on January 15, 1963, in which eight homosexuals discussed their attitudes and problems (iv) a program broadcast over KPFA at 7:15 p.m. on January 28, 1963, in which the poem, *Ballad of the Despairing Husband,* was read by the author Robert Creeley and (v) *The Kid,* a program broadcast at 11 p.m. on January 8, 1963 over KPFA, which consisted of readings by Edward Pomerantz from his unfinished novel of the same name. The complaints charge that these programs were offensive or "filthy" in nature, thus raising the type of issue we recently considered in *Palmetto Bctg. Co.,* 33 F.C.C. 483 34 F.C.C. 101. We shall consider the above five matters in determining whether, on an overall basis, the

licensee's programming met the public interest standard laid down in the Communications Act.[1] *Report and Statement of Policy Re: Commission En Banc Programming Inquiry,* 20 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 1901.

3. When the Commission receives complaints of the general nature here involved, its usual practice is to refer them to the licensee so as to afford the latter an opportunity to comment. When the Commission reviews, on an overall basis, the station's operation at the time of renewal, it thus has before it a complete file, containing all the sides of any matter which may have arisen during the license period. Specifically, with respect to the programming issue in this case, the Commission, barring the exceptions noted in the *Programming Statement (supra,* at p. 1909), is not concerned with individual programs—nor is it at any time concerned with matters essentially of licensee taste or judgment. Cf. *Palmetto Bctg. Co., supra,* par. 22. As shown by the cited case, its very limited concern in this type of case is whether, upon the overall examination, some substantial pattern of operation inconsistent with the public interest standard clearly and patently emerges. Unlike *Palmetto* where there was such a substantial pattern *(id.* at par. 23; see par. 7, *infra)* here we are dealing with a few isolated programs, presented over a four-year period. It would thus appear that there is no substantial problem, on an overall basis, warranting further inquiry.[2] While this would normally conclude the matter, we have determined to treat the issues raised by Pacifica's response to the complaints, because we think it would serve a useful purpose, both to the industry and the public. We shall therefore turn to a more detailed consideration of the issues raised by the complaints as to these five programs. Because of Pacifica's different response to the complaints as to (i) and (iv), par 2 above, we shall treat these two broadcasts separately (see pars. 6-7, *infra).*

4. There is, we think, no question but that the broadcasts of the programs, *The Zoo Story, Live and Let Live,* and *The Kid,* lay well within the licensee's judgment under the public interest standard. The situation here stands on an entirely different footing than *Palmetto, supra,* where the licensee had devoted a substantial period of his broadcast day to material which we found to be patently offensive—however much we weighted that standard in the licensee's favor—and as to which programming the licensee himself never asserted that it was not offensive or vulgar *or that it served the needs of his area or had any redeeming features.* In this case, Pacifica has stated its judgment that the three above-cited programs served the public interests and, specifically, the needs and interests of its listening public. Thus, it has pointed out that in its judgment *The Zoo Story* is a "serious work of drama" by an eminent and "provocative playwright"—that it is an "honest and courageous play" which Americans "who do not live near Broadway ought to have the opportunity to hear and experience. . . ." Similarly, as to *The Kid,* Pacifica states, with supporting authority, that Mr. Pomerantz is an author who has obtained notable recognition for his writings and whose readings from his unfinished novel were fully in the public interest as a serious work meriting the attention of its listeners; Pacifica further states that prior to broadcast the tape was auditioned by one of its employees who edited out two phrases because they did not meet Pacifica's broadcast standards of good taste; and that while "certain minor swear words are used, . . . these fit well within the context of the material being read and conform to the standards of acceptability of reasonably intelligent listeners." Finally, as to the program, *Live and Let Live,* Pacifica states that "so long as the program is handled in good taste, there is no reason why subjects like homosexuality should not be discussed on the air"; and that it "conscientiously believes that the American people will be better off as a result of hearing a constructive discussion of the problem rather than leaving the subject to ignorance and silence."

5. We recognize that as shown by the complaints here such provocative programming as here involved may offend some listeners. But this does not mean that those offended have the right, through the Commission's licensing power, to rule such programming off the airwaves. Were this the case, only the wholly inoffensive, the bland, could gain access to the radio microphone or TV camera. No such drastic curtailment can be countenanced under the Constitution, the Communications Act, or the Commission's policy, which has consistently sought to insure the "maintenance of radio and television as a medium of freedom of speech and freedom of expression for the people of the Nation as a whole" *(Editorializing Report,* 13 F.C.C. 1246, 1248). In saying this, we do not mean to indicate that those who have complained about the foregoing programs are in the wrong as to the worth of these programs and should listen to them. This is a matter solely for determination by the individual listeners. Our function, we stress, is not to pass on the merits of the program—to commend or to frown. Rather, as we stated (par. 3) it is the very limited one of assaying at the time of renewal whether the licensee's programming, on an overall basis, has been in the public interest and, in the context of this issue, whether he has made programming judgments reason-

1. The Commission may also enforce the standard of Section 1464 of Title 18 (dealing with "obscene, indecent, or profane language"). See Section 312(a), (b); Section 503 (b) (1) (E). In our view, enforcement proceedings under Section 1464 are not warranted, and therefore, no further consideration need be given this section.

2. While, for reasons developed in this opinion, it is unnecessary to detail the showings here, we have examined the licensee's overall showings as to its stations' operations and find that those operations did serve the needs and interests of the licensee's areas. *Programming statement, supra,* at pp. 1913-16. In this connection, we have also taken into account the showing made in the letter of April 16, 1963.

ably related to the public interest. This does not pose a close question in the case: Pacifica's judgments as to the above programs clearly fall within the very great discretion which the Act wisely vests in the licensee. In this connection, we also note that Pacifica took into account the nature of the broadcast medium when it scheduled such programming for the late evening hours (after 10 p.m., when the number of children in the listening audience is at a minimum).[3]

6. As to the Ferlinghetti and Creeley programs, the licensee asserts that in both instances some passages did not measure up to "Pacifica's own standards of good taste." Thus, it states that it did not carefully screen the Ferlinghetti tape to see if it met its standards "because it relied upon Mr. Ferlinghetti's national reputation and also upon the fact that the tape came to it from a reputable FM station." It acknowledges that this was a mistake in its procedures and states that "in the future Pacifica will make its own review of all broadcasts. . . ." With respect to the Creeley passage (i.e., the poem, *Ballad of a Despairing Husband)*[4], Pacifica again states that in its judgment it should not have been broadcast. It "does not excuse the broadcast of the poem in question" but it does explain how the poem "slipped by" KPFA's Drama and Literature Editor who auditioned the tape. It points out that prior to the offending poem Mr. Creeley, who "has a rather flat, monotonous voice," read 18 other perfectly acceptable poems—and that the station's editor was so lulled thereby that he did not catch the few offensive words in the 19th poem. It also points out that each of the nine poems which followed was again perfectly acceptable, and that before re-broadcasting the poem on its Los Angeles station, it deleted the objectionable verse.

7. In view of the foregoing, we find no impediment to renewal on this score. We are dealing with two isolated errors in the licensee's application of its own standards—one in 1959 and the other in 1963. The explanations given for these two errors are credible. Therefore, even assuming, *arguendo,* that the broadcasts were inconsistent with the public interest standard, it is clear that no unfavorable action upon the renewal applications is called for. The standard of public interest is not so rigid that an honest mistake or error on the part of a licensee results in drastic action against him where his overall record demonstrates a reasonable effort to serve the needs and interests of his community (see note 2, *supra).* Here again, this case contrasts sharply with *Palmetto* where instead of two isolated instances, years apart, we found that the patently offensive material was broadcast for a substantial period of the station's broadcast day for many years. See par. 3, *supra.*

8. We find, therefore, that the programming matters raised with respect to the Pacifica renewals pose no bar to a grant of renewal.[5] Our holding, as is true of all such holdings in this sensitive area, is necessarily based on, and limited to, the facts of the particular case. But we have tried to stress here, as in *Palmetto,* an underlying policy—that the licensee's judgment in this freedom of speech area is entitled to very great weight and that the Commission, under the public interest standard, will take action against the licensee at the time of renewal only where the facts of the particular case, established in a hearing record, flagrantly call for such action. We have done so because we are charged under the Act with "promoting the larger and more effective use of radio in the public interest" (Section 303(g)), and obviously, in the discharge of that responsibility, must take every precaution to avoid inhibiting broadcast licensees' efforts at experimenting or diversifying their programming. Such diversity of programming has been the goal of many Commission policies (e.g., multiple ownership, development of UHF, the fairness doctrine). Clearly, the Commission must remain faithful to that goal in discharging its functions in the actual area of programming itself.

9. *Communist Party Affiliation Issue.* Under the public interest standard, it is relevant and important for the Commission to determine in certain cases whether its applicants, or the principals of its applicants, for broadcast licenses or radio operator licenses, are members of the Communist Party or of organizations which advocate or teach the overthrow of the Government by force or violence. Sections 307(a), 307(d), 308(b), 309, 47 U.S.C. 307(a), 307(d), 308(b), 309; *Borrow* v. *F.C.C.,* 285 F. 2d 666, 669, *cert, den.,* 366 U.S. 904; *Cronan* v. *F.C.C.,* 385 F. 2d 288 (C.A.D.C.), *cert. den.,* 366 U.S. 904; *Blumenthal* v. *F.C.C.,* 318 F 2d 276 (C.A.D.C.), *cert. den.,* Case No. 1026, June 3, 1963; cf. *Beilan* v. *Board of Education,* 357 U.S. 399, 405; *Adler* v. *Board of Education,* 342 U.S. 485, 493; *Garner* v. *Los Angeles Board,* 341 U.S. 716, 720; *Speiser* v. *Randall,* 357 U.S. 513, 527. The Commission therefore has followed a policy of inquiring as to Communist Party membership in those radio licensing situations where it has information making such inquiry appropriate. Because of

3. Pacifica states that it "is sensitive to its responsibilities to its listening audience and carefully schedules for late night broadcasts those programs which may be misunderstood by children although thoroughly acceptable to an adult audience."

4. The program containing this passage was a taped recording of Mr. Creeley's readings of selections from his poetry to students at the University of California. KPFA broadcasts many such poetry readings at the University, which are recorded by a University employee for the school's archives (and made available to the station).

5. One other programming aspect deserves emphasis. Complaint has also been made concerning Pacifica's presentation of "far-left" programming. Pacifica has stated that it follows a policy of presenting programs covering the widest range of the political or controversial issue spectrum—from the members of the Communist Party on the left to members of the John Birch Society on the right. Again, we point out that such a policy (which must, of course, be carried out consistently with the requirements of the fairness doctrine) is within the licensee's area of programming judgment.

information coming to the Commission's attention from several sources, the Commission requested information from Pacifica Foundation on this score. On the basis of information obtained from Government sources, the Foundation, and our own inquiry, we do not find any evidence warranting further inquiry into the qualifications in this respect of Pacifica Foundation.

10. *Unauthorized Transfer of Control.* Until September 30, 1961, control of Pacifica was vested in Executive Members, who elected a Committee of Directors, who in turn elected officers and controlled the Foundation's activities. On September 30, 1961, the Executive Membership and the Committee of Directors were abolished. In their place, Pacifica is controlled—pursuant to its by-laws—by a Board of Directors, which elects officers and controls the Foundation's activities. The new by-laws which accomplished this result were appropriately reported to the Commission at the time they were adopted. However, no application for consent to a transfer of control was then filed.

11. This matter was brought to Pacifica's attention by a letter of February 7, 1963. The licensee's response of April 26, 1963, takes the position that no transfer of actual control had in fact taken place. However, in the event that the Commission deemed an application for consent to transfer of control to be necessary, Pacifica simultaneously filed such an application (BTC-4284). Pacifica argues that, in actual practice, control had been in the so-called Committee of Directors, and that this practice had been formalized in an amendment to the by-laws of October 20, 1960, which read, in relevant part:

"Except as hereinafter provided, the powers of this corporation shall be exercised, its property controlled, and its affairs conducted by a Committee of Directors which shall consist of twenty-one Executive Members of this Corporation."

The new Board of Directors, elected on September 30, 1961, was identical with the then existing Committee of Directors, and the officers of the Foundation likewise remained the same.

12. Although the September 30, 1961 revision in the by-laws does appear to have been only the formal recognition of a development in the actual control of Pacifica which had occurred over a period of years, and although there may well be merit in Pacifica's contention that changes in the composition of its Executive Membership (or, for that matter, of its present Board of Directors) should not be regarded as transfers of control, the September 30, 1961 revision in the by-laws did transfer legal control. Prior to that date, the Executive Membership elected directors, who elected officers. After that date, the directors themselves have elected new directors, as well as officers. The fact that the legal control vested in the Executive Members did not, in practice, amount to actual control, does not mean that its existence can be ignored—any more than the legal control of a 51% stockholder in a commercial corporation can be ignored because he fails to exercise it. See *ABC-Paramount Merger case,* 8 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 541, 619; *Press-Union Publishing Co., Inc.,* 7 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 83, 96; *Universal Carloading Co.* v. *Railroad Retirement Board,* 71 F. Supp. 369.

13. On the other hand, it is clear that Pacifica did not seek to conceal or misrepresent any facts concerning those who control its affairs, and that the failure to file involved was an excusable one. We therefore grant the pending application for transfer of control.

14. *Conclusion.* In view of the foregoing, it is ordered, this 22nd day of January, 1964, that the above-entitled applications of Pacifica Foundation ARE GRANTED as serving the public interest, convenience and necessity.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
Ben F. Waple, Secretary

Concurring Statement of Commissioner Robert E. Lee

I concur in the action of the Commission in granting the several applications of Pacifica Foundation. However, I feel constrained to comment on at least one program coming to our attention insofar as it may or may not reflect these stations' program policies.

Having listened carefully and painfully to a 1½ hour tape recording of a program involving self-professed homosexuals, I am convinced that the program was designed to be, and succeeded in being, contributory to nothing but sensationalism. The airing of a program dealing with sexual aberrations is not to my mind *per se* a violation of good taste nor contrary to the public interest. When these subjects are discussed by physicians and sociologists, it is conceivable that the public could benefit. But a panel of eight homosexuals discussing their experiences and past history does not approach the treatment of a delicate subject one could expect by a responsible broadcaster. A microphone in a bordello, during slack hours, could give us similar information on a related subject. Such programs, obviously designed to be lurid and to stir the public curiosity, have little place on the air.

I do not hold myself to be either a moralist or a judge of taste. Least of all do I have a clear understanding of what may constitute obscenity in broadcasting.

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California

Board of Directors, The Fund for the Republic, Inc. HONORARY CHAIRMAN: Paul G. Hoffman CHAIRMAN: William O. Douglas VICE-CHAIRMAN: George N. Shuster Ralph E. Ablon, Harry S. Ashmore, William C. Baggs, Bruce Catton, Patrick F. Crowley, Edward P. Eichler, Arnold Grant, Crane Haussamen, Alfred E. Heller, Robert M. Hutchins, Francis J. Lally, Edward Lamb, Morris L. Levinson, M. Albert Linton, J. Howard Marshall, Seniel Ostrow, Jubal R. Parten, Elmo Roper, William M. Roth, Louis Schweitzer

Consultants to the Center A. A. Berle, Jr., Harrison Brown, Scott Buchanan, Eugene Burdick, William O. Douglas, Robert Gordis, Clark Kerr, Irving F. Laucks, Henry R. Luce, John Courtney Murray, S.J., Reinhold Niebuhr, Isidor I. Rabi, George N. Shuster

New York Office of the Center and the Fund for the Republic: 133 East 54th Street, New York, New York 10022

April 1964

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Charting new courses in Latin America

SPECIAL REPORT

Latins try togetherness

The republics south of the border face huge economic problems brought on by poverty, inflation, and payments imbalance

Many of their leaders see economic integration—formation of a Latin American Common Market—as their best hope for internal stability and protection of their industries

On his visit to Punta del Este, President Johnson offers U.S. aid—political and practical—to ease the path to unity

A few years ago, in the aftermath of Fidel Castro's takeover in Cuba, Latin America seemed on the edge of violent social revolution. Guerrilla bands were forming in remote mountain and jungle fastnesses. Riots rocked the slums of Caracas and Rio de Janeiro. Economies faltered as businessmen—local and foreign—funneled money to havens abroad in anticipation of the explosion.

But the explosion hasn't come—and it looks now as though it won't. In a quiet but nonetheless dramatic turnabout, Latin America seems to be settling into a period of relative calm. The forces for change have been channeled along evolutionary routes.

"A revolution is under way," says a publisher in Santiago, "but it is a peaceful one."

Shifts. Here are some of the reasons for his optimism:

- Foreign investment hit a 10-year low in 1962, but now it is coming back. U.S. companies, which have a total of $11-billion invested in the area, are moving in with more. Copper production in Chile will be doubled with an additional $400-million investment. Union Carbide, Allied Chemical, Phillips Petroleum, and others have earmarked well over $200-million for petrochemical plants in Venezuela and Brazil.
- Strong popular support is behind the social-minded governments of such countries as Chile, Venezuela, and Peru.
- Reforms have brought about enough social progress in some areas so that hope is beginning to replace desperation among the underprivileged.

But the biggest change of all is political. Without the distraction of imminent revolutionary threats, Latin American governments now are better able to come to grips with the underlying economic and social ills that beset their countries. Says a university professor in Colombia: "We have time to maneuver."

U.S. backing. A search for practical ways to take advantage of this breathing spell is what took President Johnson to the Uruguayan beach resort of Punta del Este this week for a meeting with Latin American presidents. In what U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk hailed as the most important decision since their independence from Spain and Portugal, Latin presidents have pledged themselves to work toward economic integration. The aim is to pull together 19 economies into a single Latin American Common Market, within which goods and capital can flow freely, by 1985.

The U.S. role will be to provide political and financial push to get the idea in motion. Part of this will come in the form of extra funds—perhaps $1.5-billion worth over the next five years—to help finance some of the necessary underpinning, such as regional communications facilities and multinational power and highway projects.

In another important move, Washington officials at midweek acknowledged that the U.S. might be ready to loosen the strings on its aid to Latin nations by allowing them to use Alliance for Progress loans to finance purchases from each other. In the past, the U.S. has insisted that foreign purchases financed by Alliance money be made in the U.S. In the short run, untying aid might result in some slight drain on the U.S. balance of payments. But it would give the Latins a big psychological boost, as well as offer real possibilities for hastening the integration of a region more noted in the past for its divergencies than for its unity.

Responsibility. Latin America, an immense region stretching from the Rio Grande to Patagonia, became part of the empires of Spain and Portugal in the 16th Century. Its culture still is basically Iberian, despite intermarriage by the original conquerers and their descendants with Indians and Negro slaves, and a big influx of Europeans in this century to countries such as Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela.

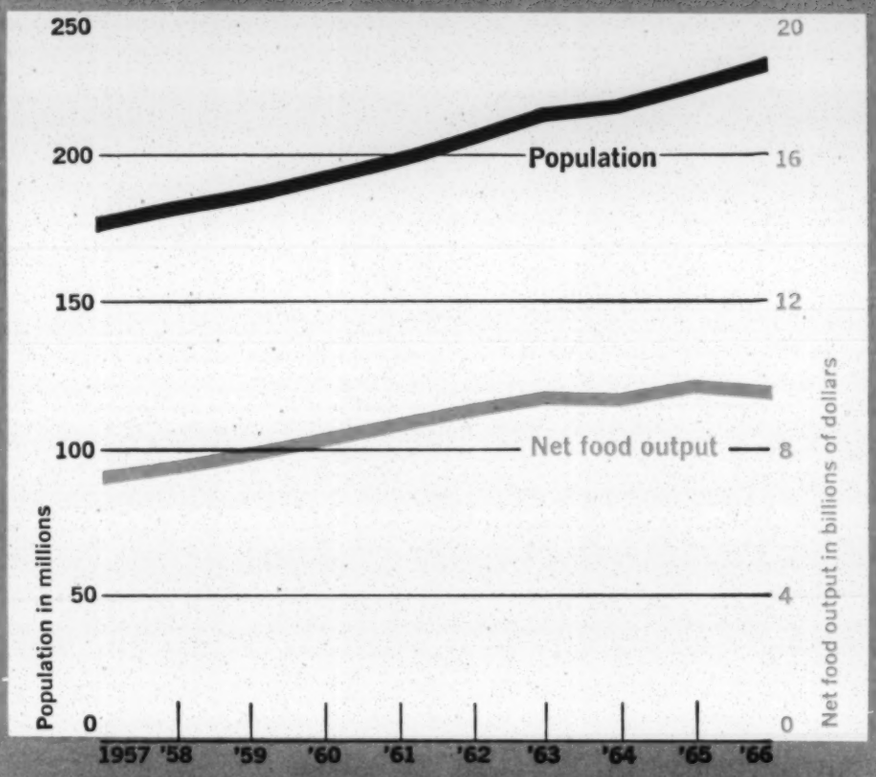
This racial mixture has produced a virile people, proud of their traditions, with a strong creative talent that has shown up in all the arts and most spectacularly in architecture. But the Latin genius has not been manifest in the art of politics. The Latins have a hard time bending their intense individualism to the common good, and this shortcoming has taken its toll in a seesaw series of government overthrows and military coups.

However, moves such as the current one toward economic integration reflect the emergence of a more responsible government leadership in the area. Ernst Keller, who lives in Lima and manages Adela S.A., a $30-million investment company for Latin America set up by U.S. and European banks and corporations, sums it up this way:

"The masses in Latin America have gained a considerable amount

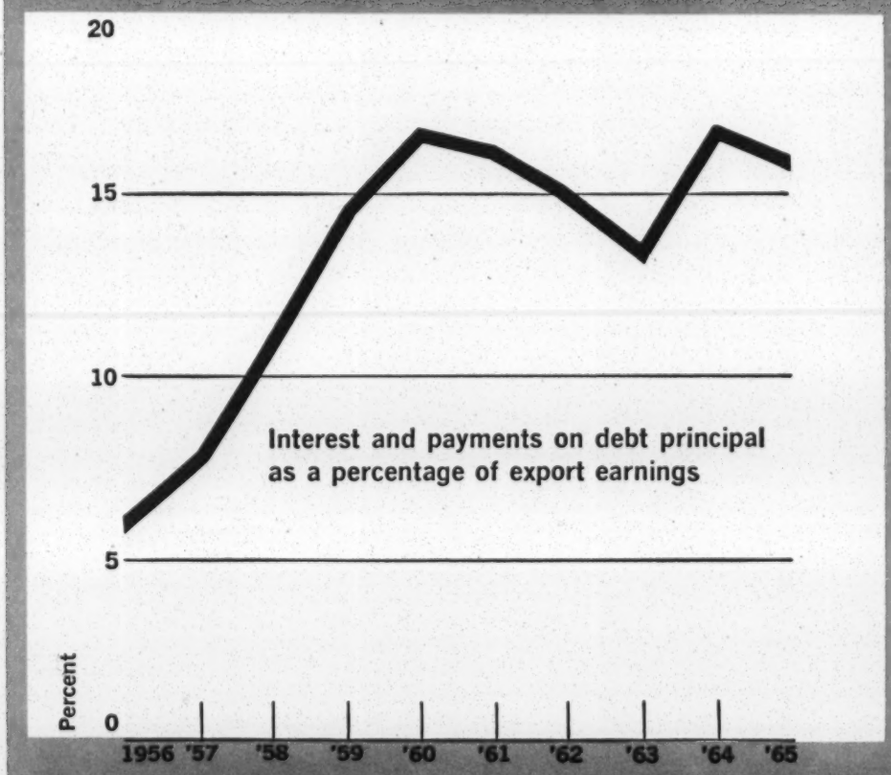
Latin America's economic treadmill

Rising population cancels gains in food output . . .



Data: Agency for International Development

. . . servicing foreign debts takes more and more of earnings from exports



Data: World Bank, International Monetary Fund

of political maturity. You can feel it. The result is more orderly procedures and fewer overthrows of constitutional governments. When such regimes are overthrown, it is usually for justifiable economic reasons. Developing countries with small budgets and marginal foreign reserves simply can't put up with messy governments."

The other side

All this doesn't mean that conditions have uniformly improved. Although Lima is off on a building spree and Caracas expects one as the government steps up pre-election spending, Brazil's economy still is showing the strains of a three-year belt-tightening by which its government has been trying to stifle inflation. Argentina is bracing for hard times, as its military government puts an austerity program into effect.

Resurgent militarism, in fact, also has brought some steps backward in the area of political freedom. Latin America's two largest nations, Brazil and Argentina, now are under authoritarian military regimes that have strait-jacketed political liberty. There are symptoms of military restiveness in Venezuela, and a right-wing terrorist movement has emerged in Guatemala.

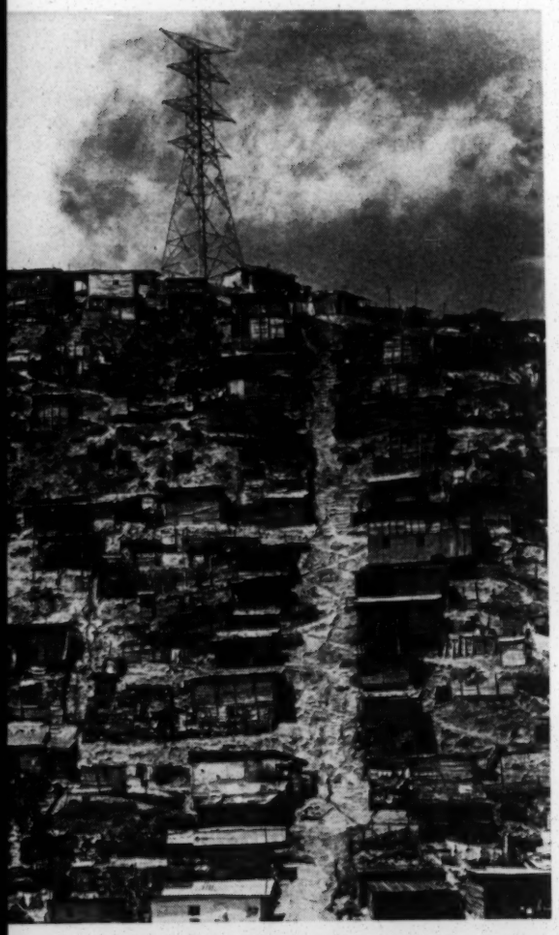
Rich and poor. It's also evident that the ingredients of violent upheaval still are present—and in some areas multiplying. Shocking extremes of wealth and poverty still exist. The housing shortage is growing. Food output keeps just a jump ahead of Latin America's explosive population growth of almost 3% a year.

Right now, the region holds nearly 250-million people. By the year 2000, if the growth rate isn't checked, they will number 600-million. Economic expansion needed to provide them with food, shelter, and jobs isn't coming fast enough. Last year, the per-capita gain was only half the 2.5% set as a minimum Alliance for Progress target. Most of the countries are still struggling with inflation.

Meanwhile, the gap in wealth between Latin America and the industrialized part of the world is widening. In the last decade, per-capita income in Latin America has increased by $40, against $175 for the developed countries.

Reversal. Nor does the new situation in Latin America mean that the advocates of violence have given up trying. In Venezuela, the Castroite Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) still tosses bombs, usually in the direction of a U.S.

City affluence lures thousands from Latin America's backlands, though . . .



. . . **urban squalor,** in slums like this near Bogota, may be end of journey.

company. There is renewed guerrilla activity in Colombia. This month, Bolivian troops were out hunting a small guerrilla band in the Amazonian jungle.

Still, there has been a reversal in expectations. No longer are the Marxist revolutionaries convinced they are riding the wave of the future (page 120). They are on the defensive, divided on tactics. A basic split came into the open in Venezuela last month over the assassination of the foreign minister's brother. While the outlawed Venezuelan Communist Party leaders hastily disavowed the act, Castro scornfully denounced them as cowards and collaborators with the government.

In fact, the image of Castro as a Latin messiah has been tarnished throughout the hemisphere. The 1963 Cuban missile crisis revealed him to millions as a reckless adventurer gambling with nuclear war or, at best, a pawn in Russia's struggle with the U. S. Says a U. S. official in Venezuela: "Few probably would agree with me, but I think a case could be made showing that Castro has meant a net gain for the U. S. in Latin America."

Faltering Alliance

That was hardly apparent back in 1961, when the U. S. and Latin officials launched the Alliance for Progress at Punta del Este. With the challenge of Castro still fresh, and the stoning of Vice-President Nixon during a South American tour a recent memory, the mood in Washington was close to panic.

Amid loud fanfare, ambitious plans were announced to stave off violent revolution with a $20-billion, 10-year program to promote the welfare of and bring greater social justice to the restless masses of Latin America. Since then, President Johnson has extended the life of the Alliance for another 10 years.

So far, the U. S. has dropped $6.6-billion into the Alliance hopper for schools, highways, water-works, sewage systems, and housing units. A major chunk has gone into emergency aid to keep off the rocks countries whose balance-of-payments positions have gotten out of whack. But, funds from other developed countries and private capital have failed to come up to expectations.

Little change. The Alliance has proved a valuable training ground for Latin economists in drawing up monetary and development plans. It has provided support for officials charged with putting through tax reforms.

Undoubtedly, the Alliance has helped defuse the time bomb of Latin America's "rising expectations." But six years after its birth, it's clear that the Alliance hasn't attained its major objectives. It has not brought rapid and sustained economic growth. It has not yet produced substantial changes in economic and social structures. In view of what has happened in Brazil and Argentina, it is questionable whether it can be credited with strengthening democratic processes.

Nor has it infused the Latin Americans with any sense of mission or dedication. "One of the most serious criticisms of the Alliance," says President Eduardo Frei Montalva of Chile, "is that the people have not been able to participate in it." In the words of a government official in Lima: "It has developed into a dialogue among economists."

Why integration?

This is where economic integration could fit in. Latin American unity, in one form or another, is an old aspiration that has been gaining acceptance among wide segments of the population. The U. S. has belatedly seized on the idea in hopes of revitalizing the Alliance and giving it the political drive and purpose it was missing.

There are two clear-cut reasons why Latin American proponents of integration see it as the best hope for economic progress within their countries.

- It would offer better opportunities for industrial expansion by providing wider markets while protecting manufacturers in Latin America from competition with products of developed lands.
- Latin countries could speak with one voice on trade and tariff policies toward the industrial countries that provide markets for Latin America's commodities.

Stacked deck. Underlying these arguments is the feeling, widespread among Latin governments, that Latin America gets the short end of the stick in world trade. Says a high Colombian official: "The cards are stacked against us." Trade is the biggest source of discord between Latins and the U. S.

Latin Americans complain that prices for the manufactures they import have been rising faster than the prices of the agricultural commodities that generally are their leading exports. Statistics tend to bear them out. In the past decade, while the value of exports from industrial countries climbed by 10%, Latin exports rose only 3.9%. And much of

this increase was eaten up by payments on the mounting load of foreign debt (chart, page 108).

Furthermore, the Latins object to the preferential treatment that European governments grant imports from their former African colonies. And they charge that U. S. subsidies to American growers of cotton and sugar beets, as well as quotas on imports of such products as cotton textiles, are artificial barriers to Latin American goods in the U. S. market.

Diversifying. Some Latins even go so far as to charge that U. S. policy toward Latin America is one of "aid not trade," and suggest that the U. S. should give preferential treatment to Latin American exports. Washington replies that such a policy runs contrary to basic U. S. philosophy of liberalizing world trade, and that the Latins should concentrate instead on diversifying their economies and developing new export lines.

Some progress in this direction has been made. Colombia is investing in slaughterhouses to boost exports of meat. Peru has developed its fishmeal industry into the nation's No. 1 dollar earner, ahead even of minerals. Brazil is cutting back on coffee production and fostering the growing of corn, for which there is a market abroad.

Such diversification, plus integration, could go a long way toward helping Latin America speed its growth.

On the fire. In fact, the movement toward integration already is under way. Seven years ago, the little Central American republics, with the exception of Panama, formed their own Central American Common Market (CACM). They have been making rapid strides. With the help of foreign investment in such things as refrigerator plants and pharmaceutical laboratories, their economies have perked up, growing an average of 6% a year, compared to 4.5% for the 10 years prior to CACM's formation.

The larger Latin American countries, too, have dipped a tentative toe into the current toward economic cooperation by forming the Latin American Free Trade Assn. (LAFTA). But LAFTA has been lagging. Less than 10% of the trade of LAFTA countries is with other members. LAFTA is now six years old, but there has been little expansion of the limited list of products freely traded within the area.

The task now will be to weld the CACM and LAFTA systems together. The Common Market also would have to include another subregional group now forming among Chile, Colombia, probably Venezuela, and possibly Peru.

Getting a Common Market going will be no easy piece of diplomacy. Topographical barriers and vast distances—and sometimes political differences—separate many of the would-be partners. The president of land-locked Bolivia announced he wouldn't come to Punta del Este this week, because his country's old dispute with Chile over access to the sea wasn't placed on the agenda. The larger countries of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico are well along the path of industrialization, with big consumer markets of their own to feed. The smaller nations want guarantees that they will share in the process of industrializing, and won't merely be relegated to the role of captive markets for Latin America's Big Three.

Beginning at home

Nevertheless, the trend toward "economic togetherness" in Latin America is unmistakable, beginning within national boundaries. Nearly all the countries are bent on bringing their remote and backward regions into the mainstream of national life.

Brazil, for example, is parlaying government spending with fiscal favors to private enterprise in a push to develop its depressed northeast and empty Amazon regions, while thrusting roads toward its border with Peru. Bolivia is building roads into its fertile lands east of the Andes and encouraging settlement there, partly by Japanese immigrants. President Fernando Belaunde Terry of Peru is doing much the same in his country with the "Marginal Highway" project, which eventually is to become part of a road system running from Venezuela south to Bolivia.

Nationalism. Integration, on both national and international levels, is a big part of what Latins want today. But they also want broader opportunities in education and jobs for those at the lower end of the social scale, greater control over their own natural resources, and protection from the vagaries of world markets for commodities such as cotton, coffee, and sugar.

To a considerable extent, these objectives add up to nationalism—though not the extreme variety favored by Marxists who want to nationalize foreign-owned industries.

There has been an upswing in anti-American nationalist feeling in Brazil recently among industrialists. They complain that they have been competing at a disadvantage against

Assembly line at the E. F. Johnson Company, a leading manufacturer of radio equipment and electronic components.

"In Minnesota, you get more than a day's work for your money,"

says Irving Koss, Vice President and General Manager, E. F. Johnson Company, Waseca, Minn.

"If Johnson has a hidden weapon," Mr. Koss continues, "it's the work force. I have never been in a plant where there was more diligence, less goofing off, more desire to come in and do a day's work than here."

In Minnesota, The E. F. Johnson Company's experience is not unique! Industry thrives in Minnesota because the average Minnesotan is an unusually skilled and remarkably creative employee.

Those firms able to compare their Minnesota plant output with operations elsewhere find the Minnesota employees exceptionally productive . . . and profitable.

You see, Minnesotans believe in the wisdom of investing in people. That's why so many Minnesotans complete high school or one of Minnesota's many trade schools. And that's why Minnesota enjoys the distinction of being one of the leading states in the number of Ph.D.'s per million population.

Ask any of the Nation's fastest growing industries who have plants in Minnesota what they think of their Minnesota location. They'll tell you in no uncertain terms . . . "You'd like it here!"

For CONFIDENTIAL information, CALL OR WRITE the:

Department of Business Development
Division 20-P, State Capitol
Saint Paul, Minnesota (55101)

MINNESOTA BRAINPOWER BUILDS PROFITS

U. S. and other foreign companies which have been able to bring in foreign funds to help them weather a critical credit squeeze. A Peruvian industrialist says: "We know our countries must develop. But we aren't going to leave the job entirely to foreigners."

No easy way. Many of these goals, of course, are old ones. The difference today lies in how Latins are trying to attain them. Latins increasingly are solving their problems in down-to-earth, pragmatic fashion, with a minimum of faith in magic formulas.

At one time, there was hopeful talk among some Latins of associating with the Afro-Asian nations in a common economic and political front against the industrial powers. Latin Americans now realize this was a pipe-dream; the Africans and Asians are, in fact, competitors of the Latin American nations in world markets with such products as coffee and minerals.

Pragmatism. Today's Latin American leaders also are less bound up in ideologies than many were in the past. The present governments of Chile and Venezuela have a strong tincture of socialism; but they are going into partnership deals with private foreign capital—in copper in Chile, and in petrochemicals in Venezuela. Last year, Brazil's military-run regime, though fiercely anti-Communist, signed a $100-million trade and investment agreement with the Russians.

Latin governments also are beginning to face up to the problem of population pressures, a touchy subject in a heavily Catholic society. Government doctors and nurses are giving instruction in family planning and birth control in Venezuela, Colombia, and Costa Rica. Four other countries have official family-planning programs, and the U. S. Agency for International Development (AID) is furnishing $2.2-million this year for studies to help Latin countries control their population explosion. This week, in Santiago, Chile, the International Planned Parenthood Federation is holding a world conference at which the host government is officially represented.

These are some of the ways Latin America has been going about solving its problems. Commonly, Latin America is lumped together with Asia and Africa as part of the "underdeveloped" world. But societies that can produce the big, modern cities of Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, and Mexico City obviously can't be placed in the same category with most of the African and Asian nations.

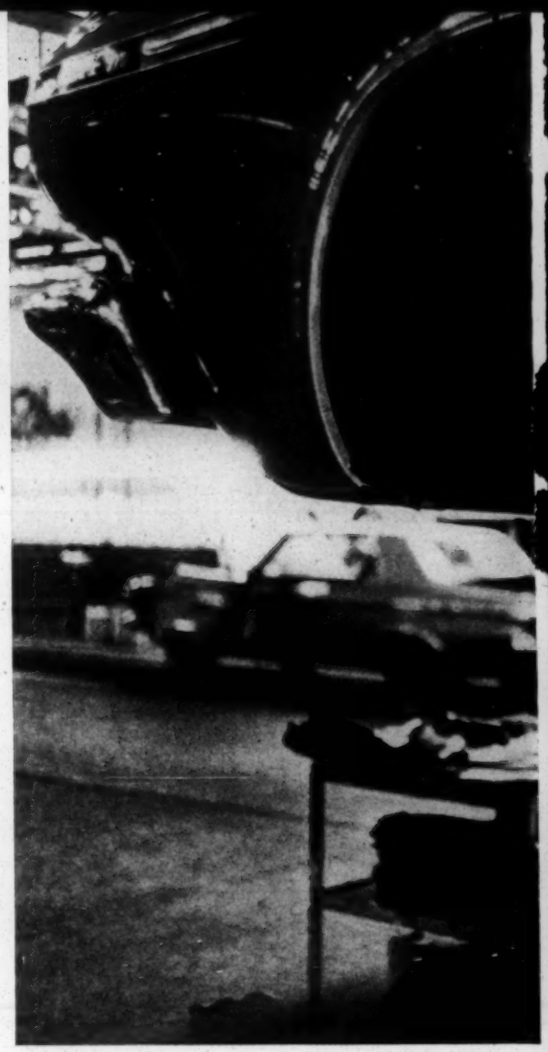
The face of Mexico: benign despite warts

The country whose record for development is the envy of other Latins undoubtedly is Mexico, unique in Latin America for having achieved durable political stability and steady economic growth. In large part, this is the result of the nation's 1911 revolution, which broke up the estates of the oligarchy, gave land to the peasants, brought social reforms, and produced a benevolent, one-party dictatorship of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). The system works well, because it provides some voice within PRI for all sectors of the population.

Of course, Mexico wouldn't be part of Latin America if all were progress and prosperity. The country has a host of problems. The population, now some 43-million, is expanding at a rate of 3.5% a year. Last year, the economy was able to provide only 150,000 jobs for the 400,000 new workers that entered the work force. Nearly half the people are members of families earning less than $1,000 annually. Good farm land is scarce; its area can be expanded only with heavy expenditures for irrigation.

Cycles. Still, Mexico has come a long way since the bloody days of revolution. Today, its pesos are hard currency for international trade. Its healthy, diversified economy is growing by 6% a year, based on minerals, agriculture, manufacturing, and its tourist industry, worth $1-billion a year—equal to a quarter of of the federal budget.

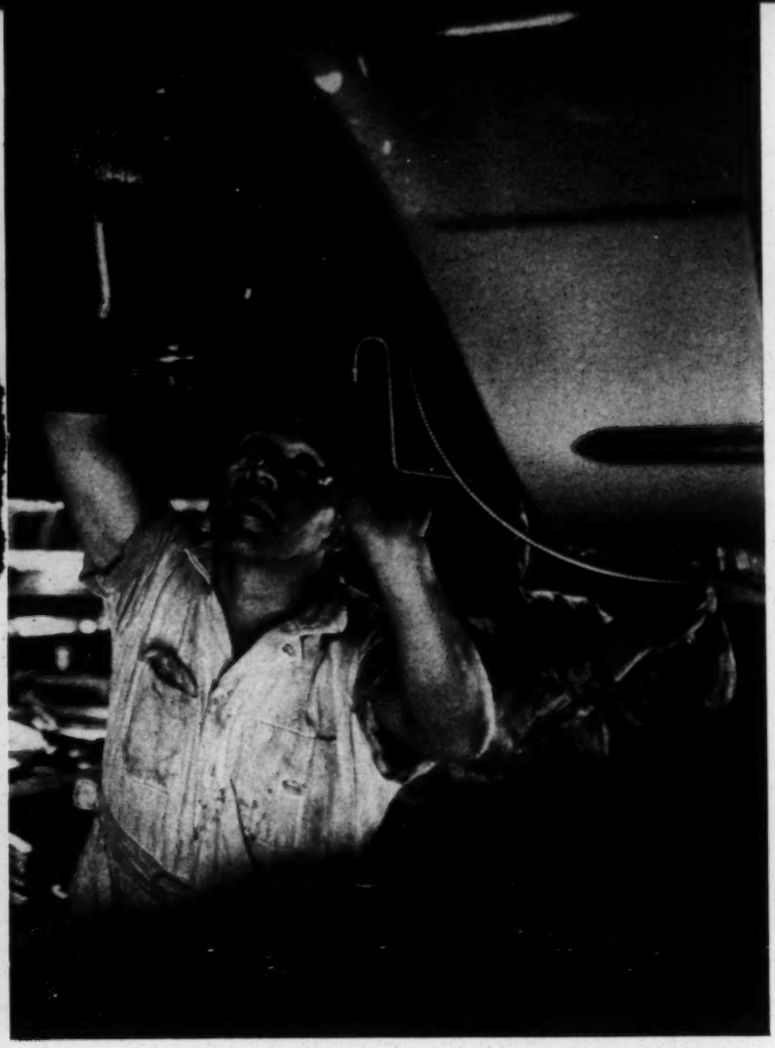
PRI governments have swung from left to right in six-year cycles, the length of the president's term. Now, under President Gustavo Diaz



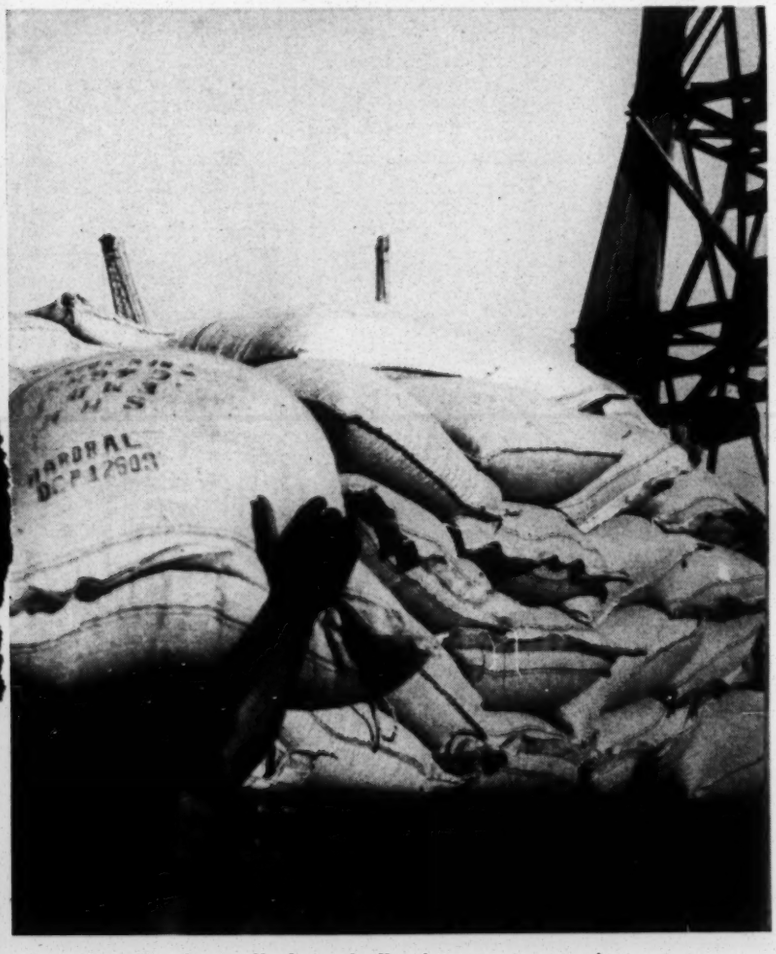
Industry—such as auto making—provides

Agricultural products—coffee, cotton, sugar

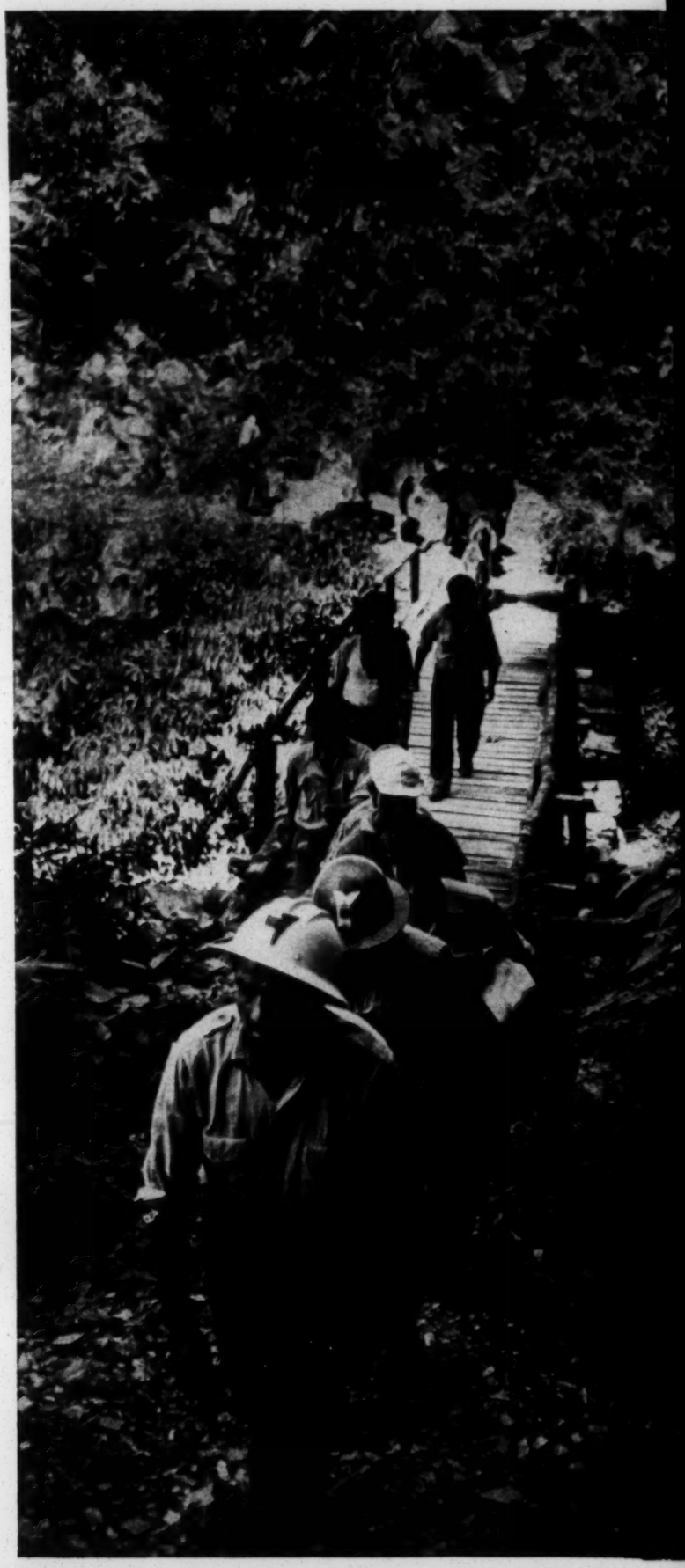
Three economic pillars



jobs in countries like Mexico that have big domestic markets.



—have traditionally been bulk of Latin America's exports.



Mining of zinc, tin, and other minerals in remote Andean regions is the mainstay of several Latin economies.

FIRESTONE WEARS LEE

Lee-tailoring does a public relations job for many of America's blue chip industries. Why do they choose Lee? Because Lee is an expert in the industrial workwear field. The big brand. Lee gives them the wide range of workwear they want... and the fast, reliable service they expect. Call in an experienced Lee consultant to discuss the garments best suited to your needs. Write to Industrial Div., H. D. Lee Co., Inc., Dept. A, P. O. Box 440, Shawnee Mission, Kansas 66201. ALSO AVAILABLE IN CANADA.

security is a burning problem. Fire destroys completely... and the unique combustion principle of Silent Glow Confidential-Paper Destroyers completely burns confidential documents, ledgers and other records to 1/20th of their bulk in fine, white ash. This pollution-free full-security equipment operates without auxiliary fuel, without attendants, is shipped as a packaged unit ready for use.

Get your fact-filled kit on the economic and security benefits of Silent Glow's complete, use-proven line of 1-1/2 to 50-bushel Confidential-Paper Destroyers by mailing this coupon today:

NAME_____ TITLE_____

COMPANY_____ PHONE_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP_____

SILENT GLOW CORPORATION / DEPT. B2 / BOX 2580 / HARTFORD, CONN. 06101 (203) 522-8125

first name in pollution-free disposal **SILENT GLOW**

Ordaz, the trend is a bit to the left, with emphasis on economic nationalism and stiff-backed independence of the U. S. in foreign policy. Mexico is the only Latin American nation still maintaining relations with Cuba.

Foreign companies complain of increasing government regulation and pressure to Mexicanize—that is, take in Mexican partners, either private or governmental. As a result of this pressure, Pan American Sulphur Co. just last week agreed to sell two-thirds of its Mexican subsidiary to the Mexican government and private Mexican investors. Texas Gulf Sulphur has done the same thing.

Despite this, foreign investors have confidence in the country's future. New money is coming in at the rate of $200-million a year. U. S. businessmen alone have invested over $1-billion, in everything from auto making to food processing. Right now, companies such as Texas Gulf, Hooker Chemical, and National Bulk Carriers are preparing new investment plans in expectation that the Mexican government will grant more sulfur concessions.

Brazil and Argentina: the erratic giants

In sharp contrast with Mexico, Brazil and Argentina—Latin America's two largest nations—have been going through a period of dizzying political and economic ups and downs. Both now are under military regimes which hope to solve by fiat tough problems that past democratic regimes failed to overcome.

In Brazil, for example, the congress, shorn of most of its powers under a new constitution, has no say whatever in the federal budget. In Argentina, the military last year simply abolished the congress along

Bad times in the guerrilla trade

Revolution is an old Latin custom. Latin Americans have many ways of changing governments, quite a few of them violent: wars of independence, peasant insurrections, power grabs by ambitious colonels, palace coups. Mexico's revolution was one of this century's greatest upheavals; it lasted more than a decade and took an estimated 2-million lives.

Since Fidel Castro's takeover in Cuba in 1959, Latin American firebrands have been trying with little success to apply his formula for revolution: a Marxist-oriented guerrilla movement striking from remote bases in mountains and jungles. For several years, Communist guerrilla bands have been marauding in the backlands of Venezuela, Guatemala, and Colombia (where they compete with numerous bandit gangs). Now, guerrilla fighting has broken out in Bolivia.

Division. Still, all these groups, together probably numbering not more than 1,000 men, so far have not been able to attract broad support. Of course, Castro started with only a handful. But his imitators lack the ingredient that was vital to Castro's success —backing from Cubans of all classes, who were fed up with the corrupt and brutal dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. Widespread disillusion with Castro after he unveiled his Communism has made it virtually impossible for would-be Latin revolutionaries to muster the same kind of popular support, even in countries with unpopular governments.

In addition, Latin Communists themselves are bitterly divided over how to spread their influence. Throughout Latin America, most old-line, Moscow-oriented Communist parties currently are trying to work through legal political channels, and are making alliances with non-Communist parties whenever they can. Such devious tactics enrage Castro and his impatient disciples.

Latin revolutionaries may still get a chance to spark violent upheaval—if the region fails to make headway against massive economic and social ills. But for the present, many revolutionaries admit that the time isn't ripe. Writing in a French leftist publication, Marxist Henri Edmé acknowledged sourly: "We can no longer speak of the revolution in Latin America as imminent, inevitable, triumphant." The influence of the U. S. and modern capitalism, Edmé lamented, has "gained the initiative and the upper hand."

with all political parties. Both countries now are in the mold of authoritarian Spain and Portugal.

Credit habit. In huge Brazil—almost as big as the rest of South America and with a population of 83-million—the military came to power just three years ago. They tossed out a leftist government that had run the country into economic chaos, and gave the job of rescuing the economy from runaway inflation to a team of economists headed by Roberto Campos.

Through tight credit restrictions, higher taxes, wage curbs, and a holddown in government spending, Campos managed to cut back inflation to 43% last year; but he failed to lick it. In fact, inflation seems as permanent a feature of the country as the Portuguese language. Says a stockbroker in Rio de Janeiro: "If you don't give Brazilians credit, they'll take it anyway. There's been a small-scale boom recently along the highways around Brasilia. How was it financed? By promissory notes and bad checks."

No contest. The government of former army Marshal Humberto Castelo Branco, who left office last month, was composed mostly of military intellectuals and economists. Its successor is made up of tough-fisted generals and representatives of local businessmen. They are highly critical of former Planning Minister Campos' program, which sent business into a slump.

The new leadership is determined to get things rolling again. It will relax credit, ease up on wage restraints, and probably give business some tax relief. This probably will mean inflation of 30% to 35% this year. To win sympathy from labor and student groups, new President Arthur da Costa e Silva also plans to push housing and educational projects. Meanwhile, Brazil continues to get the lion's share of Alliance for Progress aid.

As for steps toward democracy, though, the military rulers are unlikely to allow anything more than a tame opposition. The outgoing government bequeathed to Costa e Silva a set of harsh repressive measures, including a clampdown on the press and a national security law so strict that it compels employers to fire anyone even accused of subversion.

Opening move. The military in Argentina—a true caste more than anywhere else in Latin America—are finding out for themselves that it is easier to oust a government than run a country. One of their problems has been reaching agreement among themselves on what policies to follow.

However, after months of marking time, strongman General Juan Carlos Ongania finally is beginning to put into effect a program aimed at curbing inflation and putting the economy on a sounder footing for future growth. It follows the pattern of action recently taken in Brazil: orthodox monetary and fiscal measures designed to stimulate private enterprise.

Toughest measure so far was last month's 40% devaluation of the peso, as a followup to two less drastic devaluations. This opens the door to a $300-million credit package from the International Monetary Fund, the U. S. Treasury, and private foreign banks. At the same time, foreign oil companies whose contracts were canceled by ousted President Arturo Illia are being invited back with offers of outright concessions. This week, the government announced agreements with Standard Oil (Indiana) and Cities Service under which the two companies will continue to produce oil in Argentina.

The government also is pushing an export campaign, with radio stations plugging the motto: "To export is to grow."

Labor woes. On the labor front, the government is playing it somewhat by ear. In effect, it has told the powerful General Labor Confederation it can continue as a labor organization so long as it stays out of politics. A few weeks ago, the military backed up this edict by revoking the charters and freezing the funds of six unions that staged a 24-hour strike to protest government policies.

The place of labor in the nation's political life has been the crux of Argentina's political woes in recent years. Ever since the 1955 overthrow of dictator Juan Domingo Peron,

whose power base was the unions, labor has been cast in the role of political pariah. Since many union leaders are still faithful to the aging Peron, an exile in Spain, there will probably be no real solution to the problem until he dies.

Venezuela and the Pacific republics

While Brazil and Argentina, along with neighboring Bolivia, are seeking to solve their problems through authoritarian regimes, Venezuela and the Pacific Coast countries have been generally sticking to constitutional democracy based on popularly elected governments. On the whole, they have been doing better than their military neighbors, in both economic growth and social progress—with the exception of tiny, backward Ecuador.

Oil-rich Venezuela is heading into another boom period. A lengthy tax dispute with foreign oil producers has been settled with a new formula providing Venezuela with several hundred million dollars in additional income. The agreement is expected to keep peace between Venezuela's left-of-center government and the companies for the next five years. Meanwhile, the government plans to open new oil areas to exploration bv offering the companies drilling contracts.

New plans. Venezuela's big drive is to develop new sources of wealth besides oil. It is building a metallurgical complex at the mouth of the Orinoco River that will use nearby iron ore and cheap hydroelectric power. (The big Guri Dam, source of the power, is proving a headache for its builder, Kaiser Engineers. Kaiser reportedly was off by some $50-million on its cost estimates, and is trying to get the Venezuelans to pay the extra amount.)

Venezuela also is going ahead with plans for a huge petrochemical complex, in partnership with foreign capital and with the export market chiefly in mind. The state-owned Venezuelan Petrochemical Institute is setting up joint companies with Union Carbide, Allied Chemical, Shell, and Phillips Petroleum to make polyethylene, synthetic rubber, nitrogen fertilizers, and other products. Initial investment will be $100-million, but the final total will run many times that amount. Some 30 other projects are under study.

Curiously, one dark cloud in Vene-

Democracy vs. militarism: Chile's Frei is trying a "revolution in freedom"; Argentina's Ongania is using the iron-hand approach to bring stability.

THREAD GAGES

Use of inaccurate, low-cost gages may be robbing your production by rejecting a high percent of within-tolerance work. We call them "production bandits." Let Greenfield stop the loss with precise tapping and thread gage geometry that deliver longer wearlife and "watch-dog" accuracy. They'll save you lots of time.

GTD GREENFIELD **GREENFIELD TAP & DIE**
GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS 01301

Products of our eight industrial divisions are stocked and sold by leading Industrial Distributors throughout the nation. They add the economy of fast, local delivery and service.

INDUSTRIAL DIVISIONS—
CHICAGO-LATROBE • GEOMETRIC TOOL CO.
OTHER DIVISIONS — IMPERIAL MANUFACTURING

Cuba's Castro calls for revolution, but now attracts few followers.

zuela's future is the problem of air pollution in the U. S. and the measures being taken to fight it. The fuel oil that Venezuela sells in large quantities to the U. S. is high in sulfur, a chief villain in pollution. To reduce the sulfur content to acceptable levels, the oil companies operating in Venezuela would have to install $100-million worth of equipment. Unless they do, the U. S. may place stricter curbs on imports of Venezuelan oil.

Decisive steps. Neighboring Colombia has been having a rough time recently, with inflation, an explosive growth in population, unemployment now running about 20% of the work force, and a critical balance-of-payments problem due to a drop in returns from exports of coffee and other agricultural products.

Under President Carlos Lleras Restrepo, however, the government elected last year on a platform of "national transformation" has been taking decisive steps to give the nation a broader, more diversified economy. Just last month, the government decreed a de facto devaluation of the peso. It set a lower exchange rate for coffee than for other products. Through this, the government hopes to discourage overproduction of coffee and stimulate exports of meat and textiles, and other goods.

This step, coupled with such deflationary measures as tax increases and credit restrictions, has won the

where you make more on what you make

Kentucky

If you build prefabricated homes, make modular building panels, wooden architectural parts, builders' hardware or furniture — in fact, if you do *any kind* of manufacturing — you can expect a profit advantage in Kentucky. There is *objective*, independent research to prove this.

Tell us who you are . . . what you make. We will provide detailed information on the savings for *your* specific business. Savings on raw materials. On manufacturing. On distribution.

Kentucky has what it takes to help you prosper: central location, modern transportation, favorable taxes and financing help, stable communities who want you. And these communities have the trained and trainable labor your new plant will need.

Ask to see the profits' study on your business

FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY—Katherine Peden, Commissioner, Kentucky Department of Commerce, Zip Code 40601. Phone 502 223-2481.

NEW YORK—William C. James, Jr., Manager, Kentucky Department of Commerce, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, Suite 3563. 10020. Phone 212 581-9459.

CHICAGO—E. Leo Koester, Mgr., Kentucky Department of Commerce, 20 N. Wacker Drive, Kemper Insurance Building, Suite 1452. 60606. Phone 312 236-8773.

LOS ANGELES—Daryl J. Butcher, Mgr., Kentucky Department of Commerce, 615 South Flower Street, Suite 500. 90017. Phone 213 624-0229.

"Here's one that'll *really* turn you on!"

But only if you're a business, industrial, or institutional user. Different kinds of people are turned on with different kinds of things. Champion specializes in turning on your kind of people with the kind of lighting your company needs.

So talk with your Champion distributor.

And look at the world in a whole new light.

CHAMPION LAMP, LYNN, MASS.

Money Tight Labor Scarce Plant Full ?

Augment your "sold-out" facilities by using our complete Contract Design and Manufacturing Services.

Call us...collect
216-746-7211 Ext. 252

Ask for Mr. Robert N. Griffith, General Manager, Industrial Sales

50 years experience in precision metal cabinetry.

MANUFACTURING DIVISION
REPUBLIC STEEL CORPORATION
1315 Albert Street
Youngstown, Ohio 44505

support of the International Monetary Fund. The IMF and U. S. agencies now are readying a $200-million financial package to help Colombia out of its payments bind.

Classic formula. Of all major Latin American countries, Peru comes closest to following a policy of classic economic liberalism. The policy has brought liberal returns. Helped by a heavy influx of foreign capital into mining and manufacturing, plus rising prices in the world copper market in the past few years, Peru's economy is heading for another prosperous year with a growth rate of between 5% and 6%.

Evidence of increasing prosperity is everywhere in the capital city of Lima: new auto assembly plants going up, new public works, and a better-dressed populace.

Paradoxically, increased prosperity has been adding to Lima's woes, as more and more poor people from the backlands pour into the city's ramshackle hillside "barriados," or slums. Despite the filth and overcrowding, the newcomers' life there is preferable to rural poverty and isolation. But many have heard about President Belaunde's scheme for distributing land along the Marginal Highway and other roads the government is building in the interior. They are expecting to be given a homestead.

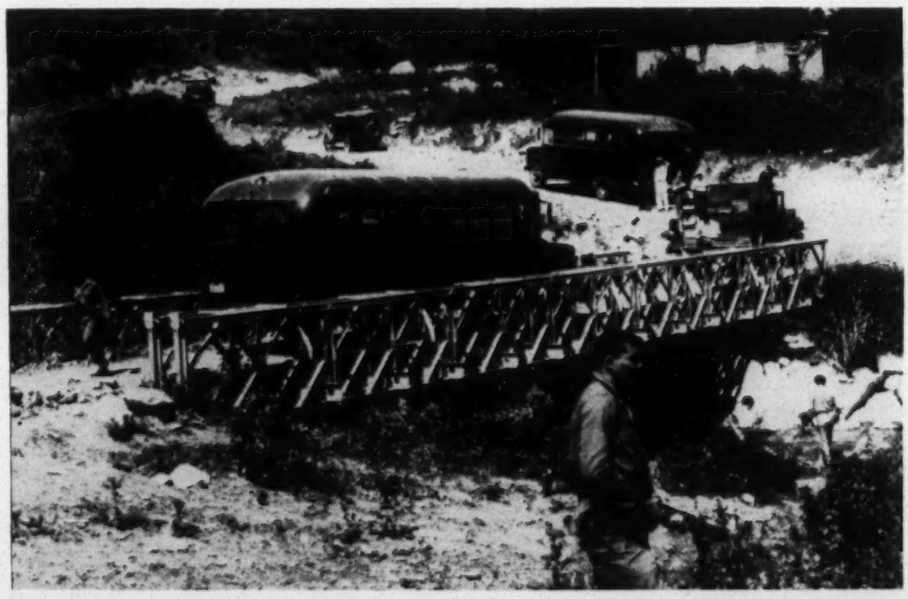
This is an example of the pressures on social-minded governments in Latin America to deliver on their promises. In Peru's case, it is leading to the familiar Latin dilemma: a choice between growth or stability. Economists are worried by signs that Peru's rate of inflation is picking up as a result of government spending—as well as the demands of private business for credit.

Chilean dynamo. What may be Latin America's most dynamic political leadership these days is to be found in slender Chile, a country that stretches more than 2,500 mi. from its northern deserts to sub-Antarctic Cape Horn. Christian Democrat President Frei is one of the staunchest advocates of a Latin American Common Market. He came to office two years ago pledged to carry out a "revolution within freedom." Despite roadblocks thrown up by ultra-conservatives and a Socialist-Communist coalition, he is coming close to doing just that.

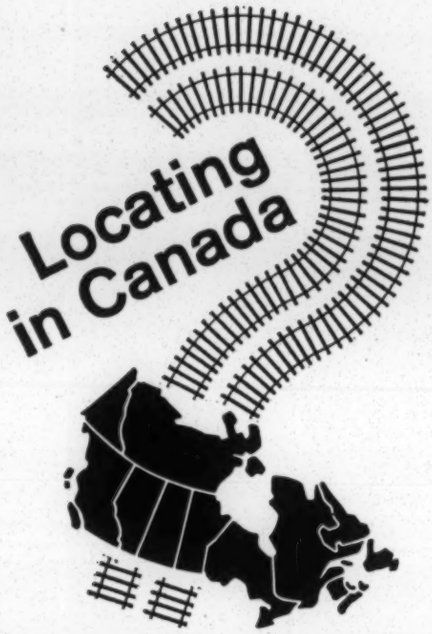
His administration has increased school enrollment by 17%, financed construction of low-cost houses by the thousands. Now Frei has the legislation needed for his land-reform program, aimed at creating 100,000 new small farms. Helped by higher world prices for copper, the economy is expanding. Last year, industrial output went up 9%. Next to Brazil, Chile has been the biggest recipient of Alliance aid, but Frei turned down an offer of an $80-million loan this year on the grounds Chile didn't need it.

Revenge at polls. To be sure, Frei still has plenty of problems on his hands. Profit margins have been shrinking, and credit is tight. Inflation still is a bugaboo: The government hoped to keep the cost-of-living increase down to 12% this year, but it already has passed 8%.

Agriculture remains the biggest weak spot. Chile has been importing around $150-million worth of foodstuffs a year, much of which it could grow itself. But there actually



Armed convoy of Venezuelan troops presses counterinsurgency campaign. Lack of popular support for violence has aided Latins in curbing guerrilla activity.



We have the inside track on all ten provinces.

Canadian National is North America's largest rail system. And that means that CN is the best possible source of all the information you need before deciding on a plant or warehouse site. Like utility rates, water supply, labor resources, financing, community amenities, raw materials, markets, industrial property and transportation. And CN service is completely objective, completely confidential.

Find out what CN can do for you. Order your free copy of CN's informative booklet on plant location in Canada.

Industrial location — another specialized service of Canadian National.

Chief of Development,
Research and Development Department,
Canadian National Railways,
P.O. Box 8100
Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____

CN Canadian National Railways

has been disinvestment in agriculture recently, prompted by uncertainty among farmers over how the land reform would be executed.

Reaction to this partial squeeze showed up in this month's municipal elections, in which the Christian Democrats' share of the vote dropped 5%. However, another element came into play at the polls. Many middle- and upper-class Chileans supported Frei in 1964 as the only viable alternative to the Socialist-Communist candidate, Salvador Allende. They expected a deal. It came as a shock to them that Frei meant business when he talked of reforms. In addition, conservatives fear that left-wing radicals among the Christian Democrats will get control of the party. Says a business executive: "The U. S. is helping to create a Frankenstein monster."

Hole card. On the other hand, Allende scoffs at Christian Democrat claims of representing a revolution. "Their objectives may be more humane," he says, "but they are committed to capitalism and U. S. imperialism."

The ace up Frei's sleeve is the new arrangement reached with the big U. S. producers of Chilean copper. In partnership with the government, Kennecott, Anaconda, and Cerro Corp. are investing some $400-million to double Chile's copper output to 1.2-million tons a year by 1971. This week, the U. S. Export-Import Bank granted a $110-million loan to Kennecott's subsidiary to help finance expansion.

Latin America's laggard nations

Lacking Chile's copper or Venezuela's oil is a group of Latin countries that has to work much harder just to stay even. It includes the six Central American republics, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, which share the Caribbean island of Hispaniola, the Andean nation of Bolivia, and grazing-land countries of Uruguay and Paraguay. Within the group are Latin America's poorest peoples: Per-capita insome in Haiti, for example, is $75 a year.

Five of the Central American states, however, have gone a long way toward solving their problems by forming a Common Market. But the others have been doing less well. Uruguay has nearly bankrupted itself with social-welfare schemes. Another problem has been its collegiate form of government, or rule by council, in which conflicting opinions and policies of its members often canceled each other. Earlier this year, the country voted to junk the system in favor of a presidential type of government.

Best hope. In the Dominican Republic, where a conservative government was elected last year, the economy still is suffering from the effects of the turmoil that brought U. S. intervention in 1965.

Bolivia's big problem is how to run its government-owned tin mines efficiently. President René Barrientos, the former Air Force general who led a military coup in 1964, is encouraging foreign capital into new mining ventures, which could drain off excess labor from the government's own mines. At the same time, he is trying to get some of his people down from the Andes onto the fertile, well-watered agricultural land east of the mountains.

Poorly endowed with natural resources, and with populations too small to support anything but modest industry (Bolivia, the largest, has fewer than 5-million people), the countries that have been trying to go it alone are in a blind alley. Their best hopes for advancement seem to lie in merging their economies into a Latin American Common Market.

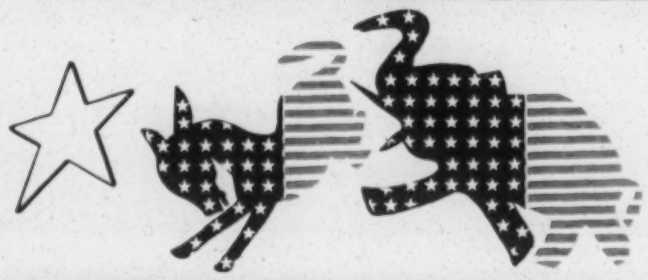
REPRINTS AVAILABLE

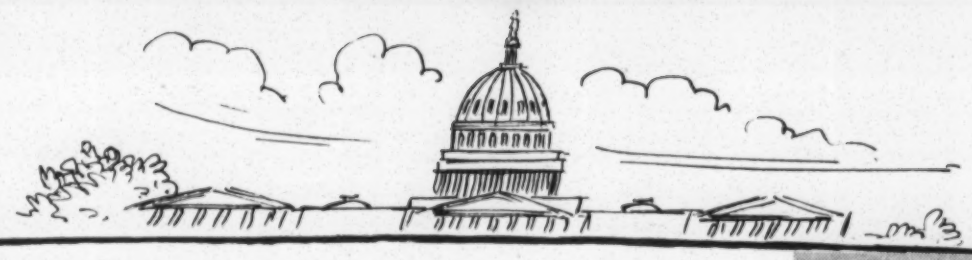
Single copies of this special report will be available in about four weeks to Business Week subscribers upon request without charge. Other copies will be billed at 50¢ each. Prices on quantity orders on request. Address orders for reprints to Reprint Dept., Business Week, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.—10036

Current issues of Legislative Issues

THE MACHINIST, SEPTEMBER 26, 1968

Report Card 90th Congress





Congress of Contrasts

Consumers win reforms, taxpayers still waiting

The 90th Congress has been a Congress of Contrasts.

It raised income taxes across the board, but failed to close the gaping loopholes that permit some millionaires to escape taxes entirely.

It slashed appropriations for many social and welfare programs, even while improving Social Security and launching one of the most ambitious Federal housing programs in history.

It broke a railroad strike, but went on to enact some of the most progressive consumer legislation ever.

In their report to the union's 1968 convention, IAM officers pointed out that the contrasts in performance of the 90th Congress reflect the return of the conservative coalition, made up of Republicans and Southern Democrats.

The coalition regained control, said the officers, because "too many trade union members stayed home" during the Congressional elections of 1966. As a result, "scores of labor's friends were defeated." IAM officers noted that, during the 90th Congress, the conservative coalition compelled "liberal and pro-labor forces in both parties to fight a continuing defensive battle to keep constructive programs of the Kennedy-Johnson years from being sabotaged."

In addition, said the officers, the conservative coalition seriously undermined collective bargaining when it forced 137,000 striking railmen back to their jobs and compelled them to accept a settlement dictated by compulsory arbitration."

George Nelson, the IAM's legislative representative, lists the following among the other major shortcomings of the 90th Congress:

- Failure to close tax loopholes that aid the well-to-do to escape taxes.
- Failure to raise the personal income tax exemption from its obsolete $600 level to at least $1,000.
- Failure to repeal Taft-Hartley Section 14(b), the section that encourages states to pass so-called "Right-to-Work" laws.
- Failure to update National Labor Relations Board procedures that permit unfair corporations to delay indefinitely penalties for illegal labor practices.
- Failure to establish Federal standards for job safety and for unemployment compensation.

On the positive side, Nelson cites outstanding achievements that will mark the 90th Congress as a Consumer Congress.

▸ After many years of delay, Congress passed a strong Truth-in-Lending Law. When fully effective, the law will require merchants and money lenders to explain the cost of credit in terms designed to enlighten, rather than confuse, the buyer. The law also will help protect consumers against loan sharks and will sharply limit the use of garnishments against wage earners.

▸ Disclosures of filth and contamination in meat and poultry processing plants shocked Congress into passing the Wholesome Meat and Poultry Products Acts. The laws set long-needed Federal inspection standards and assist the states in establishing sanitation standards of their own.

▸ Congress passed a landmark Housing Law designed to help millions of low-income families buy or rent homes, speed the rebuilding of our cities and even help curb land-sale swindles.

The 90th Congress also began the process of updating Social Security benefits, improved Medicare, outlawed age discrimination in employment, strengthened civil rights, approved needed raises for Federal Government employees and set up a nationwide air pollution control program.

Pressed by complaints from trade union members about cancellations and other abuses, Congress also authorized a detailed study of the entire automobile insurance industry.

Are you registered to vote?

Only if you are registered to vote will the voting records of your Senators and Congressmen in this special issue of THE MACHINIST be of any practical value to you. You can't vote Nov. 5 if you are not registered.

In the following states, there is still time to register for the Nov. 5 election. Here is a list of the deadlines:

Alabama	Oct. 25
Alaska	Register at polls
Arkansas	Oct. 16
California	Sept. 12
Colorado	Oct. 16
Connecticut	Oct. 12
Delaware	Oct. 19
Florida	Oct. 5
Idaho	Nov. 2
Illinois	Oct. 7
Indiana	Oct. 7
Iowa	Oct. 26
Kansas	Oct. 15
Louisiana	Oct. 5
Maine	Varies
Maryland	Oct. 7
Massachusetts	Oct. 5
Michigan	Oct. 4
Minnesota	Oct. 15
Missouri	Smaller cities Oct. 7; Kansas St. Louis, Oct. 12 City, Oct. 9
Nebraska	Oct. 25
New Hampshire	Cities, Oct. 26; towns, Oct. 29
New Mexico	Oct. 7
New York	Varies
N. Carolina	Oct. 26
N. Dakota	Not required
Oklahoma	Oct. 25
Oregon	Oct. 5
Rhode Island	Sept. 6
S. Carolina	Oct. 5
S. Dakota	Oct. 16
Tennessee	Oct. 5
Utah	Oct. 30
Vermont	Nov. 2
Virginia	Oct. 5
Washington	Oct. 5
W. Virginia	Oct. 12
Wisconsin	Milwaukee, Oct. 16; elsewhere, Oct. 23
Wyoming	Oct. 21

Extra Copies

Extra copies of this special pre-election issue of THE MACHINIST are available on request to the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League, 413 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20036. Send your name and address, the number you can distribute, plus a description of the group you intend to give them to.

Boxscores cover 10 key votes

Most trade union members will want to know how their U.S. Senators and Representatives voted on strikebreaking, aid to schools and other major questions.

Tables on the next three pages show the stands of all Senators and Congressmen on ten key votes during the 90th Congress.

These votes were carefully chosen by the IAM Legislative Department as key issues directly affecting trade union members on which this union has taken a position. Each vote reflects a clear contrast between the liberal and conservative viewpoint. The votes show that there are liberals and conservatives in both parties.

The ten votes in the House and ten in the Senate are, of course, only a small sample of the total cast. However, because they are key votes on important issues, they give union members a picture of the general position of their legislators.

As in the past, some Senators and Congressmen will complain that the vote selected for this boxscore was not the final vote on the issue. Often, a legislator will vote to send a measure back to committee—in effect kill it—and, when that fails, reverse himself to vote for the bill on final passage. Obviously, in such a case, the final vote is not the key vote.

Over the years, some readers have questioned the use in these tables of "R" and "W" symbols for "Right" and "Wrong" as seen from labor's point of view, instead of simple "Yes" and "No."

The problem is that a "Yes" vote is sometimes cast on a motion to defeat a bill; while a "No" vote may save a bill from crippling amendment.

"R" and "W" symbols give union members quick keys to where a legislator stood in relation to labor's position on ten major issues decided by the 90th Congress.

How your Representa

The table here shows how every Congressman voted on the key issues during the 90th Congress. Selected by the IAM Legislative Department, the ten significant votes are described below. The numbers correspond to those at the top of each column. To check your Congressman, find your state. His name is preceded by the number of your Congressional District. For simplicity, the symbols "R" for "Right" and "W" for "Wrong" from labor's viewpoint are used. Add up your Congressman's "R" votes to figure his average.

	1 Strikebreaking	2 21-Day Rule	3 Better Schools	4 Food Stamps	5 Rat Control	6 Federal Pay Raise	7 Taxes-Budget Cut	8 Meat Inspection	9 Civil Rights	10 Housing
ALABAMA										
3. Andrews (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
7. Bevill (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R
8. Jones (D)	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	W	R
4. Nichols (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Selden (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	O	W	W	W
6. Buchanan (R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
2. Dickinson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
1. Edwards (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
ALASKA										
AL Pollock (R)	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R
ARIZONA										
2. Udall (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
1. Rhodes (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Steiger (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
ARKANSAS										
1. Gathings (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Mills (D)	W	R	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Pryor (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	R
3. Hammerschmidt (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
CALIFORNIA										
5. Burton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Cohelan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Edwards (D)	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
34. Hanna (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
2. Johnson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Leggett (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. McFall (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Miller (D)	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R
3. Moss (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
16. Sisk (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
38. Tunney (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
37. Van Deerlin (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O
14. Waldie (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
1. Clausen (R)	O	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	R
10. Gubser (R)	W	W	W	O	W	R	W	W	W	R
6. Mailliard (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R
18. Mathias (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
11. McCloskey (R)	E	E	E	E	E	E	W	E	R	R
33. Pettis (R)	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R
12. Talcott (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
13. Teague (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
35. Utt (R)	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W
36. Wilson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Los Angeles Co.										
29. Brown (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
22. Corman (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
21. Hawkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O
19. Holifield (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
17. King (D)	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O
26. Rees (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
30. Roybal (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
31. Wilson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
28. Bell (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	O	W	R	O
23. Clawson (R)	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
32. Hosmer (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R
24. Lipscomb (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
27. Reinecke (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
20. Smith (R)	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W
25. Wiggins (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
COLORADO										
4. Aspinall (D)	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	R
3. Evans (D)	W	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R
1. Rogers (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
2. Brotzman (R)	W	W	W	O	W	R	W	W	R	R
CONNECTICUT										
1. Daddario (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Giaimo (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Irwin (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Monagan (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
2. St. Onge (D)	W	R	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R
6. Meskill (R)	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
DELAWARE										
AL Roth (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	O	R
FLORIDA										
3. Bennett (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W
12. Fascell (D)	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R
2. Fuqua (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
6. Gibbons (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R
7. Haley (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Herlong (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
11. Pepper (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
9. Rogers (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W
1. Sikes (D)	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	O	W	R
10. Burke (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8. Cramer (R)	O	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W
5. Gurney (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
GEORGIA										
3. Brinkley (D)	O	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
7. Davis (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
6. Flynt (D)	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
1. Hagan (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
9. Landrum (D)	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
2. O'Neal (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
10. Stephens (D)	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R
8. Stuckey (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Blackburn (R)	R	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	R
5. Thompson (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	R

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
HAWAII										
AL Matsunaga (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
AL Mink (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
IDAHO										
2. Hansen (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	O
1. McClure (R)	O	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	W
ILLINOIS										
21. Gray (D)	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
24. Price (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
23. Shipley (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R
16. Anderson (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
17. Arends (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
14. Erlenborn (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
20. Findley (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
12. McClory (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
18. Michel (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
19. Railsback (R)	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
15. Reid (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
22. Springer (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
Chicago-Cook Co.										
7. Annunzio (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
1. Dawson (D)	W	R	R	O	O	R	R	R	R	R
5. Kluczynski (D)	W	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Murphy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. O'Hara (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11. Pucinski (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R
6. Ronan (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Rostenkowski (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Yates (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Collier (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Derwinski (R)	R	O	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
13. Rumsfeld (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
INDIANA										
3. Brademas (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O
9. Hamilton (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R
11. Jacobs (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
1. Madden (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Roush (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Adair (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
6. Bray (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Halleck (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	O
7. Myers (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
10. Roudebush (R)	O	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8. Zion (R)	O	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
IOWA										
2. Culver (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Smith (D)	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Gross (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Kyl (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
6. Mayne (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
7. Scherle (R)	R	O	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
1. Schwengel (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	R	R
KANSAS										
1. Dole (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
2. Mize (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	R	R
4. Shriver (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
5. Skubitz (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
3. Winn (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
KENTUCKY										
2. Natcher (D)	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	R
7. Perkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
1. Stubblefield (D)	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R
6. Watts (D)	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R
5. Carter (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	O	W	W	W
3. Cowger (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	O	O	R	R
4. Snyder (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
LOUISIANA										
2. Boggs (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Edwards (D)	W	R	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	R
1. Hebert (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R
8. Long (D)	R	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Passman (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
6. Rarick (D)	O	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W
4. Waggonner (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	O
3. Willis (D)	W	O	O	O	R	O	W	O	W	O
MAINE										
2. Hathaway (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
1. Kyros (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
MARYLAND										
4. Fallon (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Friedel (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Garmatz (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Long (D)	R	R	R	R	O	R	R	O	R	R
5. Machen (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R
8. Gude (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
6. Mathias (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	O	R	R
1. Morton (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
MASSACHUSETTS										
2. Boland (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11. Burke (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Donohue (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Macdonald (D)	R	R	R	R	R	O	W	R	R	R
9. McCormack (D)	Speaker									
8. O'Neill (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Philbin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Bates (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R
1. Conte (R)	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Heckler (R)	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R
12. Keith (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
5. Morse (R)	R	W	R	R	W	R	O	R	R	R
MICHIGAN										
12. O'Hara (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
18. Broomfield (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R
3. Brown (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	O	R	R
10. Cederberg (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	O
6. Chamberlain (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
2. Esch (R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R
5. Ford (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	R
8. Harvey (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	R
4. Hutchinson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
19. McDonald (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R
7. Riegle (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R
11. Ruppe (R)	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R
9. Vander Jagt (R)	W	W	W	O	R	W	W	W	W	R
Detroit-Wayne Co.										
1. Conyers (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
3. Diggs (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
16. Dingell (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	O
15. Ford (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
17. Griffiths (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
14. Nedzi (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
MINNESOTA										
8. Blatnik (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Fraser (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Karth (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Langen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. MacGregor (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
2. Nelsen (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	R	O
1. Quie (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	R	R
6. Zwach (R)	R	W	W	R	W	O	W	R	R	R

1. Strikebreaking—Congress passed a strikebreaking bill forcing 137,000 striking rail shopmen back to work and requiring them to accept a compulsory arbitration settlement. The House originally refused to include the compulsory arbitration feature, then gave in when the Senate insisted. The vote on the motion of Rep. Samuel Friedel of Maryland to include compulsory arbitration was 244-148, July 17, 1967. A vote against the Friedel motion was a Right "R" vote.

2. 21-Day Rule—In the highly effective 89th Congress (1965-66), the House had the so-called 21-day rule. This prevented the powerful Rules Committee from holding up a committee-approved bill for more than 21 days before scheduling it for a vote on the floor. At the start of the 90th Congress, Rep. Carl Albert of Oklahoma moved to continue the 21-day rule. A coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans defeated the motion 224-197, Jan. 10, 1967. A vote for continuing the 21-day rule was a Right "R" vote.

3. Better Schools—The nation's Federal aid to education program, a landmark 1965 Congressional achievement, provided that Federal funds would go directly to school districts, with the neediest receiving the most. In 1967, aided by states' rights sentiment, Rep. Edith Green of Oregon won House approval of her plan to funnel $500,000,000 for supplementary educational centers to state education departments rather than directly to school districts. Her amendment carried 230-185, May 24, 1967. A Right "R" vote was a vote against the Green amendment.

4. Food Stamps—The successful food stamp program which helps low-income families buy decent food at neighborhood stores weathered a storm in the House. An Agriculture Committee amendment called for states to bear 20 per cent of the cost. Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan of Missouri argued this would force some of the poorer states to drop the program. The amendment was defeated 194-173, June 8, 1967. A vote against was a Right "R" vote.

5. Rat Control—Conservative Congressmen poked fun at a $40,000,000 Johnson Administration program for grants to localities to fight rats. The bill was denied even an airing on the floor by a 207-176 vote July 20, 1967. A vote to bring the bill out for debate was a Right "R" vote.

6. Federal Pay Raise—House Post Office and Civil Service Committee called for three-step raises over three years for all Federal and postal employees to bring them up to private pay levels. Rep. H. R. Gross of Iowa moved Oct. 11, 1967 to cut all but the first year increase (6 per

tive voted

cent, postal; 4.5 per cent for other employees). Gross motion was defeated 211-199. A vote against was a Right "R" vote.

7. Taxes-Budget Cuts—Congress coupled a 10 per cent income tax surcharge with a requirement that the Federal budget be trimmed by six billion dollars. Fearing that so big a budget reduction would endanger vital federal programs, liberals in the House appealed for a lesser cut in the budget. Their motion, presented by Rep. James Burke of Massachusetts, was rejected 259-137, May 29, 1968. A vote for the Burke motion was a Right "R" vote.

8. Meat Inspection—Passage of a strong meat inspection law followed revelation of shocking conditions of filth and contamination in many uninspected plants. Earlier, the House had rejected a motion by Rep. Neal Smith of Iowa to require intrastate meat plants to meet federal inspection standards. The 207-166 vote against the Smith motion came on Nov. 29, 1967. A vote for the Smith proposal was a Right "R" vote.

9. Civil Rights—The Civil Rights Act of 1968 bans discrimination in housing, protects civil rights workers and prohibits interstate travel with the intent to riot. A key vote in the House came April 10, 1968 on a motion by Rep. Ray Madden of Indiana to permit House acceptance of Senate amendments to the House bill. The motion was approved 229-195. A vote for the motion was a Right "R" vote.

10. Housing—The landmark housing law passed this year provides interest subsidies to help low income families buy homes and incentived for apartment builders to provide low-rent units. The House approved the bill 295-114, July 10, 1968. A vote for the bill was a Right "R" vote.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
MISSISSIPPI										
1. Abernethy (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Colmer (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Griffin (D)	E	E	E	E	E	E	W	E	W	R
4. Montgomery (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Whitten (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
MISSOURI										
5. Bolling (D)	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Hull (D)	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R
9. Hungate (D)	O	R	R	R	O	W	W	W	W	R
8. Ichord (D)	W	R	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	R
10. Jones (D)	W	W	O	O	W	W	O	W	O	W
1. Karsten (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	O
4. Randall (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R
3. Sullivan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R
2. Curtis (R)	R	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W
7. Hall (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
MONTANA										
1. Olsen (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Battin (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	W
NEBRASKA										
2. Cunningham (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
1. Denney (R)	O	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Martin (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
NEVADA										
AL Baring (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
NEW HAMPSHIRE										
2. Cleveland (R)	O	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R
1. Wyman (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
NEW JERSEY										
14. Daniels (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
13. Gallagher (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Helstoski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Howard (D)	W	R	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R
8. Joelson (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11. Minish (D)	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. Patten (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Rodino (D)	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Thompson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	O	R	R
6. Cahill (R)	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
12. Dwyer (R)	W	W	W	R	R	R	O	R	R	R
5. Frelinghuysen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R
1. Hunt (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R
2. Sandman (R)	W	O	W	W	O	W	W	R	R	R
7. Widnall (R)	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
NEW MEXICO										
AL Morris (D)	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R
AL Walker (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R
NEW YORK										
27. Dow (D)	W	R	R	O	R	R	W	R	R	R
41. Dulski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O
34. Hanley (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
39. McCarthy (D)	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R
25. Ottinger (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
1. Pike (D)	W	R	R	O	R	R	W	R	R	R
28. Resnick (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O
35. Stratton (D)	W	R	R	O	W	W	W	O	R	R
5. Tenzer (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Wolff (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
29. Button (R)	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
37. Conable (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
38. Goodell (R)	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	R	R
2. Grover (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
36. Horton (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
30. King (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	O	R
31. McEwen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	O	W
32. Pirnie (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
26. Reid (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
33. Robison (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
40. Smith (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	O	R	R
4. Wydler (R)	W	W	R	W	R	O	W	R	R	R
New York City										
7. Addabbo (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
23. Bingham (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11. Brasco (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. Carey (D)	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Celler (D)	W	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Delaney (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R
19. Farbstein (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
22. Gilbert (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
12. Kelly (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
16. Murphy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
13. Podell (D)	E	E	E	E	E	E	R	E	R	R
14. Rooney (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Rosenthal (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
20. Ryan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
21. Scheuer (D)	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
24. Fino (R)	O	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	O	R
6. Halpern (R)	O	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
17. Kupferman (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
18. Vacancy										
NORTH CAROLINA										
2. Fountain (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Galifianakis (D)	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R
3. Henderson (D)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
1. Jones (D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
6. Kornegay (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
7. Lennon (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
11. Taylor (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
10. Whitener (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
9. Broyhill (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Gardner (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	O
8. Jonas (R)	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W
NORTH DAKOTA										
1. Andrews (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
2. Kleppe (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W
OHIO										
9. Ashley (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
20. Feighan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
18. Hays (D)	O	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
19. Kirwan (D)	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
21. Vanik (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
17. Ashbrook (R)	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
14. Ayres (R)	W	W	W	O	O	W	W	W	R	R
8. Betts (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
22. Bolton (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
16. Bow (R)	R	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	R
7. Brown (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
2. Clancy (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
12. Devine (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	W
6. Harsha (R)	W	W	W	O	W	R	W	W	W	W
5. Latta (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	R
24. Lukens (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	W
4. McCulloch (R)	W	W	R	O	W	W	W	W	R	R
10. Miller (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
23. Minshall (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
13. Mosher (R)	W	W	R	O	R	W	W	W	R	R
11. Stanton (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	R	R
1. Taft (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
3. Whalen (R)	R	W	R	O	R	R	W	R	R	R
15. Wylie (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
OKLAHOMA										
3. Albert (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Edmondson (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R
5. Jarman (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Steed (D)	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	O	W	R
1. Belcher (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
6. Smith (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
OREGON										
3. Green (D)	W	R	W	R	R	R	O	R	R	R
2. Ullman (D)	W	R	W	O	R	R	W	R	R	R
4. Dellenback (R)	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	R	R
1. Wyatt (R)	R	W	W	O	W	R	W	R	R	R
PENNSYLVANIA										
25. Clark (D)	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	W	R
21. Dent (D)	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11. Flood (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
14. Moorhead (D)	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R
26. Morgan (D)	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Rhodes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. Rooney (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
24. Vigorito (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Biester (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R
18. Corbett (R)	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R
16. Eshleman (R)	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
27. Fulton (R)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	R
19. Goodling (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
23. Johnson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
10. McDade (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
22. Saylor (R)	R	W	W	R	O	R	W	R	W	R
17. Schneebeli (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
13. Schweiker (R)	W	W	R	W	R	R	W	O	R	R
9. Watkins (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
12. Whalley (R)	O	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
7. Williams (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	R
20. Vacancy										

Key to Symbols

R Voted Right or was paired Right from labor's viewpoint.
W Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong from labor's viewpoint.
O Absent or not voting.
E Elected after vote.

The number before each name indicates the Congressional District. AL indicates At-Large

	Strikebreaking 1	21-Day Rule 2	Better Schools 3	Food Stamps 4	Rat Control 5	Federal Pay Raise 6	Taxes-Budget Cut 7	Meat Inspection 8	Civil Rights 9	Housing 10
Philadelphia City										
1. Barrett (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Byrne (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Eilberg (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Green (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Nix (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
RHODE ISLAND										
1. St. Germain (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Tiernan (D)	R	E	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
SOUTH CAROLINA										
4. Ashmore (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Dorn (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Gettys (D)	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
6. McMillan (D)	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	O
1. Rivers (D)	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W
2. Watson (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
SOUTH DAKOTA										
2. Berry (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
1. Reifel (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R
TENNESSEE										
6. Anderson (D)	O	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	O
7. Blanton (D)	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R
8. Everett (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R
4. Evins (D)	W	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	O
5. Fulton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
3. Brock (R)	R	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Duncan (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R
9. Kuykendall (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R
1. Quillen (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R
TEXAS										
9. Brooks (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
17. Burleson (D)	W	R	O	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Cabell (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
22. Casey (D)	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R
15. de la Garza (D)	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R
2. Dowdy (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8. Eckhardt (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
21. Fisher (D)	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W
20. Gonzalez (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
23. Kazen (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
19. Mahon (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
1. Patman (D)	W	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	W	R
10. Pickle (D)	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R
11. Poage (D)	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	O	W
13. Purcell (D)	W	R	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Roberts (D)	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
6. Teague (D)	W	R	O	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
16. White (D)	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	R
12. Wright (D)	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	R
14. Young (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
7. Bush (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
18. Price (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Vacancy										
UTAH										
1. Burton (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
2. Lloyd (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
VERMONT										
AL Stafford (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
VIRGINIA										
4. Abbitt (D)	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
1. Downing (D)	W	R	W	W	R	O	W	W	W	R
2. Hardy (D)	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	O	W	R
7. Marsh (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Satterfield (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Tuck (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
10. Broyhill (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R
6. Poff (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8. Scott (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
9. Wampler (R)	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R
WASHINGTON										
7. Adams (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Foley (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
3. Hansen (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
6. Hicks (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Meeds (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	O	R	R
4. May (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
1. Pelly (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	R	R	R
WEST VIRGINIA										
4. Hechler (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Kee (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Slack (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
2. Staggers (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
1. Moore (R)	R	W	W	R	R	W	O	W	R	O
WISCONSIN										
2. Kastenmeier (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
5. Reuss (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Zablocki (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Byrnes (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
9. Davis (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
7. Laird (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
10. O'Konski (R)	O	R	R	O	W	W	R	R	R	R
1. Schadeberg (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
6. Steiger (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
3. Thomson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
WYOMING										
AL Harrison (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R

How your Senators voted

The voting table here is designed as a yardstick to help union members figure how well their two U.S. Senators represented them in the 90th Congress.

The table shows how every Senator voted on 10 key issues on which labor took a stand. The key issues were chosen by the IAM Legislative Department. Senators recorded as not voting frequently announced their positions, but these had no influence on the outcome and hence were not tabulated.

Each vote is explained in the numbered list below. The numbers corresponding to the explanations of the votes appear at the top of the columns at the right. To simplify, the symbols "R" and "W" are used. "R" indicates a Right vote and "W" a Wrong vote in terms of the IAM's position.

Key to Symbols

R Voted Right or was paired Right from labor's viewpoint.

W Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong from labor's viewpoint.

O Did not vote.

Name in italic—Seat up for election Nov. 5, 1968

1. Strikebreaking—Congress passed a strikebreaking bill by U.S. Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon that forced 137,000 striking railroad shopmen to return to work and accept a compulsory arbitration settlement. Prior to Senate passage, Sen. Ralph Yarborough of Texas proposed that the Government impound 10 per cent of railroads' profits until they settled with the unions. This was defeated 59-23, June 7, 1967. A vote for the Yarborough amendment was a Right "R" vote.

2. Anti-Filibuster Rule—To halt filibusters, endless talk to prevent passage of a bill, a Senate rules change was proposed. Filibuster would be brought to an end by a three-fifths vote of those present, instead of two-thirds as now. Motion of Sen. Mike Mansfield of Montana to end debate (invoke cloture) failed 53-46, Jan. 24, 1967, for lack of required two-thirds majority. A vote for Mansfield's motion was a Right "R" vote.

3. One Man, One Vote—A House-passed bill would have permitted population variations of up to 35 per cent in House districts for the 1968 and 1970 elections, with 10 per cent thereafter. In Senate, Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts called for immediate application of the 10 per cent limit. Kennedy amendment carried 44-39, June 8, 1967. A Right "R" vote was a vote for Kennedy's "one man, one vote" amendment.

4. Campaign funds—Sen. John Williams of Delaware proposed that unions be prohibited from maintaining organizations, like the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League, to seek members' voluntary contributions for use in national elections. Unions have no other way to raise campaign funds since the law already prohibits political contributions to federal candidates from union treasuries. Williams' loaded proposal was defeated 19-46, Sept. 11, 1967. A Right "R" vote was a vote against the anti-union measure.

5. Rent Supplements—Congress cut President Johnson's request for the successful rent supplement program from $40,000,000 down to $10,000,000. The plan aids low-income families for whom public housing is not available. In an early attack Sen. Frank Lausche attempted to cut the proposed $40,000,000 in half. Lausche was defeated 34-55, Sept. 20, 1967. A vote against the Lausche cut was a Right "R" vote. Subsequently, House conservatives succeeded in slashing the figure to $10,000,000.

6. Emergency Jobs—The Senate Labor Committee recommended a two-year emergency program to employ 200,000 of the hard-core jobless on useful anti-poverty projects. The Senate turned down the plan, rejecting even a bi-partisan compromise proposal to salvage part of the program. The compromise plan, introduced by Sen. Winston Prouty of Vermont, was defeated 47-42, Oct. 4, 1967. A vote for the Prouty proposal was a Right "R" vote.

7. Social Security—The conservative coalition's attempt to cut Social Security benefit increases was defeated. The Senate bill provided for a 15 per cent across-the-board raise with a minimum monthly benefit of $70. Sen. Carl Curtis of Nebraska attempted to cut this back to the level of the House-passed bill, 12½ per cent with a $50 monthly minimum. Curtis' amendment failed 58-22, Nov. 21, 1967. A Right "R" vote was a vote against the Curtis cut.

8. Better Schools—The landmark school aid law passed by Congress in 1965 provided that federal funds would go directly to local school districts. In 1967, Congress renewed this law but undermined key parts under the guise of "states rights." One amendment to transfer control of funds to state boards of education was offered in the Senate by Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. The amendment was rejected 38-35, Dec. 11, 1967. A vote against the amendment was a Right "R" vote.

9. Civil Rights—A coalition of Dixiecrats and conservative Republicans again tried to prevent civil rights legislation from coming to a vote. A cloture motion, requiring two-thirds of those present, finally succeeded in ending debate on March 4, 1968. The vote was 65-32. A vote for the motion was a Right "R" vote.

10. Runaway Shops—The tax exemption on interest from industrial development bonds has become a subsidy that has encouraged industrial plants to run out on their employees. An amendment by Sen. Abe Ribicoff of Connecticut to end this tax exemption passed the Senate 50-32, March 28, 1968. A vote for the amendment was a Right "R" vote.

	1 Strikebreaking	2 Anti-Filibuster	3 One Man, One Vote	4 Campaign Funds	5 Rent Supplements	6 Emergency Jobs	7 Social Security	8 Better Schools	9 Civil Rights	10 Runaway Shops
ALABAMA										
Hill (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W
Sparkman (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	O	W	W	O
ALASKA										
Bartlett (D)	O	W	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Gruening (D)	O	W	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
ARIZONA										
Hayden (D)	O	W	O	R	R	W	R	R	W	W
Fannin (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	O
ARKANSAS										
Fulbright (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	W
McClellan (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	O
CALIFORNIA										
Kuchel (R)	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
Murphy (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	O	W	W	R
COLORADO										
Allott (R)	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R
Dominick (R)	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R
CONNECTICUT										
Dodd (D)	O	R	R	O	R	W	O	O	R	R
Ribicoff (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
DELAWARE										
Boggs (R)	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R
Williams (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
FLORIDA										
Holland (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R
Smathers (D)	W	W	W	O	O	W	R	W	W	R
GEORGIA										
Russell (D)	W	W	W	O	W	W	R	W	W	R
Talmadge (D)	O	W	W	R	W	W	O	W	W	W
HAWAII										
Inouye (D)	O	W	O	O	R	R	R	R	R	R
Fong (R)	W	R	W	W	R	R	O	W	R	R
IDAHO										
Church (D)	R	R	R	O	O	R	R	R	R	R
Jordan (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
ILLINOIS										
Dirksen (R)	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	O	R	R
Percy (R)	W	R	W	O	R	R	W	W	R	R
INDIANA										
Bayh (D)	W	R	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R
Hartke (D)	O	R	W	O	R	W	R	O	R	R
IOWA										
Hickenlooper (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Miller (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
KANSAS										
Carlson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
Pearson (R)	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W
KENTUCKY										
Cooper (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	O	W	R	W
Morton (R)	W	R	O	O	R	R	W	W	R	W
LOUISIANA										
Ellender (D)	O	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	W
Long (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	W
MAINE										
Muskie (D)	W	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	W
Smith (R)	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	R	W
MARYLAND										
Brewster (D)	O	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R
Tydings (D)	W	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R
MASSACHUSETTS										
Kennedy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Brooke (R)	O	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R	R
MICHIGAN										
Hart (D)	O	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R
Griffin (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	O	R	R
MINNESOTA										
McCarthy (D)	R	R	O	R	O	R	O	O	O	O
Mondale (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
MISSISSIPPI										
Eastland (D)	W	W	W	O	W	W	W	W	W	W
Stennis (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
MISSOURI										
Long (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	O	R	O
Symington (D)	R	R	W	O	O	W	R	R	R	R
MONTANA										
Mansfield (D)	W	R	R	O	R	W	R	R	R	O
Metcalf (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
NEBRASKA										
Curtis (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Hruska (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
NEVADA										
Bible (D)	W	W	R	O	W	W	R	W	W	R
Cannon (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	O	R	R	R
NEW HAMPSHIRE										
McIntyre (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R
Cotton (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	O	R	R
NEW JERSEY										
Williams (D)	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	O	R
Case (R)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R
NEW MEXICO										
Anderson (D)	W	R	W	O	R	W	R	R	R	W
Montoya (D)	R	R	W	O	R	O	R	R	R	O
NEW YORK										
Vacancy										
Javits (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
NORTH CAROLINA										
Ervin (D)	W	W	W	R	O	W	R	W	W	R
Jordan (D)	O	W	W	O	W	W	O	W	W	R
NORTH DAKOTA										
Burdick (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W
Young (R)	W	W	W	O	W	W	R	O	W	W
OHIO										
Lausche (D)	W	W	R	O	W	W	R	W	R	O
Young (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
OKLAHOMA										
Harris (D)	R	O	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	W
Monroney (D)	W	W	O	R	R	W	R	R	R	W
OREGON										
Morse (D)	W	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	W
Hatfield (R)	W	R	W	O	R	R	R	R	R	W
PENNSYLVANIA										
Clark (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Scott (R)	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R
RHODE ISLAND										
Pastore (D)	W	R	R	O	R	O	R	R	O	W
Pell (D)	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	O
SOUTH CAROLINA										
Hollings (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R
Thurmond (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
SOUTH DAKOTA										
McGovern (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
Mundt (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	O	W	W	W
TENNESSEE										
Gore (D)	R	R	R	R	W	O	R	R	R	R
Baker (R)	W	W	R	O	W	R	W	W	R	W
TEXAS										
Yarborough (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Tower (R)	O	W	O	W	O	W	O	O	W	W
UTAH										
Moss (D)	R	R	R	O	R	O	R	R	R	R
Bennett (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
VERMONT										
Aiken (R)	O	R	O	R	R	R	R	O	R	W
Prouty (R)	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	O	R	W
VIRGINIA										
Byrd, Jr. (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R
Spong (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R
WASHINGTON										
Jackson (D)	O	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R
Magnuson (D)	R	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R
WEST VIRGINIA										
Byrd (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W
Randolph (D)	W	R	R	O	R	R	R	R	R	R
WISCONSIN										
Nelson (D)	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Proxmire (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R
WYOMING										
McGee (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	O	R	R	R
Hansen (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	O	W	W	W

Current Issue

FCNL WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
245 2ND STREET, N.E. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20002

No. 296 AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1968

REVIEW AND VOTING RECORD: THE 1968 SESSION OF CONGRESS

In order to help citizens prepare for the election campaigns, this **Newsletter** attempts to summarize major Congressional debates and votes up to the August recess. Unfortunately, some very important decisions are taken by voice votes, which are not recorded. You may wish to explore these issues further with your local nominees for Congress.

Summary: The second session of the 90th Congress was buffetted by an accumulation of painful events and problems: the tragic assassination of two of the nation's leaders, city riots, the Kerner Commission's charge that the "nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white," the Poor Peoples Campaign, increased disruption of the economy and the Federal budget by the war in Asia and the intensification of that war despite negotiations in Paris. Congressional responses were emotional and largely inadequate, partly because 1968 is an election year, and many Congressmen have been out campaigning in their districts, partly because of a lack of leadership intensified by President Johnson's decision to withdraw from politics, and partly because of a hesitancy to give up old responses and look for new solutions.

The failure of **militaristic responses** did not deter Congress from continuing to appropriate astronomical sums for war, miniscule sums for peace. Efforts to combat crime and insure safe streets centered largely on repressive measures instead of ways of improving justice and increasing opportunities for the poor.

Although a number of Congressmen emphasized the importance of re-ordering U.S. priorities to meet human needs at home and abroad, members as a whole preferred to offset pressures on the economy through a **$6 billion cutback in fiscal 1969 expenditures** (see S vote 2; H vote 2). This cutback would tend to be concentrated in domestic and international development programs, since the Vietnamese war was exempted from the reduction requirement. Efforts to redirect or restrict the economy drive and make the President's 10% surtax less of a war tax were rejected by both Houses. An amendment by Sen. Joseph Clark, Pa., to concentrate the $6 billion cut in military assistance, the space program, and military expenditures was defeated, 17-62 (see S vote 8).

Reduction of Tensions

Support for the UN: Since the United States embarked on unilateralism back in 1961, there has been less and less Congressional discussion of the United Nations. The President did go to the UN over the **Pueblo incident** but only after calling up 15,000 reserves and concentrating a naval task force in the Sea of Japan. He later asked for more military aid to Korea, which Congress promptly appropriated. A Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee did hold hearings on a resolution encouraging support for a permanent **UN peacekeeping force.** And at the request of Sen. Mike Monroney, Okla., the Senate agreed to transfer $5 million from military aid activities to the **UN Development Fund.** Sen. Monroney pointed out to his colleagues that the cut in military aid "would be less than the cost of one jet fighter, and I think this amount . . . invested in the basic development in the poorest countries . . . is better spent." Unfortunately this $5 million addition was more than offset by a simultaneous agreement to cut overall contributions to UN relief and development activities by $13 million or 10%.

No action has yet been taken on five **UN Human Rights Conventions** which have been before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for a number of years. These cover the Political Rights of Women, Forced Labor, Genocide, Freedom of Association and Discrimination in Employment.

Vietnam: Before President Johnson announced his decision to retire from politics and to begin negotiations with Hanoi, leading Congressmen were extremely vocal in criticizing U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. The Pueblo incident, the Tet offensive and talk of increasing U.S. troop strength in South Vietnam another 200,000 intensified Congressional frustration.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee carried on a running dispute with the Executive Branch. It questioned the alleged 1964 attacks in the **Gulf of Tonkin** and forced Secretary of State Dean Rusk to make his first public testimony on the war in two years. In January, Sens. John Cooper, Ky., and Mike Mansfield, Mont., led an effort to bring about a **halt in the bombing of North Vietnam.** Sens. Mark Hatfield, Oreg., Stephen Young, Ohio, and Vance Hartke, Ind., offered a resolution specifying that any extension of the war beyond South Vietnam would require the full consent of Congress. Fears of further escalation prompted a heated debate on March 7 led by Sen. J. W. Fulbright, Ark. At that time Sen. Joseph Clark, Pa., warned that, "Vietnam is a cancer which is devouring our

youth, our morals, our national wealth, and the energies of our leadership."

In the House, 143 Congressmen joined Rep. Paul Findley, Ill., and William Hungate, Mo., in calling upon the "appropriate" Congressional committees to decide whether or not further Congressional action was desirable in respect to policy in South Vietnam. However, more strongly worded resolutions, introduced by Reps. William Moorhead, Pa., and Lester Wolff, N. Y., to repeal the August 10 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and to stop further military escalation drew only 18 and 22 supporters, respectively. In March, a joint statement calling for acceptance of **Viet Cong participation in the selection of a new government** was signed by Reps. Bingham, N. Y.; Blatnik, Minn.; Boland, Mass.; Farbstein, N. Y.; Fraser, Minn.; Hicks, Wash.; Jacobs, Jr., Ind.; Karth, Minn.; Kastenmeier, Wis.; Leggett, Calif.; Moss, Calif.; O'Neill, Mass.; Ottinger, N. Y.; Rees, Calif.; Reuss, Wis.; Scheuer, N. Y.; Tenzer, N. Y.; and Yates, Ill.

Since the beginning of negotiations in May most Congressmen have been afraid to question or oppose U.S. policy on the off chance that their actions might impede a settlement. When the **$6 billion supplemental budget for Southeast Asia** for fiscal 1968 was debated in June, Senators turned down Sen. William Proxmire's, Wis., amendment to delete $268 million for increased B-52 bombing raids. The amendment was defeated, 10-79 on the grounds that expanded bombing by the United States is not escalation but a defensive response to Viet Cong attacks (see S vote 1). Only Sens. Wayne Morse, Oreg., and Gaylord Nelson, Wis., voted against the entire supplemental. The same bill prompted only mild discussion in the House, partly because the supplemental funds for Vietnam were incorporated in a bill carrying monies for domestic welfare agencies. Yet Rep. Charles Mosher, Ohio, warned that ". . . Vietnam seems an endless, bottomless pit into which we wrongly are dumping our resources, bankrupting ourselves in so many, many ways." Rep. John Dow's, N. Y., amendment to strike all funds for Southeast Asia received only 4 votes. Thirty-three members voted against the entire bill (see H vote 1).

In a more recent development, Rep. William Ryan, N. Y., and 11 others signed a statement in August reaffirming opposition to Administration policy. They called for "A total and permanent end to the bombing of North Vietnam. . . . A cessation of offensive search and destroy missions and the bombing of populated areas in South Vietnam while the negotiations are progressing. . . . An acceptance of NLF direct participation in negotiations and their right to participate in the future political life of South Vietnam." Signers included Reps. Brown, Calif.; Burton, Calif.; Conyers, Mich.; Dow, N. Y.; Edwards, Calif.; Fraser, Minn.; Helstoski, N. J.; Kastenmeier, Wis.; Rosenthal, N. Y.; Roybal, Calif.; and Ryan, N. Y.

Relations with Communist Areas: At the beginning of the session leading Senators, such as Sens. Mansfield, Mont., Church, Idaho, Morton, Ky., and Percy, Ill., expressed dissatisfaction with a foreign policy based on cold war dogma. Yet Congress continued and expanded economic restrictions designed to "encourage" other nations to support U.S. anti-communism. A bill continuing the Export-Import Bank 5 years would prohibit extension of credit for purchase of U.S. goods to (1) communist countries or to third parties in other countries who pass the goods on to communist nations or (2) any nation which trades with North Vietnam. Restrictions on concessional sales of agricultural commodities to communist nations were also continued. However, the Senate did reject an attempt by Sens. Karl Mundt, S. Dak., and Harry Byrd, Jr., Va., to impose a 20% surtax on taxpayers trading with communist countries supplying North Vietnam (see S vote 4).

Throughout the session, Sen. Walter Mondale, Minn., took the lead in trying to improve the climate for **expanded trade with Eastern Europe.** Yet, because of the war, the Administration did not resubmit its 1966 proposal to end the extra high tariff barriers against communist goods.

Disarmament: The Senate is expected to recommend ratification of the treaty to **end proliferation of nuclear weapons** upon its return in September. Although many Congressmen have hailed the treaty as a great step forward, a number are demanding assurance that the agreement does not involve any "concessions" by the United States. Anti-ballistic missile proponents are particularly concerned that the treaty not inhibit development of "defensive" weaponry.

This suspicion of disarmament matters has been underlined by continued refusal to provide full funding of the **Arms Control and Disarmament Agency,** partly because of its involvement in negotiating the nonproliferation treaty. The Administration had asked for a 3-year, $33 million extension, but the Senate and House compromised on a 2-year, $18.5 million extension (see S vote 3; H vote 3).

The Human Family

Development Aid: Foreign aid continued to be the whipping boy for Congressional frustration over the war and domestic unrest. Little interest was shown in either the needs of the developing peoples or in the inadequacy of the U.S. assistance effort. In fact, some members proposed a year's "moratorium" on aid in hopes of helping ease the war-induced balance of payments deficit. During House debate, Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal, N. Y., observed, "In a decade where we count military expenditures by the billions and war casualties by the tens of thousands, Congress remains intent upon measuring our foreign aid drop by drop. . . ."

House and Senate conferees have tentatively agreed to place a $1.1 billion ceiling on economic aid in fiscal 1969. This is the smallest economic aid bill in 20 years. It is $663 million or 37% below the $1.8 billion requested by the Administration (see H vote 5). In a meat-cleaver swing Congress lowered the proposed budget for **development lending** by 54% to $350 million and cut **Alliance for Progress** funds 33% to $420 million. Interest rates were raised as well. An attempt by Sen. Joseph Clark, Pa., to restore $317.6 million requested for development loans and contributions to international agencies was heavily defeated (see S vote 5).

Multilateral Aid: Congressmen who oppose bilateral U.S. aid as a step toward military involvement seem equally disinclined to support additional contributions to multilateral organizations. This is due in part to concern over the balance of payments, although the Administration has specified that most contributions to multilateral agencies will be spent in the United States. This year Congress did agree to authorize another $412 million contribution over 2 years to help expand the callable capital stock of the **Inter-American Development Bank**—the arm of the Alliance for Progress (see H vote 4).

No action has been taken on Administration requests for $200 million to help open a soft-loan window in the **Asian Development Bank** or for $480 million to help replenish the resources of the **International Development Association.** IDA which serves as a long-term low-interest rate affiliate of the World Bank, has been out of funds since February. Deferment of payment by the United States is holding up new lending agreements with India and Pakistan.

Trade: Although the Administration has asked Congress to extend the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, no recommendations have been offered to increase access to the American market for goods from developing countries. In fact, many Congressmen have been clamouring for increased protection for U.S. products.

Food for Peace: Congress turned down the Administration's request for a 3-year extension of **PL 480** but raised no question about continuing the current $2.5 billion annual ceiling on expenditures, largely because the Administration has been spending less than 50% of the authorized amount (see H vote 6). Certain creative projects, such as an accelerated agricultural technical assistance program authorized in 1966, have never been funded.

The compromise 2-year extension encourages greater use of PL 480 sales proceeds for population control and educational activities and authorizes the use of up to 50% of local currencies generated under the Act to pay for regular imports from food deficit areas. This could mean that the developing world would earn fewer dollars with which to buy needed machinery and agricultural supplies.

What price ABM?

During debate on the military construction bill **Rep. Henry Reuss, Wis.,** argued that, "I am deeply disturbed by the $263.3 million contained in this bill for deployment of the **Sentinel ABM system.** Our cities are smoldering with frustration and unrest, our air is not fit to breathe nor our water to drink, inflation is gnawing at our economy, yet we are about to plunk down $5 to $40 billion for the illusory security of a maginot line."

Rep. Andrew Jacobs, Ind.: "What has happened to us . . ." when we cannot "even get a whisper in this House" in support of a $2.1 billion program to aid disadvantaged preschool children? "But on a day when we are talking about escalating by $40 billion the already . . . topheavy defense budget" no one is expected to question "whether the new gadget would work—or even if it did, whether we can afford it."—July 29, House floor.

Military Policy

Military Costs: Since the $81.8 billion requested for military activities in fiscal 1969 constituted 60% of the total Federal budget request, a few more Congressmen began to feel that the **military establishment** has developed a momentum of its own which has little relevance to basic U.S. goals and needs. "The poor," said Rep. George Brown, Calif., "can no longer understand why a country that can spend $80 billion on 'defense' cannot spend the $8 billion more required to wipe out poverty." In reaction to this feeling, Congressmen began to wrestle with the need to curb Department of Defense spending. Major opposition centered on budget requests for additional millions to implement last year's decision to build a "thin" $5 billion **anti-ballistic system** to counter China's nuclear capabilities in the 1970's.

The struggle over **ABM** was particularly intense in the Senate where a series of amendments were offered by Sens. Nelson, Wis., Cooper, Ky., Hart, Mich., and Young, Ohio, to eliminate or postpone initial construction (see S vote 6). Administration supporters were able to defeat these proposals by arguing that deployment would not only meet any Chinese threat, it would also save millions of lives during a Soviet attack. Somewhat comparable amendments to eliminate ABM procurement and construction were offered in the House by Reps. Jeffery Cohelan, Calif., and Robert Leggett, Calif. These were rejected by standing votes of 37-106; 40-147.

When the $22 billion **research and procurement budget** was under discussion, the Senate turned down, 12-44, Sen. Joseph Clark's Pa., call for a $2 billion cut, but agreed 45-13 to a $660 million cut proposed by Sen. John Williams, Del. Voting against the measure were Sens. Gruening, Alaska, Mansfield, Mont., and Nelson, Wis., and 15 House members (see H vote 7). During House debate, an attempt by Rep. Tom Railsback, Ill., to cut $300 million from the bill was defeated 71-133.

Thirty-two House members (see H vote 8) and Sens. Young, Ohio, Morse, Oreg., and Nelson, Wis., opposed the $1.8 billion **military construction** program.

There has been some discussion by Sens. Mike Mansfield, Mont., and Stuart Symington, Mo., of trying to prune **U.S. troop strength in Europe.** This may come up when the omnibus $72-$77 billion Department of Defense appropriation bill is brought to the floor in September.

During an unsuccessful appeal for a 17% cut in the $64 million **civil defense** budget, Sen. Stephen Young, Ohio, argued that the U.S. might better spend the money to "cure social evils . . . at home and to forge links of peace . . . throughout the world." (see S vote 7)

The Draft: Although the draft continues to interfere with domestic practices and the lives of many young men—over 26% of the men fighting in Vietnam are draftees—the House and Senate Armed Services Committees have not acted on proposals to reform the **Selective Service System.** Sens. Hugh Scott, Pa., George McGovern, S. Dak., and Stephen Young, Ohio, plan to offer legislation either in September or next year to replace the draft with a voluntary system.

Military Aid: The 1967 battle over shipment of military equipment to developing countries has continued on a more subdued level this year. In July, the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved the Administration's request for $296 million to help finance credit sales of **defense articles to the developing world** in fiscal 1969. The bill is still pending before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The DOD budget contains another $1.97 billion for "support of Free World Forces" in Southeast Asia. Another $375 million of military grant aid is carried in the foreign assistance bill largely for Turkey, Iran, Taiwan and South Korea. Many Congressmen who have expressed concern over these programs are encouraging the Administration to sell jet fighters to Israel.

Human Rights at Home

Equal Rights: In the early months of the session the Senate was preoccupied with a long, drawn out debate over **open housing.** The 6 week deadlock ended March 4 after 4 cloture votes (see S vote 9). The final cloture vote cleared the way for Senate passage, 71-20, on March 11. This omnibus bill would prohibit discrimination in the sale or rental of 80% of all housing; protect persons against interference in exercising their civil rights; extend Constitutional rights to Indians and penalize riot leaders. The House accepted the Senate version on April 10 (see H vote 9).

Efforts to strengthen the **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission** were unsuccessful. An Administration bill giving the EEOC power to issue cease and desist orders against discriminating employers and unions has not reached the floor. The budget for the EEOC was cut one third.

The House Appropriations Committee, led by Rep. Jamie Whitten, Miss., added provisions to the **Health, Education and Welfare** bill which would prohibit the use of funds to force the busing of students or other activities intended to promote **school integration.** An attempt by Rep. Jeffrey Cohelan, Calif., to delete these provisions was defeated 75-116.

Adequate Housing: Enactment of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 is the nearest Congress came in fulfilling the recommendations of the Kerner Report on Civil Disorders. The $5.3 billion, 3-year program is designed to provide over 1.7 million units of new and rehabilitated housing for low-income families. (The Kerner Commission had recommended 6 million units over the next 5 years; the Administration had requested a $7.5 billion, 5-year program.) In addition the bill would encourage home-ownership for low-income families, extend and expand existing public housing; rent supplement, urban redevelopment and Model Cities programs. Only Sens. Holland, Fla., Russell, Ga., Stennis, Miss., and Thurmond, S. C., opposed the bill. The House passed the measure on July 10, 295-114.

An attempt by Sen. Gordon Allott, Colo., to cut the $1 billion fiscal 1969 appropriations for **Model Cities** was rejected 21-54 (see S vote 10).

Employment: House and Senate Labor Committees have approved legislation extending the **Manpower and Development Training Act** another 4 years, placing increased emphasis on training the unskilled. However, the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has not yet approved an **employment opportunities bill** recommended by the Subcommittee on Select Labor, which would provide 2.4 million jobs at a cost of $10.3 billion over 4 years. The Kerner Commission has urged the creation of 2 million jobs in 3 years as an important step in overcoming poverty.

Hunger: The Poor Peoples Campaign sharpened Congressional awareness of the need for improvement in food programs for many malnourished Americans. The House on July 30 voted 227-172 in favor of Rep. Leonor Sullivan's, Mo., amendment which would remove the ceiling on expenditures under the **Food Stamp Program** for 4 years (see H vote 11). The Senate had approved a $245 million ceiling. A final decision will be reached in September.

Earlier, Sen. Philip Hart, Mich., led a successful effort to overturn the Senate Agriculture Committee's decision to restrict **feeding programs** for disadvantaged children (see S vote 11). The House had approved, 398-0 an expanded program on March 5. The Senate Agriculture Committee reported an "emergency" House-passed bill (H.R. 17872) which would authorize the use of another $100 million annually over the next 3 years to help states provide free meals to needy children. In the Senate, a modified version of H.R. 17872 offered by Sen Allen Ellender, La., would provide only $50 million annually over the next 2 years. It was accepted 57-31, July 17.

OEO: In an economy move the House cut $650 million from the $15.2 billion requested for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for fiscal 1969. The $2.2 billion **Office of Economic Opportunity** budget was cut $307 million. An attempt by Rep. William Scherle, Iowa, to reduce the OEO budget another $100 million was defeated 181-220 (see H vote 10). The Senate will act on these requests in September.

A more imaginative approach to the problems of poverty is incorporated in the **Community Self-Determination Act** (S. 3875) introduced recently by Sens. Nelson, Wis., Harris, Okla., Percy, Ill., and 27 others.

Welfare: Efforts throughout this session to repeal the 1967 **freeze on the number of children eligible** to receive welfare within each state resulted in a one year postponement of the restriction. Rep. William Ryan, N. Y., has introduced a bill (H.R. 17331) which would provide for a **minimal income maintenance system** tied closely with work incentives. There have been no other major proposals to revise the welfare system or to provide a guaranteed annual income.

Civil Liberties

The struggle to maintain the **constitutional rights** of individuals suffered a serious setback with passage of a heavily amended **Crime Control and Safe Streets** bill. The Senate added two titles which would infringe upon the **rights to privacy, to counsel and not to incriminate oneself.** Title II of the bill would overrule Supreme Court efforts to protect the rights of suspects by countenancing forced confessions, and by long delays between arrest and judical review.

(Continued on page 8)

SOME KEY VOTES OF SENATORS IN 1968*

1. Amendment by Sens. William Proxmire, Wis., and George McGovern, S. Dak., to eliminate $268 million requested by the Administration to **increase B-52 bombing raids in Vietnam.** Rejected 10-79 (R 2-34; D 8-45), June 26.
2. Effort by Sens. John Williams, Del., and George Smathers, Fla., to raise taxes and cut domestic programs through a **10% surtax and a $6 billion cutback in fiscal 1969 spending.** Expenditures for the Vietnam war, interest on the Federal debt, and veterans and Social Security benefits were exempted from the reduction requirement. Accepted 53-35 (R 31-3; D 22-32), April 2.
3. Attempt by Sen. Joseph Clark, Pa., to gain approval of a three year, $33 million extension of the **Arms Control and Disarmament Agency,** as requested by the Administration. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee had approved a two year, $17 million extension. Sen. Clark's amendment rejected 18-53 (R 2-26; D 16-27), April 22.
4. Effort by Sens. Karl Mundt, S. Dak., and Harry Byrd, Jr., Va., to impose a 20% surtax on **those trading with Communist nations supplying North Vietnam.** Rejected 38-44 (R 16-16; D 22-28), March 28.
5. Attempt by Sen. Joseph Clark, Pa., to restore $317.6 million to **Development Loan Fund, Alliance for Progress, Contributions to International Organizations** and other **AID** activities. Rejected 13-62 (R 2-21; D 11-41), July 31.
6. Attempt by Sens. John S. Cooper, Ky., and Philip Hart, Mich., to postpone initial construction of the **Anti-Ballistic-Missile System** for one year. Some $227.3 million had been requested for requisition of sites and facilities in fiscal 1969. Amendment rejected 34-52 (R 12-23; D 22-29), June 24.
7. Amendment by Sen. Stephen Young, Ohio, to cut the $63.6 million **civil defense** budget, approved by the Senate Appropriations Committee, by $10.6 million. Rejected 27-54 (R 6-25; D 21-29), July 18.
8. Effort by Sen. Joseph Clark, Pa., to require that the $6 billion of **spending cuts** imposed by Congress on the overall fiscal 1969 budget be **concentrated in foreign military assistance, the space program, and Department of Defense expenditures.** Rejected 17-62 (R 1-30; D 16-32), March 29.
9. Motion by Sen. Mike Mansfield, Mont., to end the filibuster on the **civil rights** bill and allow the Senate to vote on **open-housing** amendments. This was the fourth and final cloture vote on the civil rights bill. Accepted 65-32 (R 24-12; D 41-20), March 4.
10. Attempt by Sen. Gordon Allott, Colo., to reduce fiscal 1969 grants for **Model Cities** from the $1 billion requested by the Administration to $750 million and to reduce funds for urban renewal in model cities projects from $500 million to $375 million. Rejected 21-54 (R 14-14; D 7-40), July 18.
11. Effort by Sen. Philip Hart, Mich., to insure passage of a House passed bill which would extend **feeding programs to underprivileged children** in child care institutions and continue the **pilot breakfast program** another three years. The Senate Agriculture Committee had deleted the child care program and limited the breakfast program to two years. Sen. Hart's effort accepted 38-14 (R 8-6; D 30-8), April 17.
12. Amendment by Sen. Joseph Tydings, Md., to strike provisions of the Crime Control and Safe Streets Bill which would overrule Supreme Court efforts to protect the **rights of suspects to counsel and to silence.** Rejected 31-51 (R 7-24; D 24-27), May 21.
13. Attempt by Sen. Edward Long, Mo., to delete **wiretapping provisions** of the Crime Control and Safe Streets Bill. Rejected 12-68 (R 3-29; D 9-39), May 23.
14. Amendment by Sen. Edward Kennedy, Mass., to prohibit interstate **mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns.** Rejected 29-53 (R 9-22; D 20-31), May 16.
15. Effort by Sen. Edward Long, Mo., to permit prospective draftees to have a **lawyer in appearances before local Selective Service boards.** Rejected 18-63 (R 5-29; D 13-34), May 22.

Senators by State	VOTES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
ALABAMA															
Hill (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N
Sparkman (D)	N	?	N	?	N	N	N	?	N	N	?	N	N	N	N
ALASKA															
Bartlett (D)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
Gruening (D)	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA															
Hayden (D)	N	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N	?
Fannin (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
ARKANSAS															
Fulbright (D)	?	N	N	?	?	Y	?	?	N	?	Y	N	N	N	?
McClellan (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA															
Kuchel (R)	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Murphy (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
COLORADO															
Allott (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Dominick (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT															
Dodd (D)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Ribicoff (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE															
Boggs (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Williams (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
FLORIDA															
Holland (D)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Smathers (D)	N	Y	?	N	?	N	Y	N	N	?	N	N	N	Y	?
GEORGIA															
Russell (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Talmadge (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
HAWAII															
Inouye (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	?	N
Fong (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO															
Church (D)	N	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	?
Jordan (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS															
Dirksen (R)	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	N
Percy (R)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
INDIANA															
Bayh (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Hartke (D)	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y
IOWA															
Hickenlooper (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	N	N	?	?	N	N	N	N
Miller (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
KANSAS															
Carlson (R)	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N	N
Pearson (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY															
Cooper (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Morton (R)	N	Y	?	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	N	?	?	N

Senators by State	VOTES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
LOUISIANA															
Ellender (D)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Long (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	N	N
MAINE															
Muskie (D)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Smith (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MARYLAND															
Brewster (D)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Tydings (D)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS															
Kennedy (D)	?	N	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brooke (R)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN															
Hart (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Griffin (R)	N	Y	N	N	?	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N
MINNESOTA															
McCarthy (D)	?	?	?	?	?	Y	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?	Y
Mondale (D)	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI															
Eastland (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N
Stennis (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
MISSOURI															
Long (D)	?	?	N	?	?	?	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Symington (D)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MONTANA															
Mansfield (D)	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	?	?	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N
Metcalf (D)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA															
Curtis (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Hruska (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N
NEVADA															
Bible (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N
Cannon (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE															
McIntyre (D)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Cotton (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N	N
NEW JERSEY															
Williams (D)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Case (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO															
Anderson (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N	N
Montoya (D)	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	?
NEW YORK															
Vacancy															
Javits (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA															
Ervin (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Jordan (D)	N	?	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N

Senators by State	VOTES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
NORTH DAKOTA															
Burdick (D)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Young (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
OHIO															
Lausche (D)	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Young (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA															
Harris (D)	N	N	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
Monroney (D)	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	
OREGON															
Morse (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hatfield (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA															
Clark (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Scott (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND															
Pastore (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Pell (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA															
Hollings (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N
Thurmond (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA															
McGovern (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	?
Mundt (R)	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
TENNESSEE															
Gore (D)	N	Y	?	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Baker (R)	N	Y	?	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N	Y
TEXAS															
Yarborough (D)	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
UTAH															
Moss (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Bennett (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
VERMONT															
Aiken (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	N
Prouty (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	?	N
VIRGINIA															
Byrd, Jr. (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Spong (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON															
Jackson (D)	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Magnuson (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA															
Byrd (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Randolph (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN															
Nelson (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	Y
Proxmire (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
WYOMING															
McGee (D)	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	?
Hansen (R)	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N

*See footnotes on page 7.

SOME KEY VOTES OF REPRESENTATIVES IN 1968*

1. Approval of the President's request for another **$6 billion for the war in Vietnam** for the year ending June 30, 1968. This raised the total Vietnam budget for fiscal 1968 to $27 billion. Passed 324-33 (R 143-18; D 181-15), June 11.
2. Passage of a bill providing for a **10% surtax on income and a $6 billion cutback in proposed federal spending for fiscal 1969.** Expenditures for the Vietnam war, interest on the Federal Debt, and veterans and Social Security benefits were exempted from the reduction requirements. Passed 268-150 (R 114-73; D 154-77), June 20.
3. Effort by Rep. Edward Derwinski, Ill., to limit extension of the **Arms Control and Disarmament Agency** to two years at a cost of $20 million. The Administration had requested a three year, $33 million bill. Rep. Derwinski's amendment accepted 241-162 (R 171-7; D 70-155), March 6.
4. Effort by Rep. Thomas Curtis, Mo., to kill a bill authorizing an additional $412 million contribution over the next two years to help expand the callable capital of the **Inter-American Development Bank.** Rejected 126-271 (R 75-97; D 51-174), March 19.
5. Attempt by Rep. Ross Adair, Ill., to cut an additional $75 million from the **Alliance for Progress,** $13 million from **Contributions to International Organizations** and $77 million from other **AID** activities. Accepted 268-150 (R 164-20; D 104-130), July 18.
6. Passage of a bill extending the **Food for Peace Act** for one year. Approved 346-42 (R 152-25; D 194-17), May 14.
7. Passage of a bill setting a $21.6 billion ceiling on **military research and development and procurement** of aircraft, vessels and missiles for fiscal 1969. Another $55 to $60 billion of military funding is carried in other bills. Passed 363-15 (R 162-2; D 201-13), July 11.
8. Attempt by Rep. Robert Michel, Ill., to kill the $1.8 billion **Military Construction bill.** Rejected 32-350 (R 8-153; D 24-197), July 29.
9. Motion by Rep. Ray Madden, Ind. to accept the Senate version of the **civil rights** bill which included **open-housing** amendments. Accepted 229-195 (R 77-106; D 152-89), April 10.
10. Effort by Rep. William Scherle, Iowa, to cut $100 million from the $1.87 billion budget approved by the Appropriations Committee for the **Office of Economic Opportunity** for fiscal 1969. The Administration had requested $2.18 billion. Amendment rejected 181-220 (R 110-64; D 71-156), June 26.
11. Attempt by Rep. Leonor Sullivan, Mo., to eliminate the ceiling on expenditures for the **Food Stamp Program.** This would give the Government authority to sell as many stamps as the poor could afford. Accepted 227-172 (R 32-138; D 195-34), July 30.
12. Attempt by Rep. Clark MacGregor, Minn., to eliminate restrictions on the **sale of ammunition for shotguns and rifles.** Accepted 218-205 (R 116-70; D 102-135), July 24.
13. Motion by Rep. B. F. Sisk, Calif., to accept the Senate version of the **Crime Control and Safe Streets bill,** thus forclosing any possibility of modifying Senate language authorizing wiretapping and infringing upon the rights of suspects. Accepted 349-40 (R 169-6; D 180-34), June 6.

Representatives by State & Dist.	VOTES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALABAMA													
3 Andrews (D)	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
7 Bevill (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Jones (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Nichols (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Selden (D)	Y	N	?	?	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
6 Buchanan (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Dickinson (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
1 Edwards (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA													
AL Pollock	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA													
2 Udall (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
1 Rhodes (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Steiger (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS													
1 Gathings (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Mills (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Pryor (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Hammerschmidt (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA													
5 Burton (D)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Cohelan (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	
9 Edwards (D)	N	N	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
34 Hanna (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Johnson (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Leggett (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
15 McFall (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Miller (D)	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
3 Moss (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
16 Sisk (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
38 Tunney (D)	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
37 Van Deerlin (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Waldie (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
1 Clausen (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Gubser (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	?	N	Y
11 McCloskey (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Mailliard (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 Mathias (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
33 Pettis (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Talcott (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Teague (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
35 Utt (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Wilson (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
Los Angeles Co.													
29 Brown (D)	N	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
22 Corman (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?	N	N
21 Hawkins (D)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
19 Holifield (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 King (D)	?	Y	?	?	N	Y	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
26 Rees (D)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
30 Roybal (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
31 Wilson (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
28 Bell (R)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	N	?
23 Clawson (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
32 Hosmer (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
24 Lipscomb (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
27 Reinecke (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Smith (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
25 Wiggins (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO													
4 Aspinall (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Evans (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
1 Rogers (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Brotzman (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT													
1 Daddario (D)	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Giaimo (D)	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Irwin (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Monagan (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 St. Onge (D)	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Meskill (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
DELAWARE													
AL Roth (R)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	Y
FLORIDA													
3 Bennett (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 Fascell (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gibbons (D)	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Haley (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Herlong (D)	?	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Pepper (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Rogers (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
1 Sikes (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burke (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Cramer (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y
5 Gurney (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA													
3 Brinkley (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Davis (D)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Flynt (D)	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
1 Hagan (D)	Y	N	Y	?	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Landrum (D)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 O'Neal (D)	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
10 Stephens (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Stuckey (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Blackburn (R)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y
5 Thompson (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII													
AL Matsunaga (D)	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
AL Mink (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
IDAHO													
2 Hansen (R)	?	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	N	?	N	Y	Y
1 McClure (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS													
21 Gray (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?
24 Price (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Shipley (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Anderson (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Arends (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Erlenborn (R)	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Findley (R)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 McClory (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 Michel (R)	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
19 Railsback (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 Reid (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 Springer (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Chicago-Cook Co.													
7 Annunzio (D)	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
1 Dawson (D)	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
5 Kluczynski (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Murphy (D)	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
2 O'Hara (D)	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
11 Pucinski (D)	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 Ronan (D)	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Rostenkowski (D)	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Yates (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
10 Collier (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Derwinski (R)	?	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
13 Rumsfeld (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
INDIANA													
3 Brademas (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton (D)	Y	Y	N	N	.	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
1 Madden (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Roush (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Adair (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bray (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Halleck (R)	Y	N	Y	?	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Myers (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Roudebush (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Zion (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA													
2 Culver (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Smith (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Gross (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Kyl (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Mayne (R)	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
7 Scherle (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
1 Schwengel (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
KANSAS													
1 Dole (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Mize (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Shriver (R)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Skubitz (R)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Winn (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY													
2 Natcher (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
1 Stubblefield (D)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Watts (D)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Carter (R)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?
3 Cowger (R)	?	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
4 Snyder (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA													
2 Boggs (D)	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Edwards (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
1 Hebert (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Long (D)	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Passman (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
6 Rarick (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Waggonner (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Willis (D)	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE													
2 Hathaway (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
1 Kyros (D)	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND													
4 Fallon (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Friedel (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Garmatz (D)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Long (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Machen (D)	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Gude (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Mathias (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
1 Morton (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS													
2 Boland (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Burke (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Donohue (D)	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Macdonald (D)	Y	N	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 McCormack (D)													
8 O'Neill (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Philbin (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Bates (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
1 Conte (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Heckler (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 Keith (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Morse (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN													
12 O'Hara (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
18 Broomfield (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Brown (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Cederberg (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Chamberlain (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Esch (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Ford (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Harvey (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?

See footnotes on page 7.

Representatives by State & Dist.	VOTES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
MICHIGAN, Cont'd.													
4 Hutchinson (R)	**N**	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 McDonald (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
7 Riegle (R)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y
11 Ruppe (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y
9 Vander Jagt (R)	?	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	?	N	N	**N**	Y	Y	?
Detroit-Wayne Co.													
1 Conyers (D)	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	**N**	?	?	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
13 Diggs (D)	?	**N**	**N**	?	**N**	?	Y	?	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
16 Dingell (D)	?	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	Y	N	N	**N**	Y	Y	N	**N**
15 Ford (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	?	N	Y	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y	Y
17 Griffiths (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	?	
14 Nedzi (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
MINNESOTA													
8 Blatnik (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	?	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
5 Fraser (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
4 Karth (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y
7 Langen (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 MacGregor (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**Y**	N	**Y**	**N**	**N**	Y	Y	Y
2 Nelsen (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	?	**Y**	Y	N	Y	Y
1 Quie (R)	**N**	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	?	**Y**	**N**	N	Y	Y
6 Zwach (R)	?	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI													
1 Abernethy (D)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Colmer (D)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Montgomery (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Whitten (D)	?	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
3 Griffin (D) #	Y	Y		**N**	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI													
5 Bolling (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
6 Hull (D)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
9 Hungate (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	**N**	Y
8 Ichord (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
10 Jones (D)	**N**	Y	?	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	Y
1 Karsten (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	?	?	?	?	?	**N**	?
4 Randall (D)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
3 Sullivan (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
2 Curtis (R)	**N**	**N**	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Hall (R)	**N**	**N**	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA													
1 Olsen (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	?	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
2 Battin (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA													
2 Cunningham (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	N	?	Y
1 Denney (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Martin (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA													
AL Baring (D)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE													
2 Cleveland (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
1 Wyman (R)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY													
14 Daniels (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
13 Gallagher (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	?	**N**	Y
9 Helstoski (D)	?	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
3 Howard (D)	Y	**N**	?	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
8 Joelson (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
11 Minish (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	Y	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
15 Patten (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
10 Rodino (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
4 Thompson (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
6 Cahill (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	Y
12 Dwyer (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
5 Frelinghuysen (R)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	Y	?	**Y**	**N**	?	**N**	Y
1 Hunt (R)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Sandman (R)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	N	Y	N	**Y**	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Widnall (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
NEW MEXICO													
AL Morris (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	?	**Y**	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
AL Walker (D)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
NEW YORK													
27 Dow (D)	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
41 Dulski (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
34 Hanley (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
39 McCarthy (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
25 Ottinger (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**
1 Pike (D)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
28 Resnick (D)	?	Y	**N**	?	**N**	?	?	?	**Y**	?	**Y**	**N**	**N**
35 Stratton (D)	Y	Y	**N**	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
5 Tenzer (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	Y	?	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
3 Wolff (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
29 Button (R)	**N**	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
37 Conable (R)	**N**	Y	?	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	?	**N**	**N**	Y
38 Goodell (R)	?	Y	?	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	?	**Y**	**N**	?	**N**	Y
2 Grover (R)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	N	Y	N	**Y**	Y	N	**N**	Y
36 Horton (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
30 King (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
31 McEwen (R)	?	Y	Y	?	Y	**Y**	?	N	?	Y	N	**N**	Y
32 Pirnie (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	Y
26 Reid (R)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
33 Robison (R)	**N**	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	Y
40 Smith (R)	?	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	Y
4 Wydler (R)	?	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**

Representatives by State & Dist.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
New York City													
7 Addabbo (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
23 Bingham (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
11 Brasco (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
15 Carey (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	?	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
10 Celler (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	?	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
9 Delaney (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
19 Farbstein (D)	?	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
22 Gilbert (D)	?	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
12 Kelly (D)	?	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
13 Podell (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	?	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
16 Murphy (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	?	Y
18 Vacancy													
14 Rooney (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	?
8 Rosenthal (D)	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
20 Ryan (D)	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
21 Scheuer (D)	?	**N**	?	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	?	**Y**	**N**	**N**
24 Fino (R)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	N	**N**	Y
6 Halpern (R)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
17 Kupferman (R)	**N**	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	?	**Y**	Y,	**Y**	**N**	**N**
NORTH CAROLINA													
2 Fountain (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Galifianakis (D)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
3 Henderson (D)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
1 Jones (D)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Kornegay (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Lennon (D)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Taylor (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
10 Whitener (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
9 Broyhill (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Gardner (R)	?	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
8 Jonas (R)	**N**	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA													
1 Andrews (R)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
2 Kleppe (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO													
9 Ashley (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
20 Feighan (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
18 Hays (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
19 Kirwan (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	?	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
21 Vanik (D)	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
17 Ashbrook (R)	?	**N**	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Ayres (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	N	Y	Y
8 Betts (R)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Bolton (R)	?	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	?	N	**N**	?	**N**	?
16 Bow (R)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	?	N	N	Y	N	**N**	?
7 Brown (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Clancy (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Devine (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	**N**	Y
6 Harsha (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	?	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
5 Latta (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Lukens (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y
4 McCulloch (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	N	**N**	Y
10 Miller (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Minshall (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	N	N	**N**	Y
13 Mosher (R)	**N**	Y	Y	?	Y	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
11 Stanton (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	N	**N**	Y
1 Taft (R)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	N	**N**	Y
3 Whalen (R)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
15 Wylie (R)	Y	**N**	Y	?	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	**N**	Y
OKLAHOMA													
3 Albert (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
2 Edmondson (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
5 Jarman (D)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Steed (D)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	?	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
1 Belcher (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Smith (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON													
3 Green (D)	Y	Y	?	**N**	Y	?	Y	N	**Y**	Y	**Y**	**N**	Y
2 Ullman (D)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
4 Dellenback (R)	**N**	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	N	Y	Y
1 Wyatt (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA													
25 Clark (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	?	Y	N	N	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
21 Dent (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
11 Flood (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	?	**Y**	**N**	?	**N**	Y
20 Vacancy													
14 Moorhead (D)	Y	Y	**N**	?	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
26 Morgan (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
6 Rhodes (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	?	Y
15 Rooney (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
24 Vigorito (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	?	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
8 Biester (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
18 Corbett (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
16 Eshleman (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	Y	N	Y	Y
27 Fulton (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
19 Goodling (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Johnson (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 McDade (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	?
22 Saylor (R)	Y	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
17 Schneebeli (R)	**N**	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Schweiker (R)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	?	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
9 Watkins (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
12 Whalley (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Williams (R)	**N**	**N**	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	**N**	Y

Representatives by State & Dist.	VOTES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Philadelphia City													
1 Barrett (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
3 Byrne (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
4 Eilberg (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	?	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
5 Green (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
2 Nix (D)	Y	Y	**N**	?	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
RHODE ISLAND													
1 St. Germain (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
2 Tiernan (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA													
4 Ashmore (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
3 Dorn (D)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
5 Gettys (D)	?	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	?
6 McMillan (D)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
1 Rivers (D)	?	Y	Y	**N**	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
2 Watson (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA													
2 Berry (R)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
1 Reifel (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	?	N	**Y**	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
TENNESSEE													
6 Anderson (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	?	?	N	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
7 Blanton (D)	Y	Y	**N**	Y	Y	**Y**	?	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y
8 Everett (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
4 Evins (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	?	?	N	?	**Y**	?	?
5 Fulton (D)	Y	Y	**N**	Y	Y	**Y**	?	?	**Y**	**N**	?	Y	Y
3 Brock (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Duncan (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Kuykendall (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
1 Quillen (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TEXAS													
9 Brooks (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
17 Burleson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Cabell (D)	**N**	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Casey (D)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**N**	**N**	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza (D)	?	Y	?	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
2 Dowdy (D)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
8 Eckhardt (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
21 Fisher (D)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
23 Kazen (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
19 Mahon (D)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
1 Patman (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	N	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
10 Pickle (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
11 Poage (D)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Vacancy													
13 Purcell (D)	?	Y	Y	?	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	**N**	**Y**	Y	?
4 Roberts (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
6 Teague (D)	?	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**Y**	?	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
16 White (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	**Y**	Y	Y
12 Wright (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	N	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
14 Young (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
7 Bush (R)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Price (R)	?	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH													
1 Burton (R)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	**Y**	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	**N**
2 Lloyd (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VERMONT													
AL Stafford (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA													
4 Abbitt (D)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
1 Downing (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hardy (D)	Y	?	Y	**N**	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
7 Marsh (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Tuck (D)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Broyhill (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	**N**	Y
6 Poff (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Scott (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Wampler (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	?	N	Y	**Y**	Y	?
WASHINGTON													
7 Adams (D)	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	N	Y	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
5 Foley (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
3 Hansen (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
6 Hicks (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	N	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
2 Meeds (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
4 May (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
1 Pelly (R)	?	Y	Y	**N**	Y	N	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA													
4 Hechler (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	Y	**N**	Y
5 Kee (D)	Y	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	Y	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	Y	?	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
2 Staggers (D)	?	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	?	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
1 Moore (R)	?	**N**	Y	?	Y	?	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
WISCONSIN													
2 Kastenmeier (D)	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
5 Reuss (D)	**N**	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**
4 Zablocki (D)	Y	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	Y
8 Byrnes (R)	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	**N**	Y
9 Davis (R)	**N**	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y
7 Laird (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 O'Konski (R)	**N**	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	Y	Y
1 Schadeberg (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Steiger (R)	Y	Y	Y	**N**	Y	**Y**	Y	N	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	Y
3 Thomson (R)	Y	**N**	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING													
AL Harrison (R)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	**Y**	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	?

*The "yes" votes in the tabulation include all those on record as favoring an action, whether they actually voted on the floor or not. The "no" votes includ all those on record as opposing an action. (Thus the totals of any one column may exceed the totals in the text which include recorded votes only.) A "?' designates those who were absent, or whose position was not known. A blank means the seat is vacant, or was occupied by a different incumbent at th time of the vote.

Bold type **"Y"** and **"N"** indicates positions preferred by FCNL, i.e.: As expressed in 1968 Statement of Legislative Policy, Testimony, etc.

(D)—Democrats; (R)—Republicans. Source of votes: **Congressional Quarterly Service.**

Elected to the House in a special election, March 18.

Who is helping Whom?

According to a House Committee on Government Operations report, it cost the developing world at least $150 million to educate the 7913 scientists, engineers, and physicians who migrated to the United States in 1967. The number of physicians equalled the 1967 output of the 15 largest U.S. medical schools. Witnesses before the Committee warned that if the United States and other advanced countries continue to encourage this **scientific brain drain,** the developing world will suffer serious long-term consequences—a delay in reforming ill-adapted educational systems, a kind of contagious outward movement, an undermining of the sense of worth of those who remain, and a decimation of the relatively small cadre of leadership personnel.

(Continued from page 4)

Sen Joseph D. Tydings', Md., attempt to eliminate this provision was defeated 31-51 (see S vote 12). Title III authorizes Federal and state **wiretapping and electronic surveillance** in a wide variety of criminal investigations. Sen. Edward Long's, Mo., effort to delete this was defeated 12-68 (see S vote 13). Sen. Long also offered an amendment to permit prospective **draftees to have a lawyer** while appearing before his local Selective Service Board. This was defeated 18-63 (see S vote 15). The only Senators to vote against the omnibus bill were Sens. Fong, Hawaii, Cooper, Ky., Metcalf, Mont., and Hart, Mich. Because of the assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, N. Y., and the increased concern over crime, the House accepted the Senate version without change (see H vote 13).

HUAC Budget: The House on March 13 agreed to give the **House Un-American Activities** Committee $375 thousand for investigation expenditures in 1968, $25 thousand more than the Committee received in 1967. Still awaiting action is the omnibus **Internal Security Act** of 1968, and the controversial **"Pool Bill"** (H.R. 8) which would stiffen penalties for people soliciting or sending medical supplies to North Vietnam.

Capital Punishment: The Senate Judiciary Committee held hearings on Sen. Philip Hart's Mich., bill to abolish capital punishment. These were the first formal Senate hearings in history to consider ending the death penalty. No further action has been taken on the bill, or on similar proposals on the House side.

Other Issues

Gun Control: Prohibitions against **interstate mail-order and over-the-counter sales of hand guns** to out of state purchasers were included in the Crime Control and Safe Streets bill. However, Sen. Edward Kennedy's, Mass., amendment to include rifles and shotguns under the restriction was rejected 29-53 (see S vote 14). After much public outcry, the House passed another bill to extend the restrictions on interstate sales to **rifles and shotguns** but refused to approve registration or licensing of firearms or restrictions on the sale of ammunition for long guns (see H vote 12). Legislation concerning sales, licensing and registering of firearms is presently stalled in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Ethical standards: This year Congress approved new rules of ethics to govern Congressional financial activities, but rejected Sen. Joseph Clark's, Pa., and Sen. Clifford Case's, N. J., effort to require full public disclosure of nearly all aspects of a Senator's or Senatorial employee's financial status. The Clark-Case amendment was defeated 40-44.

The Friends Committee on National Legislation includes Friends appointed by 19 of the 25 Friends Yearly Meetings and 10 Friends organizations in the United States. Expressions of views in the *FCNL Washington Newsletter* are guided by the Statement of Policy prepared and approved by the Committee. Seeking to follow the leadings of the Spirit, the FCNL speaks for itself and for like-minded Friends. No organization can speak officially for the Religious Society of Friends.

FCNL WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER. Editors: Frances Neely and Bonnie Packer, 245 Second St., N.E., Washington, D. C. 20002. Subscription $3.00 per year. Published monthly except August-September, when it is combined. Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

FCNL ACTION Bulletins—Background information and action suggestions for *Newsletter* subscribers, issued irregularly as need arises.

Bulletins cover **foreign policy** and **domestic human rights** issues, including disarmament, UN affairs, economic aid, agricultural surpluses, conscription, civil rights, civil liberties, immigration and refugees, and American Indians.

— **Will you take action?** Check here and return to FCNL with your name and address at right.

FRIENDS COMMITTEE
ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION

245 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Return Requested

Second Class Postage
Paid at Washington, D.C.

ELECTION FACTS

File Current Issues

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

MIDWEEK EDITION

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Vol. 8, No. 44A — October 23, 1968

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

HHH upswing appears in final drive

The Humphrey-Nixon campaign is an unpredictable horse race right down to the wire.

This is the estimate of public opinion analyst Louis Bean. He has never missed on the outcome of a Presidential campaign, including 1948 when almost all other pollsters were wrong. He also called Kennedy's narrow victory in 1960.

About the same time Bean made public his 1968 observations, two other top pollsters, Louis Harris and George Gallup, were doing some hedging.

The new Harris survey showed that Humphrey has been gaining in October and is now only five points behind Nixon, 35 percent to 40 percent, with 18 percent for Wallace. The Wallace percentage is down by three.

Harris observed that if Humphrey picks up two to three more points and with the standard margin of error 2 to 4 percent, the election would become "too close to call."

Gallup has not had a poll announced in several weeks, but despite a fifteen percent Nixon lead, said that there were too many undecided and declined to predict the outcome.

"The election looks much closer than you have learned from the polls—Gallup, Harris and the others," Bean told a B'nai B'rith luncheon here. He also questioned "why two national pollsters of equal competence should be so far apart."

Bean had another interesting observation, that if Humphrey "can do as well as Goldwater did in the closing weeks of 1964, he's in."

In a detailed analysis in The Washington Post, Bean said that "the state-by-state polls that have recently become available do not square with either of these national polls. They point to a much closer race than is generally assumed."

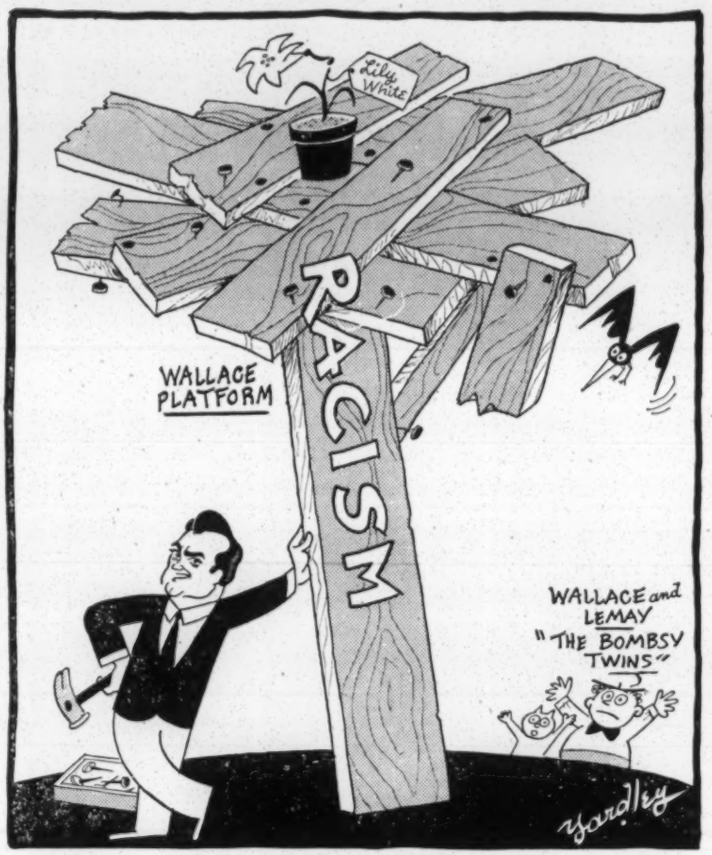
Polls in about a dozen states, most of which were made by the two major parties, cover Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Texas and California. They represent 253 electoral votes.

"If we take these twelve state polls," Bean said, "they show on a two-party basis, an average for Humphrey somewhat ahead of Nixon's average, 51 to 49."

He then shows that historically the outcome in these twelve states has closely paralleled the national outcome.

SPECIAL SECTION ON CONGRESS. This week we've got a special four page summary of the legislative accomplishments of the first and second sessions of the 90th Congress.

"But There's Only One Plank That Really Matters!"



UAW Washington Report ELECTION FACTS

HUMPHREY APPEALS TO CONSCIENCE of all Americans and never stoops to fear and hate. He reaches out to voters during a campaign swing through California this year.

Now I'm not for Humphrey but I belong to this travel group with campers and so on and we have a lot of fun. They put out a magazine that I subscribe to and have for many years. This magazine sent a questionnaire to all three candidates for President. There were 12 questions about recreation and camping facilities and public parks. Things like that. Things about preserving our beautiful forests and streams. Well, to get on, of the 12 questions, Humphrey answered all 12 of them. And said we **not only** should preserve what we have but **improve** the others. Now Nixon turned his 12 questions over to his publicity man who answered most of them but said that some he would have to give more study. Wallace only answered six of the 12. —HDR

—from The Lamplighter, UAW Local 663, Kokomo, Indiana

Clark is hero in genuine drive for law and order

There are encouraging signs that the era of racial outbreaks may be ending. Major or serious disturbances fell to 25 this summer from 46 last summer, by official count.

While there can be no single explanation for the drop, one reason, according to Attorney General Ramsey Clark, was more skillful police action. Violence, Clark said, was "usually controlled by adequate police manpower trained to neither overact or underact."

Much of the credit for improving American police work goes to Clark. The Law Enforcement Assistance Act that Clark nursed through Congress will bring even more results.

In some major cities police starting salaries have moved into the $8-$10,000 bracket, and educational requirements are rising. In Portland, Oregon, Deputy Sheriffs now must have a college degree. In the last three years, the number of states offering college courses in Police Science has doubled. This means twice as many professionally trained policemen.

Yet Attorney General Clark is the very man Richard Nixon most frequently attacks and promises to replace. Nixon howls about the need for tough law enforcement, but as *New York Times* Columnist Tom Wicker points out, Nixon's emphasis **"is seldom on the improvement of police personnel, techniques, working conditions and understanding, all of which have to precede any really effective law enforcement."**

This is precisely the emphasis of Vice President Humphrey, and it is starting to bring good results, if this year's relatively cool summer is any indication.

It's not surprising that Nixon, who selected a man like Spiro Agnew for his running mate, would want to dump Ramsey Clark. The Attorney General is a kind of Texas version of Ed Muskie—sincere, plain-talking and effective.

Meanwhile, in a grim example of a different kind of "law enforcement," the Chief of the Minutemen, Robert De Pugh, admitted in a newspaper story that local Police Forces "have tipped us off repeatedly in time" for him and his aides to avoid arrest by federal agents.

This statement was written out by De Pugh and relayed through intermediaries to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. He and another leader of the Minutemen are wanted on charges of conspiracy to rob a bank in the state of Washington.

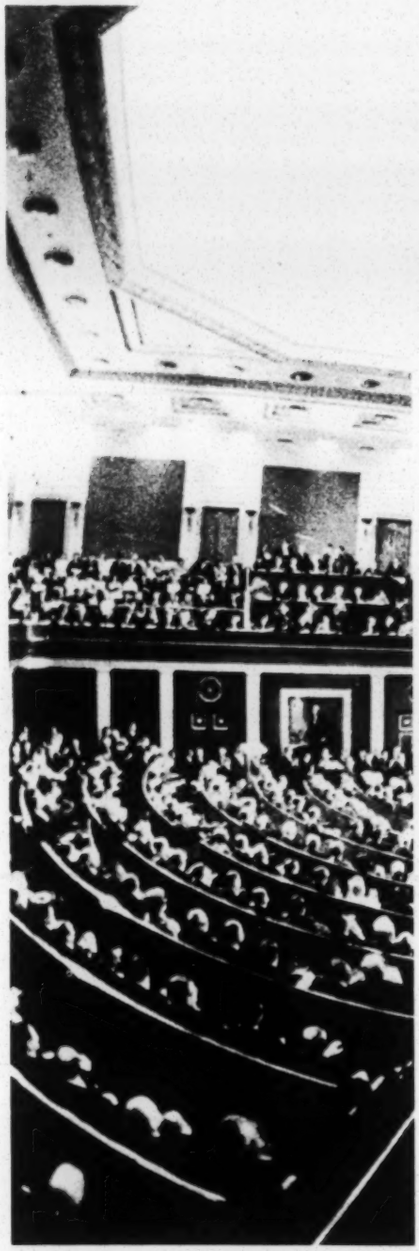
The Minutemen, a right-wing extremist group, is tied in with the George Wallace campaign. In May, De Pugh issued an appeal on behalf of Wallace from the Minutemen's "Underground Headquarters."

In Connecticut, on August 24, a group of the Minutemen, trying to burn down a pacifist camp, fought a close-range gun battle with police and four of the extremists were wounded. One, Louis J. Rogers of Lisbon, Connecticut, had been recently identified as the Wallace-for-President Chairman in his hometown; another, Frank D. Barber, has been co-chairman of the Wallace movement in Norwich.

It seems the Wallace campaign in some places is a vehicle for right-wing extremists to get a foothold in police departments and then subvert federal law enforcement. This is law and order, Wallace style.

We'll take Hubert Humphrey and Ramsey Clark.

The 90th Congress plus and minus



We may never again see so much legislative accomplishment in so short a time. Summing up, the record is great —but the full impact may not be felt for several more years.

The 90th Congress is history now—and its record is better than most people expected. Much better. In fact, it's pretty good considering how many good liberal Congressmen went down to defeat in 1966. Put all together, the combined record of the 89th and 90th Congress during the past four years is outstanding. It may be a long, long time before we get a better Congress than these two landmark congresses.

Nearly everybody knows how great the 89th Congress was, but the 90th Congress which folded its tents this past week was no slouch either.

The 90th Congress (which served during the two years 1967 and 1968) passed massive programs in consumer protection, housing, education, conservation, and gun control which will enrich and improve the quality of life for this and future generations.

The 90th Congress wrote some far reaching legislation which will make America better for all of her citizens.

(Continued on next page)

Consumers gained much, housing will be better, education was helped, conservation was a winner and gun control finally—that's what 90th Congress did for the American people.

(Continued from previous page)

Here's a rundown of key programs enacted by the 90th Congress:

Consumer Protection: *We made real headway here.* Gas pipeline safety; truth-in-lending; commission on product safety; two-year federal government investigation of auto insurance; meat inspection; poultry inspection; and flammable fabrics protection.

Housing: *Some important gains in ridding America of slums.* A three year $5.3 billion program to upgrade American housing including a program for 1.7 million units of new and rehabilitated housing for low-income families was adopted by the 90th Congress.

Education: *More of the great things started by the 89th Congress.* Programs and funds (including some unfortunate cutbacks in spending where it was needed most) for higher education, training of health manpower, vocational and technical training, the National Teacher Corps, and numerous other educational programs launched, paid for, and extended by the 90th Congress.

Conservation: *Some last minute, great programs to save the outdoors for people. The action came during the closing hours of the 90th Congress, but they mean much to all Americans.* A new system of financing land acquisition for parklands was added to the Land and Water Conservation Fund (including use of general revenue and royalties from offshore oil); national system of scenic rivers, national system of trails; Redwood National Park (saving this magnificent stand of timber from commercial chainsaws); and North Cascades National Park (the American Alps saved at last).

Gun Control: *A tough fight won.* Congress did finally pass a bill regulating the sale of firearms, which fully protects their legitimate use by sportsmen. This was a legislative victory for sanity.

Below are excerpts from a list prepared by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield which gives greater detail to the achievements of both the first and second sessions of the 90th Congress:

THE 90TH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

Landmark bills

1. *Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967*—Strengthened and extended the Act for two years (P.L. 90-247).
2. *Education Professions Act*—Broadened and strengthened training programs for educational personnel at all levels (P.L. 90-35).
3. *Air Quality Act*—Strengthened the Clean Air Act by providing for air quality regions, regional air quality standards, aid to States for automobile emission inspection standards, and expanded research on air pollutants (P.L. 90-148).
4. *Partnership for Health*—Extended and expanded the Partnership for Health program, including grants for health planning, services and research (P.L. 90-174).
5. *Social Security Amendments of 1967*—Increased benefits payments by 13 percent, increased the minimum benefit and otherwise liberalized social security benefits (P.L. 90-248).
6. *Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967*—Strengthened and extended, through fiscal year 1972, programs of grants, research, demonstration and training under the Older Americans Act of 1965 (P.L. 90-42).
7. *Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967*—Prohibited arbitrary age discrimination in employment and provided for research and education programs relating to discriminatory employment practices (P.L. 90-200).
8. *Wholesale Meat Act*—Strengthened the Federal Meat Inspection Act and provided for an effective Federal-State meat inspection system (P.L. 90-201).
9. *Flamable Fabrics Act amendments*—Increased protection to consumers against injurious flammable fabrics by broadening the law's coverage of wearing apparel and interior furnishings and by strengthening the law's administration (P.L. 90-189).
10. *Rent supplement funds*—Provided $10 million for rent supplement program in fiscal 1968 (P.L. 90-121).
11. *Model Cities funds*—Provided $312 million for Model Cities program in fiscal 1968 (P.L. 90-121).
12. *Rat extermination*—Authorized $20 million for each of the fiscal years 1968 and 1969 for grants to control rats (P.L. 90-174).
13. *Urban research funds*—Provided $10 million to help create the Urban Institute (P.L. 90-121).
14. *Teachers Corps*—Extended the Teacher Corps program for three years (P.L. 90-35) and provided $13.5 million for fiscal year 1968 (P.L. 90-132).
15. *Public Broadcasting Act of 1967*—Authorizd establishing of a Corporation for Public Broadcasting and extended and expanded the program of grants for educational broadcasting equipment (P.L. 90-129).
16. *Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967*—Authorized appropriations for the poverty program: $1.98 billion for fiscal year 1968 and $2.18 billion for 1969 (P.L. 90-222).
17. *Food for India*—Expressed Congressional approval of a series of actions to assist India in meeting its food needs (P.L. 90-7).
18. *Outer Space Treaty*—Ratified April 25, 1967.
19. *Federal Salary Act of 1967*—Increased pay of Federal civilian and postal workers and provided that their pay would reach comparability with private enterprise in 1969 (P.L. 90-206).
20. *Modern government for the District of Columbia*—Provided for a more effective government by establishing a single commissioner and a City Council (Reorganization Plan No. 2, August 11, 1967).
21. *Veterans Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967*—Provided additional readjustment assistance to Vietnam veterans and increased pensions for veterans and their dependents (P.L. 90-77).
22. *Federal Judicial Center*—Established within the Judicial Branch a Federal Judicial Center to improve judicial administration through research, education, and training (P.L. 90-219).
23. *Highway safety funds*—Provided $21 million for fiscal year 1968 for traffic and highway safety programs (P.L. 90-112).
24. *Prohibition on obstruction of justice*—Made it a crime to obstruct criminal investigations by bribery, intimidation, or force (P.L. 90-123).

Other major bills

25. Product Safety Commission (P.L. 90-146).
26. Clinical Laboratory Improvements (P.L. 90-174).
27. Fellowships for Urban Planning (P.L. 90-66).
28. College-Work Study Program (P.L. 90-82).
29. Library Services (P.L. 90-154).
30. Consular Convention with USSR (March 16, 1967).
31. Safety at Sea Treaty (March 21, 1967).
32. Narcotics Convention (May 8, 1967).
33. Increased contributions to Inter-American Development Bank (P.L. 90-88).
34. Peace Corps authorization (P.L. 90-175).
35. Postal rate increase (P.L. 90-206).
36. Postal Modernization and Improvement (P.L. 90-15).
37. Four-year extension of Selective Service Act (P.L. 90-40).
38. Military pay increase (P.L. 90-207).
39. Extension of Civil Rights Commission (P.L. 90-198).
40. Mental retardation grants (P.L. 90-170).
41. Mental health grants (P.L. 90-31).
42. Vocational rehabilitation grants and national center for deaf-blind youths (P.L. 90-99).
43. 1967 summer program funds (P.L. 90-21).
44. Food stamp program extension (P.L. 90-91).
45. Appalachian regional development program extension (P.L. 90-103).
46. Strengthening Federal Credit Unions (P.L. 90-188).

(Continued on next page)

WORKERS ON THE JOB with UAW contracts know that wages and contracts are better today, but few realize how much Congress has done to make life better. The full listing on these pages tells of the immense work Congress did in 1967 and 1968. It's quite an outpouring of work that adds up to a better America.

POOR WHITE PEOPLE gained the most from the anti-poverty work of the Johnson administration. Nixon and Wallace would destroy the gains which thousands of families like these made during the past 8 years since the Democratic Party gained control of the federal government.

(Continued from previous page)

THE 90TH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION
Landmark bills

1. *Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968*—Provided for major new programs and broadened existing programs to help provide housing for low and moderate income families—the first and major step toward fulfilling the President's 10-year housing goals (P.L. 90-448).
2. *Civil Rights*—Prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of housing ("Fair Housing"), and prohibited interference with civil rights protected by Federal law (P.L. 90-284).
3. *Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968*—Authorized planning and action grants to improve law enforcement at the State and local levels, and programs of research and training to enhance law enforcement capabilities (P.L. 90-351).
4. *Gun Control*—Provided controls over interstate sales of handguns and destructive devices and provided higher standards and increased licensing fees for dealers, manufacturers, and importers of firearms (did not provide requested controls over rifles and shotguns) (P.L. 90-351).
5. *Juvenile delinquency control*—Authorized Federal grants or contracts to assist the courts, correctional systems, primary and secondary school systems, and communities in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency (P.L. 90-445).
6. *Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968*—Provided for a 10 percent surcharge, extended auto and telephone excise taxes, and accelerated corporate income tax payments—to fight inflation (P.L. 90-364).
7. *Truth-in-Lending*—Required disclosure of finance charges in consumer credit transactions (P.L. 90-321).
8. *Jury Selection and Service Act of 1968*—Improved the machinery for selection of Federal juries to assure that juries will be selected without discrimination as to race color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status (P.L. 90-274).
9. *Fire Research and Safety Act of 1968*—Authorized a comprehensive program of research, education, and training in the causes and prevention of fires and injury and death resulting from fire (P.L. 90-259).
10. *Special Drawing Rights Act*—Granted congressional approval for changes in the International Monetary Fund to create a new form of international reserves, and authorized the United States to participate in arrangements for use of the new special drawing rights (P.L. 90-349).
11. *Removal of gold cover*—Removed the 25-percent gold reserve requirement on Federal Reserve Notes (P.L. 90-269).
12. *Extension of Export-Import Bank authority*—Extended the life of the Bank for five years, and increased loan authority to $13.5 billion outstanding at any time (P.L. 90-267).
13. *Increased United States participation in the Inter-American Development Bank*—Authorized the United States to subscribe to its share of increased callable capital stock of the Bank (P.L. 90-325).
14. *Saline Water*—Authorized appropriations of $24.6 million for 1969 to carry out programs of research and studies on saline water (P.L. 90-297).
15. *Indian Bill of Rights*—Extended and protects the rights of American Indians by guaranteeing them basic constitutional rights and improving the administration of justice on Indian reservations (P.L. 90-284).
16. *Public Television*—Provided authority for appropriations for fiscal year 1969 to support the activities of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (P.L. 90-294).
17. *Child Nutrition and School Breakfast Program Extension*—Authorized Federal assistance for certain child feeding programs in nonschool situations and extended the school breakfast program for three years (P.L. 90-302).
18. *International Gains Agreement*—Stabilizes annual market for wheat and provides for large multilateral food aid program on continuing basis (6/13/68).
19. *Safety of Life at Sea Convention*—improves safety standards for passenger vessels.
20. *D.C. elected school board*—Provided for election of an eleven-member school board for the District of Columbia (P.L. 90-282).
21. *Narcotics reorganization*—Transferred the functions of the Bureau of Narcotics (Treasury) and the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control (HEW) to the Department of Justice (Reorganization Plan #1 of 1968).
22. *Mass Transportation Reorganization Plan*—Transferred from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to the Department of Transportation major urban transportation grant, loan, and related research functions and maintained in HUD leadership in comprehensive planning (June 30, 1968).
23. *Veterans vocational rehabilitation*—Authorized, for the first time, part-time vocational rehabilitation training for service-connected disabled veterans (P.L. 90-431).
24. *Veterans pensions amendments*—Increased veterans dependency and indemnity compensation rates (P.L. 90-275).
25. *Land and Water Conservation Fund Act amendments*—Provided additional monies for the Land and Water Conservation Fund to acquire outdoor recreational resources (P.L. 90-274).
26. *Aircraft noise abatement*—Provided for standards for the measurement, and regulations for the control and abatement, of aircraft noise and sonic boom (P.L. 90-411).
27. *Higher education amendments*—Extends existing higher education programs and authorized new programs, such as education for the public service and special services to the disadvantaged (awaiting Presidential action).
28. *Vocational education*—Amends the existing vocational educational authorities and authorizes new vocational education programs to bridge the gap between school and work (awaiting Presidential action).
29. *Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968*—Provides for Federal safety standards for the transportation of natural and other gas by pipeline and for pipeline facilities (P.L. 90-481).
30. *Scenic Trails*—Established a national trails system to preserve the Appalachian Trail and other recreational areas—especially near the Nation's urban centers (P.L. 90-543).
31. *Alcoholic and narcotic addict rehabilitation* (Part of Health Services Amendments)—Provides grants for the construction and staffing of community facilities for the treatment and rehabilitation of alcoholics and narcotic addicts (awaiting Presidential action).
32. *Redwood National Park*—Established a Redwood National Park of not to exceed 58,000 acres in California to preserve primeval coastal redwood forests for the purposes of public enjoyment and scientific study (P.L. 90-545).

(Continued on next page)

"The American labor movement is involved in politics, not as a matter of choice, but as a matter of necessity. We have learned by hard experience that workers cannot protect the gains that they have won at the bargaining table unless they work together as citizens on the political and legislative fronts."

—UAW President WALTER P. REUTHER

There's much yet to do to rebuild and clean up for our cities, to educate our children to the utmost, to reform our tax laws, and to make the American dream of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness come true. But the work of two great congresses —the 89th and the 90th— have laid the foundations for magnificent progress for all Americans.

(Continued from previous page)

33. *Agreement on the Rescue and Return of Astronauts*—(Ratified October 8, 1968).

34. *North Cascades National Park*—Established a 1,184,000 acre recreational complex in the North Cascade Mountains of Washington (P.L. 90-544).

35. *Wholesome Poultry*—Extended mandatory inspection to poultry products in intrastate commerce (P.L. 90-492).

36. *Health Manpower Act*—Extended and strengthened programs of training, construction of facilities, and student aid programs for health manpower (P.L. 90-490).

37. *Scenic Rivers*—Established a wild and scenic rivers system to protect certain rivers having outstanding scenic, recreational, geologic, fish and wildlife, historic, cultural or other values (P.L. 90-542).

38. *Food Stamp Authorization Increase*—authorized appropriations of $315 million for the food stamp program for fiscal year 1969 (an increase of $90 million) and $340 million for 1970 (P.L. 90-91).

Other major bills

39. Mount Jefferson Wilderness (P.L. 90-548).
40. San Rafael Wilderness (P.L. 90-271).
41. San Gabriel Wilderness (P.L. 90-318).
42. World weather program. (S. Con. Res. 67).
43. D.C. Air Pollution Control Act. (P.L. 90-440).
44. Vocational rehabilitation. (P.L. 90-391).
45. National riot insurance. (P.L. 90-448).
46. Interstate land sales. (P.L. 90-448).
47. Central Arizona project. (P.L. 90-537).
48. Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area (P.L. 90-540).
49. National Visitor Center Facilities Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-264).
50. Protection of major candidates (P.L. 90-331).
51. Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 extension (Awaiting Presidential action).
52. Commodity Exchange Act amendments (P.L. 90-258).
53. P.L. 480 (Food for Peace) extension. (P.L. 90-436).
54. Consolidated Farmers Home Administration amendments (P.L. 90-488).
55. Standard Reference Data (P.L. 90-396).
57. Extension of authority to call up reserve units (P.L. 90-500).
56. Metric System study (P.L. 90-472).
58. Federal status for National Guard technicians (P.L. 90-486).
59. D.C. Revenue Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-450).
60. D.C. Teacher pay increase (P.L. 90-319).
61. D.C. Police and Firemen pay increase (P.L. 90-320).
62. Stockpile disposal—beryl ore (P.L. 90-478).
63. Health Services amendments (Awaiting Presidential action).
64. National Flood Insurance (P.L. 90-448).
65. National Water Commission (P.L. 90-515).
66. Elected Governor of Guam (P.L. 90-496).
67. Fish protein concentrate—authorization increase (P.L. 90-549).
68. Missouri River Basin projects authorization (P.L. 90-315).
69. Elected Governor of Virgin Islands (P.L. 90-496).
70. Auto theft prevention (Awaiting Presidential action).
71. Federal magistrates (Awaiting Presidential action).
72. Bank Protection Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-389).
73. International Center (Awaiting Presidential action)
74. OAS Charter amendments (April 10, 1968)
75. International Coffee Agreement (June 28, 1968).
76. USIA Career Service (P.L. 90-494).
77. Auto insurance study (P.L. 90-313).
78. High speed ground transportation program extension (P.L. 90-423).
79. Veterans job priority (H. Con. Res. 705).
80. Veterans home loan guarantee increase (P.L. 90-301).
81. Foreign aid authorization (Awaiting Presidental action).
82. Liberalized export loan program of Export-Import Bank P.L. 90-390).
83. Addition to National Gallery of Art (P.L. 90-376).
84. Savings and Lona Holding Company amendments (P.L. 90-255).
85. Violence Commission Subpoena Power (P.L. 90-338).
86. Sea Grant Program (P.L. 90-477).
87. Federal Voting Assistance to Absentees (P.L. 90-344).
88. Cape Hatteras National Seashore (P.L. 90-326).
89. Foot and Mouth Diseases (P.L. 90-388).
90. Great Swamp (N.J.) National Wildlife Refuge (P.L. 90-532).
91. Preschool Programs, Handicapped Children (P.L. 90-538).

"Walter Lippmann . . . isn't he the one who backed Herbert Hoover in '32?"

Nixon anti-labor past lures funds of big business

The Republican Party's anti-labor platform and Richard M. Nixon's "private" letter to the securities industry, promising his sympathetic consideration if he is elected, are paying off in campaign contributions.

Widespread newspaper reports tell of "increasing numbers of business-sponsored political groups" which are gathering funds "in a determinedly discreet but broad-scale effort to elect 'friendly' candidates and offset labor's financial muscle at the polls."

One of the biggest of these groups is the "Exchange Firms Campaign Committee," which is raking in contributions from top officials of various stock exchange companies. Another is the "Effective Government Association" to which corporate officials and staff members of big Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith are contributing as individuals.

Merrill Lynch already is in hot water with the government on charges by the Securities and Exchange Commission staff that they gave inside information to one of their largest customers. Officers of the campaign fund deny that Merrill Lynch is breaking the law against campaign contributions by corporations and insist that the fund has nothing to do with the firm's troubles with the government.

Other corporate officials involved in the various fund-raising activities say the same thing, but concede that "to a degree" the financial community's political activities are in response to growing toughness on the part of the government as to what goes on in Wall Street.

They admit, too, that now that Nixon has made clear his intention to stop "heavy-handed" regulation of Wall Street if he is elected, many potential and actual donors will want to make sure that the Nixon campaign funds get their money.

There are other business groups that are contributing to various campaign funds on the basis of pending legislation that they don't like. The Wall Street Journal cites, for in-

(Continued on next page)

The 'real' Nixon

ON SOCIAL SECURITY, Nixon favored cut-backs, opposed full expansion . . .

1. Refused to uphold Supreme Court addition of 750,000 workers to social security coverage (2/27/48).
2. Voted to exclude news vendors, setting stage for chipping away of social security (4/14/48).
3. Voted against full expansion of the social security system (10/5/49).
4. Voted to permit use of unemployment compensation funds to help break strikes (8/16/50).
5. Voted to shame needy off public assistance rolls by publicizing their names (7/19/51).
6. Failed to vote on amendment to increase payments to old people, blind and disabled (5/28/58).

ON LABOR MATTERS, Nixon supported Taft-Hartley, oposed strong minimum wage law . . .

1. Picked by Hartley to wind up general debate in favor of Hartley bill (1947).
2. Voted for outlawing industry-wide bargaining (4/17/47).
3. Voted for Taft-Hartley over President's veto (6/20/47).
4. Voted against Taft-Hartley repeal (5/3/49).
5. Voted for using Taft-Hartley injunction in 1952 steel dispute (6/10/52).
6. Voted to abolish Wage Stabilization Board's authority to handle non-economic labor disputes (6/4/52).
7. Voted for excluding 1,000,000 workers from minimum wage protection (8/10/49).

ON HOUSING AND RENTS, Nixon unfailingly followed the real estate lobby line . . .

1. Helped block low-rent housing bill (6/18/48).
2. Voted against slum-clearance, low-rent housing, farm housing bill (6/29/49).
3. Voted against middle-income housing (aid to housing cooperatives) (3/22/50).
4. Voted to cut low-rent housing program to a trickle (6/20/51 and 6/3/52).
5. Voted to raise GI interest rates (3/12/58).
6. Voted for higher housing prices by voting to exempt new housing from credit curbs (8/10/50).

ON TAXES, Nixon favored tax relief for the wealthy and corporations, opposed efforts at fairer sharing of tax load . . .

1. Consistently voted for GOP tax-reduction bills, favoring the wealthy (6/17/47; 7/18/47; and 4/2/48).
2. Voted to save U.S. corporations $500,000,000 by delaying a tax increase 3 months (9/26/51).
3. Voted against raising capital gains tax by 3%, while favoring hikes in ordinary income taxes (9/28/51).

ON PUBLIC INFORMATION, Nixon tried to deny taxpayers access to information on government programs . . .

1. Sponsored an amendment making a 25% cut in the information funds for the Department of Agriculture (7/25/51).
2. Voted for an amendment prohibiting the use of foreign aid funds to explain in this country the foreign aid program (5/28/52).

ON POWER DEVELOPMENT, Nixon favored high power rates and high utility profits, and opposed low-rate public power developments . . .

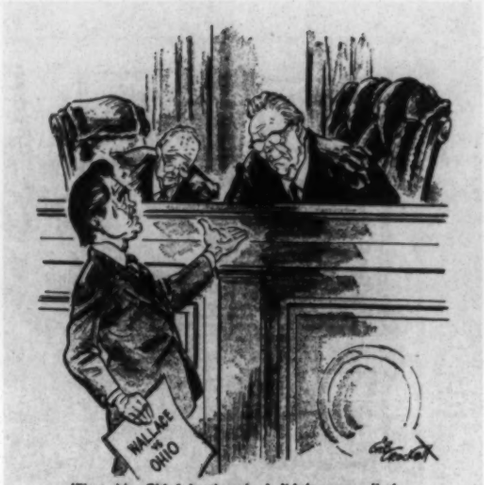
1. Supported drastic GOP cuts in Western power and reclamation funds (4/25/47).
2. Voted for higher power and water rates on Western reclamation projects (1/22/48).
3. Voted against TVA steam plants needed for steady low-cost power supply (5/11/48; 6/19/48; and 6/3/52).

ON EDUCATION, Nixon as Vice President cast tie-breaking vote in Senate against federal aid for school construction and teachers' salaries (2/3/60).

UAW Washington Report ELECTION FACTS

WEEKEND WRAPUP

Hubert Humphrey is not relaxing a second as he races right down to the final wire in the 1968 presidential race. Humphrey is going to badger Nixon until the final hour of the election. The Harris poll showed only a 5 point gap, Gallup more—but all pollsters now agree it's a wild political year with many voters still trying to make up their mind. Wallace is losing ground very fast. His selection of General LeMay was a total disaster. The labor-hating lawless element backing Wallace is another big minus. But as long as people feed on fear and frustration, Wallace has support even though it's beginning to fade. . . . A reporter who traveled with Nixon for six days last week said **Nixon mentioned Agnew's name only once,** and only in reply to a question. Agnew is a drag to the Republican ticket, and nobody knows this better than Richard Nixon. That's why Nixon never mentions Agnew's name unless he has to. . . . **The Sindlinger poll** taken by telephone showed earlier this week Wallace dropped from 16.8 percent the first week in October to 10.4 percent this week. Humphrey, meanwhile, went up from 27.7 percent to 31 percent during the same time. Nixon stayed the same at roughly 38 percent. Among all people of voting age, regardless of registration status, Humphrey stands at 33.6 percent now while Nixon is only a few points above him at 36.3 percent. The Christian Science Monitor over the weekend showed Humphrey moved up in 24 states, while Nixon and Wallace lost ground. It's a real ball game, and both Nixon and Wallace know it. Wallace has never been a serious contender. His only desire has been to mess things up and stir up as much hate and dissension as he can. It's done in a folksy way which fools a lot of people. Many workers have worn Wallace buttons little realizing that Wallace is supported by the worst anti-labor elements in the whole country. Wallace has the 100 percent backing and active support of the John Birth Society. It's a pretty weird setup and a lot of innocent workers have been sucked unsuspectingly into the Wallace whirlpool of hate, bitterness, and fear. . . . You can hardly pick up a business or conservatively-oriented publication these days without reading an article which predicts **more unemployment under a Nixon administration.** While many UAW members with seniority are protected during brief recessions, every worker with or without SUB will get hit with tougher contract bargaining and tougher handling of grievances if the whole country is beset by recessions and widespread unemployment. Nixon's election will make life miserable for your union, no question about it. The Community Action chairman of UAW International Harvester Local 1309 in Rock Island, Illinois, writes that: *"We did have some Wallace supporters here, but the enclosed leaflet helped to change their minds. It did work. Now, there are only a few die-hards left."* He goes on to say that some of the Wallace crowd may not care about brotherhood, social justice or nuclear bombs, *"but there is one thing they love. That is their paycheck. They will vote for the candidates who will help them with their car payments, house payments, and helps them put groceries in the refrigerators. The car payments comes first and then social justice."*



'First, Mr. Chief Justice sir, I didn't mean all those things I've said about the court!'

NIXON ANTI-LABOR

(Continued from page 7)

stance, scrap dealers who don't like "arbitrary" standards of pay and working conditions set up by the U.S. Labor Department, and private employment agencies which don't want competition from the U.S. Employment Service.

Other groups cited are:

"The Committee on American Principles," set up by the apparel manufacturers industry; "The Saving Association Political Education Committee," set up to help "friendly legislators"; "The Life Underwriters Political Action Committee," one of whose officers laments that they "can't find enough Democrats to support"; "The Committee for Action," which wants favorable rates for carrying iron ore.

One of the legal gimmicks that is being used to justify the outpouring of business money is that while corporations can't contribute as such, their officers, as individuals, can. Another is that the bar against corporate contributions does not extend to partnerships.

How much money has been raised is still unknown, but it is plenty. A Wall Street Journal compilation would indicate that the sums already raised, or to be raised, will be more than $900,000, with the million dollar mark all but a certainty.

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT
printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department
Walter P. Reuther, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

The record of the 90th Congress is impressive

NEWSPAPER

Current Issues

CED

Who are the urban poor?

Summary of Factual Findings

The following significant findings and conclusions can be drawn from the extensive data and analysis presented in the body of this paper.*

• 1. *Poverty in the United States is officially measured by a fixed standard of real income based upon the cost of a minimal human diet. But the concept of poverty is actually quite complex and controversial; so all statistics concerning it must be used and interpreted with caution.*

a. Any household is officially defined as "poor" by the Social Security Administration if its annual money income is less than three times the cost (in current prices) of a minimal diet for the persons in that household. In 1967, the "poverty level" income for a four-person household was $3,335.

b. In comparison with the incomes of much of the world's population, many Americans considered poor by this definition are actually quite well-off. On the other hand, official "poverty level" incomes are very low in comparison with either the nation's median household income (now over $8,000) or the income considered necessary for a "moderate" standard of living by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (over $9,300 for a four-person household).

c. Since the official definition of poverty is based upon an absolutely fixed level of income, continued national prosperity that raises all incomes in society inevitably causes the number of poor people to decline steadily. But if poverty is considered a *relative* matter, its disadvantages will continue to affect all people in the lowest income groups, unless there is a significant change in the *distribution* of income (which has not occurred in recent years).

d. All statistics concerning poverty in this paper are based upon the official Social Security Administration definition.

• 2. *In 1966, about 12.1 per cent of the total metropolitan-area† population of the United States—or 15.2 million persons—lived in poverty.*

a. This was somewhat lower than the percentage of all United States citizens in poverty (15.4 per cent), and much lower than comparable figures for any non-metropolitan areas.

b. Nevertheless, slightly over half of all poor persons in the United States lived in metropolitan areas in 1966.

• 3. *Within metropolitan areas, the proportion of poor people in 1966 was almost twice as high in central cities (16.2 per cent) as in suburbs (8.6 per cent).* Although more people lived in suburbs, the number of poor persons in central cities (9.5 million) was significantly larger than the number in suburbs (5.7 million).

• 4. *About two-thirds of all the poor persons in metropolitan areas in 1966 were white, and one-third nonwhite. However, the proportion of all metropolitan-area whites who were poor (9.3 per cent) was less than one-third the proportion of such nonwhites who were poor (32.1 per cent).*

a. About 82 per cent of the poor nonwhites and 53 per cent of the poor whites in metropolitan areas lived in central cities.

b. Within central cities, 57 per cent of all poor persons were white, and 43 per cent nonwhite. But 84 per cent of all poor suburbanites were white.

• 5. *From 1959 to 1966, the total number of poor persons in the United States dropped by 9.2 million (or by 23.6 per cent), from 38.9 million to 29.7 million.* Similarly, the number and proportion of poor persons in almost every specific category (race, age, sex, etc.) declined in the same period in the nation as a whole. No separate data are available for trends in metropolitan areas alone, but it is reasonable to conclude that poverty in those areas decreased to about the same degree as in the entire nation.

• 6. *About 47 per cent of all poor in metropolitan areas are in households that cannot be expected to become economically self-sustaining at any time in the future.*** These households include:

Type of Household Head	Per Cent of All Poor Persons in Metropolitan Areas
Elderly	18.9%
Disabled males under 65	6.4%
Females under 65 with children	21.3%
Total	**46.6%**

• 7. *Nearly one-third of all poor persons in metropolitan areas (31.4 per cent) are in households headed by employed men under 65 whose poverty results from low earnings rather than unemployment, disability, or old age.*

*CED Supplementary Paper #26—October 1968

†For the purposes of this Paper "urban poverty" means "poverty within metropolitan areas" rather than "poverty within all communities with 2,500 or more inhabitants."

**This conclusion assumes that one-fourth of all households headed by females under 65 and containing children can be expected to earn sufficient incomes to become self-sustaining above the poverty level. If no such households can be expected to do this, than the total above would be 53.7 per cent, instead of 46.6 per cent.

• 8. *About one-seventh of all metropolitan-area poor persons are in households headed by non-disabled men under 65 who are unemployed.*

• 9. *About 6.3 million poor people in metropolitan areas—or 41.7 per cent of all such people in 1966—were children under 18. The poverty in which they lived is likely to inflict them in such a way as to reduce their future income-earning capabilities.*

a. Almost two-thirds of these poor children lived in central cities, and over half the poor children in those cities were nonwhite.

b. From 36 to 45 per cent of all poor children in metropolitan areas lived in households unlikely to become economically self-sustaining.

c. Poor children are heavily concentrated in large families. In the United States as a whole, 45.2 per cent of all poor children in 1966 were in families with five or more children.

• 10. *Although poverty is technically defined as having a very low annual income, for many people it is also a chronic state of failure, disability, dependency, defeat, and inability to share in most of American society's major material and spiritual benefits. Their continuance in this deprived state is reinforced by many institutional arrangements in our society, including those supposedly designed to aid them.*

• 11. *Future population changes in metropolitan areas are likely to cause certain groups with a high incidence of poverty, particularly within central cities, to expand greatly. Whether this will result in any increase in the number of poor persons depends upon future public policies and prosperity levels.*

a. The greatest *absolute* growth from 1960 to 1985 will occur in the following "poverty-prone" population groups: suburban white elderly; central city nonwhite children under 18; central city nonwhite households with female heads under 65; and white and nonwhite households headed by unemployed males under 65 in both central cities and suburbs.

b. Large absolute growth will also occur among suburban white childen under 18—enough to add as much as one million of these children to urban poverty by 1985.

c. The nonwhite population of all U.S. central cities is expected to rise by 9.8 million—or 94.5 per cent—from 1960 to 1985. Since this population contains many highly "poverty-prone" groups, such rapid growth could cause sharp increases in nonwhite poverty within central cities—especially in the largest cities, where, in many cases, nonwhites will form a majority of the population by 1985. But major rises in nonwhite poverty will probably not occur unless present high-level prosperity slackens, thus causing higher unemployment and lower incomes for many partly-employed workers.

Excerpts from

CED

Supplementary Paper

No. 26

Who are the urban poor?

by

Anthony Downs

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
477 MADISON AVE. NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

Current Issues

A REPORT FROM LOCAL 189's CONFERENCE:

Have unions failed white workers?

'We can't continue as we were . . .'

Stan Rosen, president of Workers Education Local 189, and Hoagy Young, a conference planner, third and fifth from the left, pose with their panel of young labor radicals, from left: Paul Booth, Jim Williams, Roger Robinson. Rosen is with the University of Illinois' labor extension division in Chicago, and Young is with the Communications Workers Union in Washington, D.C.

OVER - - - - -

Workers Education Local 189 of the AFT is the only nationwide local in the Federation. It has approximately 300 members, who are principally college and university faculty involved in labor education, and staffers in other international unions in the same field. The local meets twice yearly, once in winter and once in the spring. This article is a report of some of the local's activity at its recent winter meeting.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A straw Presidential preference vote taken at five AFL-CIO Young Worker schools in as many states this summer showed the two top vote-getters as George Wallace, with 28 percent of the vote, and Lyndon B. Johnson, with 25 percent.

The AFL-CIO is not publicizing this information, but the people involved in labor education in the nation's trade unions and universities are as deeply concerned with the meaning behind such statistics as is the AFL-CIO. In its winter meeting here in late November, Workers Education Local 189 of the AFT considered the problem in a panel titled "How Unions Failed White Workers."

"Of course," one of the members said from the floor just before the panel began, "we've been failing the black workers all along, and I wonder if the title of the panel has that in mind?" He was assured that it did.

WORKERS ARE WORSE OFF

Paul Booth, the first panelist, lit into the claim that the U.S. has recently had "eight years of unparalleled prosperity." Booth, a former research staffer for the Packinghouse Workers, now with the merged Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and the Packinghouse union, fired off a volley of statistics showing that the average worker is considerably worse off now, in relationship to the general economy, than he was a decade ago.

"In 1959," Booth said, "39 percent of American families earned over the Department of Labor's 'moderate standard of living' budget; in 1966, only 30 per cent earned over that standard. The combined impact of inflation, taxes, and limited salary increases shows that a lot of people are not only squeezed in their perception of what is happening to them, but in the hard facts of life. The distribution of wealth in our society has been relatively unchanged during this period.

"A large group at the bottom still has nothing," Booth continued. "Those in the middle have very little stake in their attainments because of their heavily mortgaged futures. And while this is happening, the 1967 figure on corporation profits in this country is almost equal to a third of the total family income in the United States. However, in many countries, wage levels are treated not only as a matter of collective bargaining, but of political policy . . ."

Booth's analysis of the Wallace appeal was that "He was the first guy to come along and politicize, in his own racist and funny way, the situation of the working man in the country today, and thus the first guy to win a passionate audience of its victims."

ALIENATION AMONG WORKERS

Panelist Roger Robinson, who works for the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union in Detroit, pointed out that in his area, the white worker "essentially comes out of a folk background, either ethnic or indigenous," and that the "basic pressure toward alienation from society is still felt by this worker at his workplace." If a worker felt his on-the-job grievances were taken care of, Robinson said, he wouldn't feel so alienated, but in some unions, he must make an appointment "downtown" to present a grievance, and the red tape effectively stifles a feeling of worker freedom. "The basic human demands of workers are most important," Robinson said, "and the only one I've seen come out of collective bargaining in this country is seniority rights." But then he pointed out the recent activities of black and white militants in such autoworkers' locals as those at Dodge, Cadillac, and in Flint, and said it was a hopeful sign.

"In an auto plant," Robinson explained, "if a guy is there four years, he'll be there for 40. He's got himself locked into a credit situation with the main item a 30-year mortgage on a tract house that should never have been created in the first place. The guy on the line doesn't see the union working on his problems as it did in the '30s."

The third young panelist, Jim Williams of the West Virginia AFL-CIO, spoke of the "productivity box," which is the limited way of thinking that wages cannot rise unless productivity rises. "It keeps the shares in the economy the same," he said, and this status quo has been challenged by the movements today among black people and poor people.

"In the Wallace, Nixon, and McCarthy campaigns, there was a movement away from the status quo," Williams said, "but only Wallace was able to touch the working class, and he did it with a radical, albeit fascist, approach.

FROM McCARTHY TO WALLACE

"In Charleston, W. Va., workers who had supported McCarthy, after August, ripped the McCarthy stickers off their cars and put on Wallace stickers.

"Most of the recent social gains of the War on Poverty are evoking a great deal of resentment among the working class," Williams continued. He explained that workers believe the poor are able to secure benefits, such as medical attention, that the average worker is unable to buy adequately for himself. "The tax structure in this country is still loaded against the working class," Williams said. "They are, basically, being forced to pay the costs of the programs for others that they can't afford for themselves.

"Wallace, and to some extent, Nixon, were talking about the real issues, about war and racism, while the AFL-CIO was talking about the level of unemployment compensation in Alabama," Williams said. He added that he expects the economic situation to "get worse," and that "how we react in the future will depend on the political moves of labor. We should have medical and housing programs for everybody. Up until now, we have been working on it a piece at a time, and this has created a counter-current among our own people. If workers feel that black people, under the present economic situation, present a threat to their jobs and property values, it is that they do, and the answer is to work for gains for all."

And, Williams concluded, "In this new administration, the political stance of labor will have to be reevaluated. Will 'all the way with LBJ' be translated to 'all the way with Tricky Dick?' We can't continue as we were in 1968, punishing our friends who were against the war in Vietnam, for example, and rewarding our enemies . . ."

Labor Politics — 1968

THE 1968 ELECTIONS AND BEYOND

by John M. Barry

When if finally became clear, at mid-morning of November 6, that Richard M. Nixon had been chosen by the voters as the 37th President of the United States, the President-elect's first public action was to pledge that the "great objective" of his Administration would be "to bring the American people together."

"This will be an open Administration," Nixon said, "open to new ideas, open to men and women of both parties, open to the critics as well as those who support us."

The pledge amounted to frank recognition of the sharp divisions among the American people reflected in the election results.

But implicit in Nixon's remarks was something more—an acknowledgment that in the very closeness of the election victory they gave him, the American people had hedged.

They had made it clear that while they were voting for change, they were not prepared for a radical shift in federal policies toward conservative Republicanism. They had chosen to place a Republican in the White House for the next four years, but they had imposed certain limits on the leadership mandate they gave him.

The dimensions of these limits are apparent in the election results themselves:

- Nixon's popular vote margin over his Democratic rival, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, with nearly all precincts recorded unofficially by the News Election Service, was only 312,605—less than half of 1 percent of the nearly 72 million votes cast for President.
- The popular vote for the winner—a little more than 31 million votes—amounted to only 43.16 percent of the total, the smallest percentage for a victorious candidate since 1912, when Woodrow Wilson led another three-way race.
- Nixon will be the first new President since Zachary Taylor in 1848 to be elected while the opposition party retained control of both houses of Congress.

While recapturing the White House, the GOP fell far short in its well-organized and well-financed drive to win majority control of the House of Representatives. It scored a net gain of only four seats to make the prospective party lineup in the 91st Congress 243 Democrats and 192 Republicans. On the Senate side, the GOP was somewhat more successful, proportionately, picking up five seats to reduce the Democratic margin to 58-42. But with the Democrats defending 23 of the 34 seats at stake, this was well below Republican goals and left the Senate basically liberal-to-moderate in its makeup.

- Nixon won a clear majority of the electoral vote —302 to Humphrey's 191 and 45 for third-party candidate George C. Wallace. The results were so close in many of the key states, however, that a shift of less than 75,000 votes in Illinois and Missouri—the last two states to determine their results—would have destroyed the Republican's electoral vote majority. And if these plus two other close states, Ohio and New Jersey, had gone to Humphrey, the Democrat would be the President-elect today instead of Nixon.

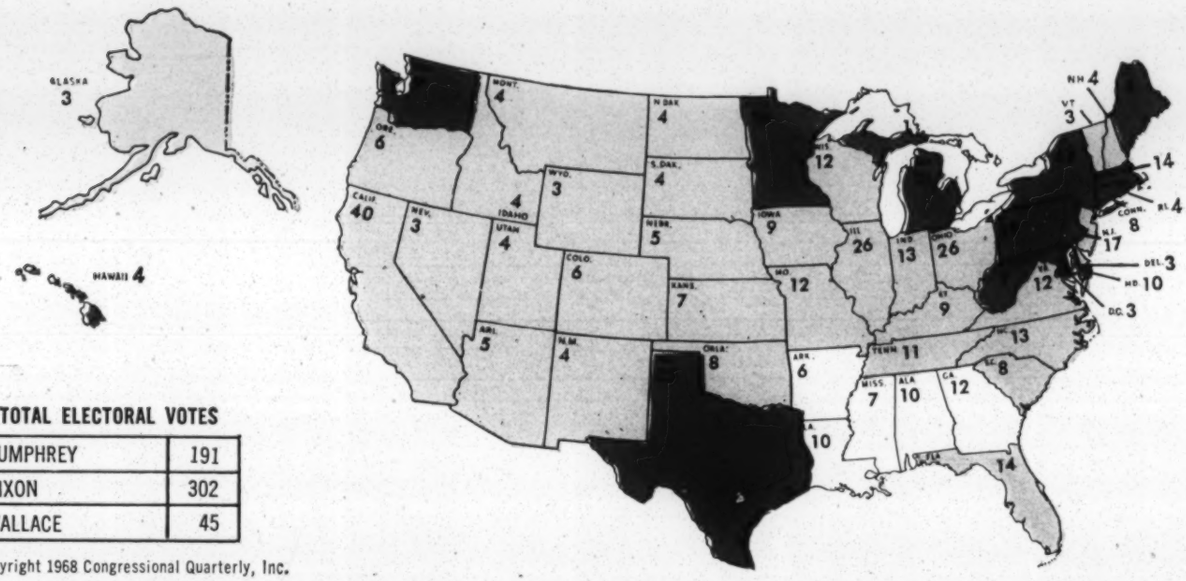
With all this said, the fact remains that Nixon did

JOHN M. BARRY, Managing Editor of the AFL-CIO News, traveled parts of the campaign trail with the candidates.

American Federationist 12/68

1968 ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATES

☐ States Carried by Wallace ■ States Carried by Humphrey ☐ States Carried by Nixon



TOTAL ELECTORAL VOTES

HUMPHREY	191
NIXON	302
WALLACE	45

Copyright 1968 Congressional Quarterly, Inc.

win the election and that the American people accept him without question as their next President. And, despite the obvious handicaps that face him, there should be no reason to doubt that he can put together an effective Administration. He is by no means the first minority President; John F. Kennedy, for example, narrowly failed to achieve a popular vote majority when he defeated Nixon in the 1960 election. Other presidents have had to deal with opposition Congresses, most recently Dwight D. Eisenhower whom Nixon served for eight years as Vice President presiding over a Democratic Senate for three-fourths of that period with the House also in Democratic hands.

The Eisenhower era, moreover, offers a ready example of Democratic congressional leadership minimizing partisan politics to give a Republican President much of the program he sought.

Despite the thinness of his margin, Nixon's victory in his second bid for the presidency was a remarkable comeback from the political oblivion to which he had consigned himself in 1962, following his defeat for the governorship of California.

The origins of that comeback can be traced to the devastating defeat suffered in 1964 by the ultra-conservative Goldwater wing which had captured control of the GOP. The loss left the party in such division and disarray that Goldwater was unable to assert even token leadership.

In the mid-term congressional elections of 1966, House and Senate Republicans and the party's national committee turned once more to Nixon for help in regrouping their forces. He campaigned across the country for GOP candidates at all levels and at the same time established personal contacts among state and local party officials that were to prove invaluable to his own candidacy two years later.

In 1966, the GOP took 47 House seats away from the Democrats and Nixon's standing in the party jumped several notches. On the basis of this, and sensing perhaps a growing discontent in the nation over the war in Viet Nam and racial turmoil in the cities, Nixon reached a decision late in 1967 to seek the presidency once again. He formally announced his candidacy the following February 1 and set off on a series of successful primary campaigns. Although he had little or no opposition in the primaries, the former Vice President's record was nonetheless impressive as he ran up totals of 70 percent or more of the Republican vote and established himself as the foremost Republican prospect for the nomination.

Nixon went into the Republican National Convention last August well ahead of his two rivals—New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller and California Governor Ronald Reagan—in terms of delegate votes. He nailed down the nomination on the first ballot, but only after averting a threatened breakaway of some southern delegations by assuring them he would not offend them in his choice of a vice presidential candidate.

At least one political analyst, poll-taker Louis Harris, now credits Nixon's selection of Maryland Governor Spiro T. Agnew to be his running mate as the key decision leading to his eventual victory over Humphrey. The designation of Agnew, who had developed a reputation as a hardliner in dealing with racial problems, shocked many of the party's northern liberals, who saw in it a calculated decision to write off the labor and the Negro vote. But the choice clear-

ly satisfied such southern Republican powers as Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the ex-Dixiecrat, and Senator John Tower of Texas.

Nixon's strategy, under this analysis, was aimed largely at piling up strong support in rural, suburban and small town areas. He hoped to retain at least those southern and border states that went for him in 1960 and perhaps add a few more against the combined opposition of Humphrey and Wallace in the region where the bulk of Wallace's strength lay.

As it turned out, this is almost precisely what happened. The same southern, midwestern and western states he drew upon to win the nomination gave him most of his electoral vote majority to win the election. In the South, he took Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia, as he did in 1960, but he also added North Carolina and South Carolina. Overall, he lost only two of the 26 states he had carried against Kennedy eight years earlier—Maine and Washington, both of which went to Humphrey this time. But Nixon added eight states that he had lost to Kennedy—Delaware, Illinois, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey and New Mexico, besides the two Carolinas.

Thus the strategy that brought Spiro Agnew to the Republican ticket did in fact succeed. It should be pointed out, however, that it very nearly did not succeed. The predominantly rural states by themselves were not enough to fashion the victory for the Republican candidate. Had he not taken Illinois and New Jersey from the Democrats—both by slim pluralities—he would have fallen short of the 270 electoral votes he needed.

The presence of Agnew on the ticket may also account in part for the failure of the Nixon campaign to generate any upward movement as the campaign progressed. The Republican slate came out of the conventions with the support, according to the polls, of 39 to 43 percent of the electorate, 8 to 12 points ahead of Humphrey and Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine. The election gave Nixon and Agnew just about the same percentage of the popular vote—43—whereas the Democrats had come within a whisker of closing the gap.

Muskie, indeed, proved to be one of Humphrey's greatest assets. His approach to the campaign was refreshingly calm but earnest, and he demonstrated a knack for disarming the hecklers who plagued all of the candidates. One mid-October poll showed that while voters at that time still preferred Nixon over Humphrey, they favored Muskie over Agnew overwhelmingly.

Humphrey, of course, was a formidable and courageous campaigner in his own right. Following the tumultuous Democratic National Convention in Chicago, where he won the nomination over Senator Eugene J. McCarthy, Humphrey found his party deeply split, its organization floundering and its campaign funds almost non-existent.

Few observers gave Humphrey any chance of overcoming Nixon's wide lead. But against all the odds he very nearly carried it off. His campaign, slow to develop momentum in the wake of the Chicago convention, never deviated from his central themes—an appeal for national unity, a pledge to work diligently for peace in Viet Nam and the same liberal approach to people and national problems he had espoused throughout his nearly 25 years in public office.

By early October, he had begun to strike a responsive chord among hitherto uncertain voters and party workers, including many of the McCarthy supporters who, when their candidate lost, bitterly vowed to sit out the election. Within a week, Humphrey had turned the corner to start the stretch drive that brought him to virtually a dead heat with Nixon in terms of the popular vote.

It is, however, the electoral vote that counts, and

In Miami, President-elect Nixon receives congratulations from Vice President Humphrey (left) and Senator Muskie (right).

the Vice President carried only 13 states and the District of Columbia for 191 against Nixon's 302.

Most of Humphrey's support came from the populous, industrial East where he piled up 122 of his electoral votes, capturing eight of the 12 states in the region plus the District of Columbia. The region gave the Vice President 50.5 percent of its popular vote, according to a breakdown by Congressional Quarterly, against 42.6 percent for Nixon and only 6.9 percent for Wallace.

Nixon carried all the other regions, even the South where Humphrey ran third to Wallace.

Of the eight largest states, Humphrey took four—New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Texas—and came close in the other four—California, Illinois, New Jersey and Ohio.

While precinct by precinct breakdowns of the vote remain to be analyzed, it was clear that the Vice President had scored heavily among city dwellers, workers and the ethnic minorities. The Columbia Broadcasting System, on the basis of results in sample precincts, found Humphrey ahead in all cities with his margin varying directly with the size of the populace. CBS credited Humphrey with 59 percent of the vote in cities of 500,000 or more against 34 percent for Nixon and 7 percent for Wallace. In cities of 50,000 to 500,000, the analysis showed the Democrat getting 51 percent of the vote to 40 percent for Nixon and 9 percent for Wallace. In smaller cities, the indication was 46 percent for Humphrey, 45 percent for Nixon and 8 percent for Wallace. Nixon was the favorite in the suburbs, with 51 percent to Humphrey's 40 and Wallace's 9, and in the small towns and rural areas, with 48 percent to 37 percent for the Democrat and 16 percent for Wallace.

Even so, the results in the cities were spotty. Big Humphrey pluralities in New York City and Philadelphia, for example, gave him the margins he needed to carry New York State and Pennsylvania. But the Democratic vote in Chicago was well below what Kennedy polled in 1960 when he barely carried Illinois. This time the state went to the Republicans.

The CBS analysis crediting Humphrey with 59 percent of the vote in the largest cities compares with 63.5 percent for Kennedy in 1960. The dropoff, however, was much less than the Democrats suffered in the country as a whole.

Among minorities, CBS found Humphrey scoring 78 percent in Mexican-American precincts and 79 percent in Negro ghetto areas. A sampling by the National Broadcasting Company found the vote for Humphrey to be even higher in all-black precincts, averaging somewhat more than 90 percent.

Thus the old coalition of workers, minorities, liberals and big city organizations that has formed the core of Democratic strength since New Deal days was still very much alive. The one element that deserted the party in the 1968 election was the South, increasingly a bastion of conservatism, where Humphrey managed to carry only Texas.

One factor that may have been critical in denying Humphrey the victory was the decline in the percentage of eligible voters who went to the polls. The total vote for the presidency, now estimated at 72 million, was itself a record, but because of population growth it represented only about 60 percent of the eligible vote compared with 62.1 percent in 1964 and 63.2 percent in 1960. In Illinois, which proved to be a pivotal state, the actual vote total this year was less than in the two previous presidential elections. A bigger vote ordinarily could be expected to benefit the Democrats and this year it could have meant the difference for Humphrey.

Analysts will be arguing for months, too, over the "spoiler" role played by Wallace, the candidate of the American Independent Party. Wallace succeeded in having himself listed on the ballots of all 50 states and the question remained: Whom did he hurt most—Nixon or Humphrey?

It is conceivable that had Wallace not been a candidate, Nixon might have carried some of the strongly conservative southern states that went to the former Alabama governor. On the other hand, a shift of just a percentage point or two might have given Humphrey some of the closely contested northern states he lost. New Jersey Governor Richard Hughes, for one, was emphatic in blaming the Wallace candidacy for the Democrats' failure to take his state. Nixon's plurality over Humphrey in New Jersey was only 53,000, whereas Wallace received about 260,000 for 9.1 percent of the total.

From his own standpoint, however, the election produced only failure for Wallace. In the campaign, he had talked boldly of actual victory, but his realistic objective was to win enough electoral votes to deny a majority to either of the two major contenders and thus establish a bargaining position from which he could seek a deal on federal appointments and policies.

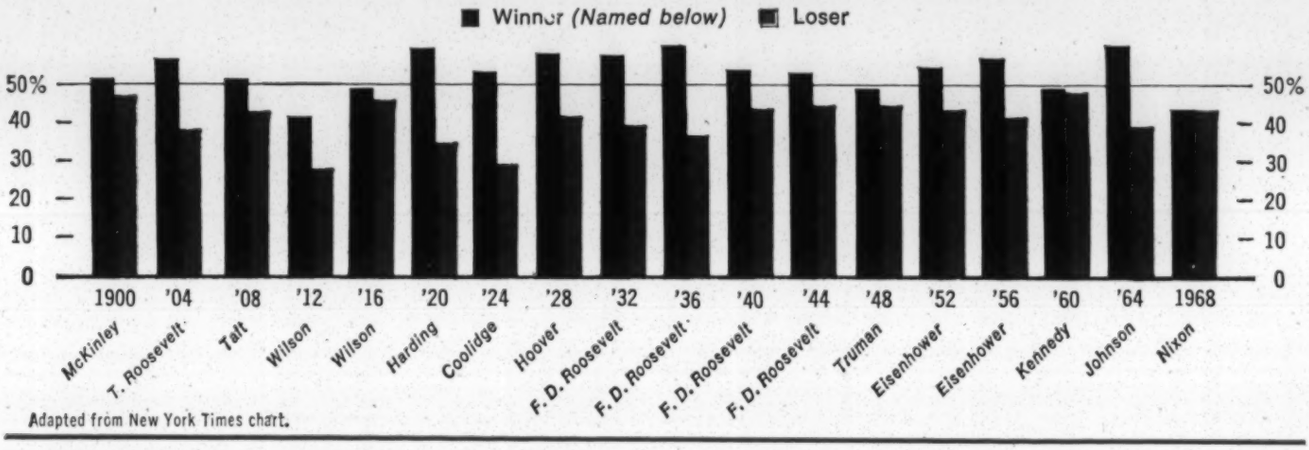
It was clear, too, that a good showing for Wallace outside the South would have given him a national base on which to build for a new challenge in 1972. He failed to achieve any of these goals and emerged from the election as no more than a sectional candidate whose racist-oriented appeal was taken seriously only by the hard-core radical right.

Wallace carried only five states with 45 electoral votes—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi. Three of them were among the four that went for Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond and his States' Rights Party in 1948 and four were among the six states that backed Goldwater in 1964.

In terms of popular votes, Wallace's nationwide percentage of 13.6 was well below the 20 percent that polls early in the campaign indicated he would draw. It also compared dismally with previous third-party efforts—16.6 percent for Robert M. LaFollette and the Progressive movement in 1924 and 27.4 percent

THE PRESIDENCY AND THE POPULAR VOTE SINCE 1900

In the past 18 elections, five Presidents have been elected by less than 50 percent of the vote



Adapted from New York Times chart.

for Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive (Bull Moose) candidate in 1912.

Outside the South, Wallace's share of the popular vote ran less than 10 percent, hitting such low points as 1.4 percent in Hawaii, 1.7 percent in Maine, 5.2 percent in New York and 6.8 percent in California.

He ran poorly even with working-class voters among whom he had hoped to pile up his strongest support in the North. The polls had indicated he might be right, but the actual results showed that he had little support in or around the cities.

The CBS sample precinct analysis showed that Wallace's strongest showing was in rural and small town areas, where he drew 16 percent of the vote. His main strength, CBS found, was among farm whites and this came mostly in the South.

Wallace's failure to do well among workers was credited by most observers to a vigorous campaign by organized labor that succeeded in exposing the fraudulent nature of Wallace's claims to be a friend of the working man and his links to ultra-rightwing, anti-union extremists.

The closeness of the election, combined with the drain of 45 electoral votes to Wallace, did produce, however, what Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana called a "brush with catastrophe" for the Electoral College system of choosing the President.

As noted, if Nixon had lost a few of the major states where his margin was thin, he would have failed to win the needed majority of 270. Then, if there were no shifts among the electors, it would have been up to the House to name the President from the three leading candidates. Conceivably, in such cases, an impasse could create a serious crisis of leadership for the nation. The nightmarish visions of what might have happened are expected to spur a new drive in Congress for reform of the electoral system.

With the election now history and the nation in the midst of a transition period before the Nixon Administration takes office, the major question is what to expect from the President-elect.

To a large extent, the answer lies in the nature of the problems confronting America, the very issues of the election campaign itself: the war in Viet Nam, rising crime rates, the growing polarization of the races, poverty and decay in the central cities.

In the course of his campaign, Nixon provided some clues to his approach in dealing with these problems.

He rigidly refused to expand on his ideas for resolving the war on grounds he would do nothing to hamper peace negotiations, and he has taken a stance alongside President Johnson regarding subsequent developments in the Paris talks.

On the problems of poverty and the need to rejuvenate urban areas, he urged a broader role for private enterprise. He spoke of building "bridges to human dignity" between Negroes and whites and he pledged to encourage "black capitalism" in the ghetto.

None of these positions is so specific as to commit him to a given course of action. They leave him, in fact, able to exercise a great deal of flexibility. In the light of his narrow victory and the retention of Congress by the Democrats, flexibility is something the new President can use in large measure.

Nixon, of course, will have vast independent authority. As chief executive, it will be his responsibility to reformulate the foreign policy of the most powerful nation in the world. He can set the tone of his administration simply through his choices for cabinet posts and personal advisers, through the men he picks for such regulatory agencies as the Federal Trade Commission and the National Labor Relations Board. He can reshape the Supreme Court and the lower federal courts more to his liking as vacancies occur. And he can alter the direction of the economy.

But what the new President can hope to accomplish immediately in coping with the nation's pressing problems depends, by and large, on the relationship he is able to establish with Congress.

The Shape of the 91st Congress

by David L. Perlman

In membership, party control and its liberal-conservative division, the new 91st Congress will be at least a fraternal twin of the departing 90th Congress.

The House of Representatives changed hardly at all. There was normal attrition through retirements, but only nine incumbents were defeated for re-election. The freshman crop of 39 new congressmen out of 435 is the smallest in many years.

Not a single committee chairmanship will change hands. Power in the House remains where it has been —with the very senior chairmen of the major committees, leavened somewhat by the gentle persuasion of Speaker John W. McCormack, who will be starting his 41st year as a congressman.

It was a bitter disappointment to Republican strategists that the House elections were a virtual standoff.

The four-seat GOP gain was far short of the switch of 30 seats needed for a Republican majority.

Even Democratic sources, in private if not in public, had anticipated a 10 to 15 seat loss to the Republicans.

The GOP hopes, however, depended on a big Nixon victory. The razor-thin closeness of the presidential election cut off the coattails which were to carry Republican congressional candidates into office.

Not only was the election close, but Nixon ran weakest in the populous eastern states where Democratic congressional candidates were considered most vulnerable.

Take three big two-party states: New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Before the 1964 Democratic sweep, the three states had sent 40 Democrats and 43 Republicans to the House. The big Democratic gains of 1964 were only partially wiped out in the 1966 Republican comeback and the Democrats held a 49-34 edge in House seats going into the 1968 elections. At least 10 Democratic seats were in normally Republican or marginal districts and several incumbents were not running for re-election. The GOP had reason to hope for a substantial pick-up.

Some seats changed hands. But when the smoke cleared, Democrats held the same 49-34 majority of House seats from the three states as in the 90th Congress.

In fact, of all the threats to liberal and moderate Democratic congressmen anticipated in pre-election speculation, about the only one that came off was the GOP capture of both of New Mexico's House seats.

From the viewpoint of the conservative-liberal division in the House, it would take calipers to measure the difference between the 90th and 91st Congress.

Everyone, of course, has his own definition of liberal and conservative. Congressional Quarterly, a nonpartisan press service, considers 172 members of the outgoing House as liberals, 193 as conservative and 70 as moderates. It says the new House will have two fewer liberals, four fewer conservatives and six more moderates.

Other sources might come up with a different ideological breakdown. The key fact is that there are still more conservatives than liberals in the House.

The 1968 elections confirmed the Democratic Party as the majority party in Congress—a position it has held for 34 of the past 40 years. Nevertheless, the 243-192 Democratic majority in the House is the smallest in 10 years.

By past cycles, the Democrats should pick up some House seats in the 1970 congressional elections. This year, the virtual standoff in the House demonstrated a deep-rooted Democratic strength. But even a small Republican gain two years from now would be taken as a sign of continuing Republican growth in the nation.

Only 34 of the 100 Senate seats were at stake in the November election, but 14 of them will be filled by newcomers. The 14 include Barry Goldwater, not

DAVID L. PERLMAN is an assistant editor of the AFL-CIO News.

exactly a freshman, who returns to the Senate as a replacement for the retiring 91-year-old Carl Hayden.

Six senators retired, four lost out in their party's primaries and four were defeated for re-election.

The departures will bring about a reshuffle of committee chairmanships and, of nearly equal importance, subcommittee chairmanships.

Yet despite the new faces and a net Republican gain of five seats, the change in the Senate does not go very deep, although it has significance.

The Senate had a moderate-to-liberal majority before the election—and it still does.

It had a hardcore conservative coalition big enough to conduct a successful filibuster—and it still does.

The swing man in determining by his support or opposition whether a filibuster will succeed or fail has been Republican Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen. There is no reason to think that it will be any different in the 91st Congress.

There is a net liberal loss, however, and the Republican gain was the biggest in any single election since 1950, when the GOP also won five new seats.

An unusual number of longterm senators were beaten for re-election this year, either in primaries or in the general election.

In a few of the contests, issues and ideology were principal factors. Thus conservative Democrat Frank Lausche of Ohio was beaten by liberal John J. Gilligan, who in turn lost to moderate Republican William B. Saxbe. In California, liberal Republican Thomas H. Kuchel was defeated in the primary by rightwinger Max Rafferty—and liberal Democrat Alan Cranston won the election.

Most, but not all, of the defeated senators were beaten by younger opponents.

The new senators—even counting "retread" Barry Goldwater—are on an average more than 19 years younger than the men they replace.

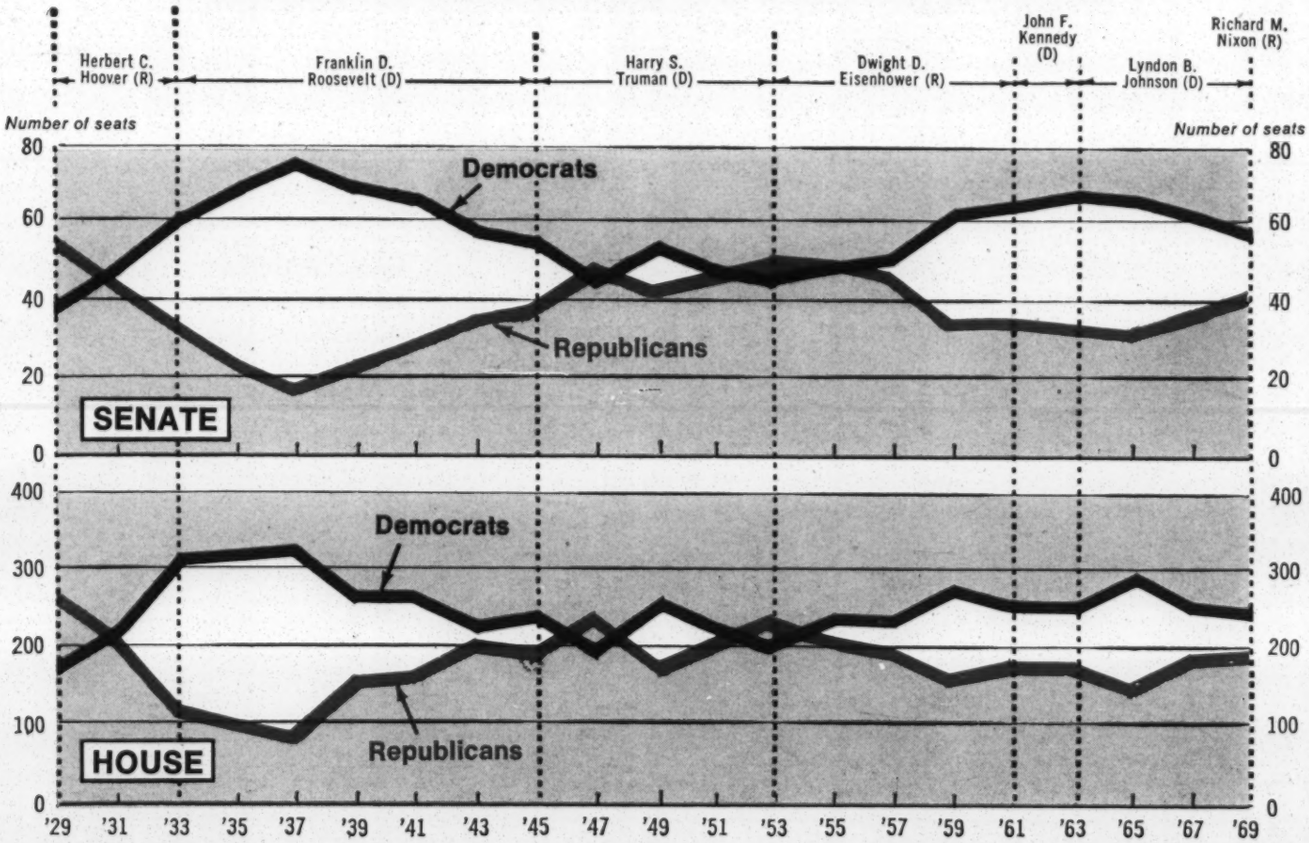
The Democrats went into the election with a 63-37 majority in the Senate and 23 of the 34 seats at stake.

Since the 23 Democratic seats up this year included some that were virtually certain to remain Democratic, the GOP had no realistic hope of taking over control of the Senate.

By closing the gap to a 58-42 margin, however, the Republican Party has at least brought itself within reach of a 1970 majority. At stake that year will be 25 Democratic and only eight Republican seats.

A bipartisan group of liberals may make another try at the start of the new Congress to change the Senate rules so as to make it easier to cut off a filibuster. But with the Senate having edged to the right, the chances

DEMOCRATS HAVE CONTROLLED CONGRESS FOR 34 OUT OF THE LAST 40 YEARS



Source: New York Times.

of success appear even slimmer than in past years.

With an almost identical House and with Senate changes more in personalities than in power, the outlook would appear to be some progress in legislation, a good deal of compromise and a constant battle for funding of programs—all of course depending on the direction taken by the White House.

The 90th Congress was parsimonious with appropriations, both for domestic programs and foreign aid.

It was amenable to consumer protection laws which cost little but earned political credit with the articulate suburban voting bloc.

It took a surprisingly bold stand for a federal open housing law. And while it moved in the direction of giving states a freer hand in the use of federal grants, it stopped short of the "no strings" approach in handing over federal funds.

The "nay-saying" conservative coalition was successful in blocking planned expansion of a number of programs, but it made few efforts to eliminate going programs and it did not develop any real alternatives.

The votes were not on hand in the 90th Congress to pass any meaningful improvement in labor laws—nor to adopt harsh new restrictions.

But even with virtually the same cast, it would be rash to assume that the performance of the 91st Congress will follow the script of the 90th.

Lyndon Baines Johnson, in the tradition of liberal Democratic presidents, kept a steady flow of legislative requests moving to Capitol Hill.

His proposals sought to utilize the vast resources and power of the federal government to solve problems confronting the nation—problems of poverty and pollution, of education, housing, health, job training, crime, safety and traffic congestion.

These ambitious but necessary programs had to run the gantlet of a conservative coalition made up of most Republicans and most southern Democrats. Where it could not ignore the pressing messages from the executive branch of government, it usually was able to modify the requests to more digestible size—particularly when it came to backing up legislation with appropriations.

There is also a liberal-moderate coalition made up of most Democrats and a minority of Republicans. Not even in the heavily Democratic 89th Congress, elected in 1964, were there enough Democratic votes alone to pass all the major legislation. About 20 Republicans can be counted on to vote with northern Democrats on most social issues.

It is this alternate coalition that Democratic presidents have counted on to enact at least a substantial part of their programs.

A Republican president needs a coalition also. Dwight D. Eisenhower needed Democratic votes in the first two years of his Administration, even with a Republican majority in Congress, because some congressional Republicans had become so accustomed to saying "no" that they were unable to accept even the modest program of a president of their own party.

And from the 1954 elections until the end of his Administration six years later, Eisenhower had to deal with a Democratic Congress.

In all major areas, Eisenhower received more support from congressional Democrats than Republicans had ever given to a Democratic president.

At the same time, congressional Democrats were coming up with legislative proposals in areas where Eisenhower was moving too slowly. During recurrent recessions, it was congressional Democrats, not the White House, who pressed for extended unemployment benefits, depressed areas legislation and public works programs. The battle for medicare was waged, if not won, during this period of a Democratic Congress and a Republican president.

This blend of cooperation and criticism awaits Richard M. Nixon as he assumes the presidency.

If he intends to be an active, forceful president, he will soon find himself in conflict with a large segment of Congress because that is the nature of the division of powers of the American government.

Mr. Nixon, facing a Democratic Congress, has a unique choice of allies for his legislative program.

Whatever he proposes will normally receive substantial support from congressional Republicans, if only out of party loyalty.

He has the option of looking for the balance of the votes from either the liberal majority or the conservative minority of the Democratic Party.

In effect, the choice of a liberal or a conservative coalition is up to him.

If he should choose the liberal road—admittedly a highly unlikely prospect—Nixon would be able to gain majority support for some programs that, with the same Congress, would probably be rejected if proposed by a Democratic President.

Mr. Nixon can, of course, look to the conservative coalition for support of programs strongly opposed by liberals and labor. But the coalition does not have control of the Senate and liberals have either a majority or the chairmanship of several important House committees, as well as the support of the House Democratic leadership on most issues.

In practical political terms, Congress as well as the President has a veto.

Any prediction of the relations between Congress and the President over the next two or four years must be pure speculation. So much depends on events—whether there will be what Hubert Humphrey confidently spoke of during the campaign as the "dividends of peace" to finance needed programs and whether a Republican President will choose to use Democratic-designed economic weapons to head off a recession.

This, however, can be said with some certainty. For better or worse, whatever the new President proposes will be shaped, trimmed or expanded by Congress. As they used to teach in history classes—with gross oversimplification—"the President proposes and Congress disposes."

Renewed activity on State & Local Taxes

sive governmental leaders—like Ngo Dinh Diem who subsidized rival unions in an effort to undercut Buu, whom he feared—by militant Buddhists or Viet Cong terrorists.

Through Buu's leadership, labor unions have been formed in virtually every occupational field in South Viet Nam. With varying degrees of effectiveness, they bargain with management, call strikes and perform other functions of trade unionism.

CVT's membership includes such varied crafts as gatherers of swallows' nests for soup-making, dispensers of leeches in Oriental medicine shops, teachers, horsecart drivers, pedalers of bike-powered rickshas, employes of jet-age airlines, fishermen and tillers of the soil.

Vietnamese labor officials are called on to deal with problems unheard of in the workaday world of their U.S. counterparts: Pregnant longshorewomen (women do much of the heavy work), harassed noodle cart operators besieged by police and tax collectors on one hand and racketeers on the other, military curfews that hamper fishermen, and the terrorism of the Viet Cong against union agents.

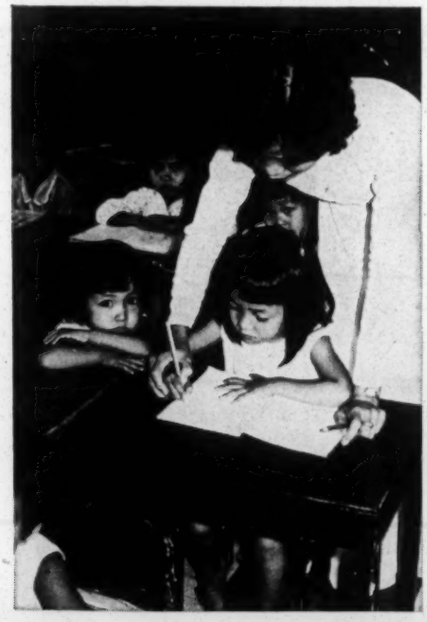
In a nation where 75 percent of the workforce is engaged in extracting food and fiber products from the land and waters, agricultural workers make up the bulk of CVT's strength. The biggest union within the CVT is that of the Tenant Farmers, with 130,000 members, followed by the Fishermen, with 65,000. Another large affiliate is the Plantation Workers, with 16,500. The membership of these unions is spread out over the countryside, even into Viet Cong-infested areas. Their size and effectiveness, also the mechanics of their dues-collecting, are subject to war's incursions.

CVT's largest urban-based affiliate is the Transportation Workers, with 22,000 members.

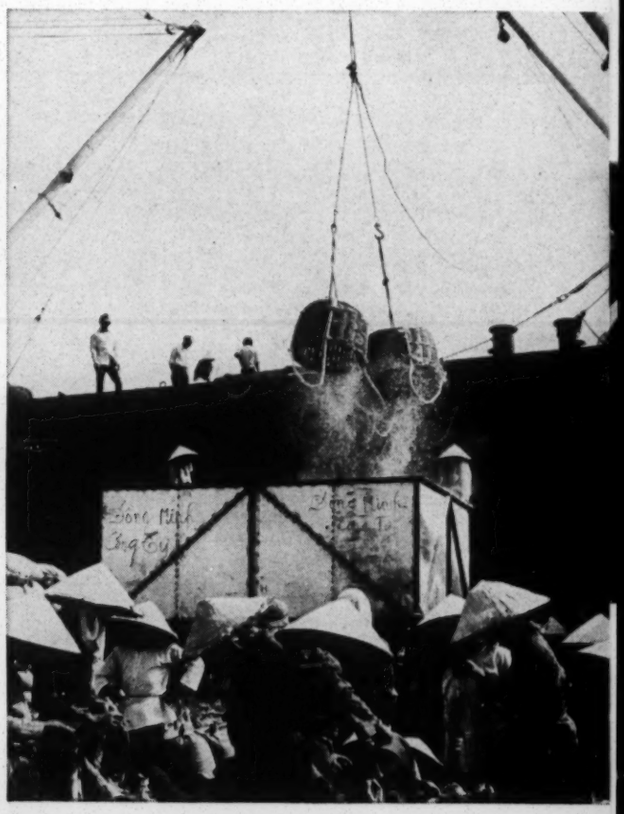
In addition to agricultural workers making up the bulk of its membership, the Vietnamese labor movement is unique in other respects.

Vietnamese workers, instead of leaning politically left as do union members in much of the western world, tend to Oriental conservatism, reflecting their predominantly rural roots, thus forming a bulwark of vigorous anti-Communism.

Building trades unions, among the oldest and strong-



Left: Children of workers' families attend class in social welfare center run by the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor (CVT). CVT operates 20 welfare centers. Bottom left: Members of CVT Federation of Fishermen prepare for a day's fishing off Phan Thiet. Under new contract, fishermen get 40 percent of the catch. Below: CVT President Tran Quoc Buu (on right) inspects damage after Communist Tet attack on Phu Trinh. Right: Longshorewomen, members of CVT Saigon Dock Workers Union, keep rice moving from port to the provinces.



est in the U.S. labor movement, are relatively small in South Viet Nam.

A number of unions, like those of the noodle cart pushers, are associations of owner-operators of retail enterprises. There is also a pattern of small, one-company unions, examples being those representing workers in a cigaret plant, an alcohol factory or a boat-building yard.

Even bank employes have a union; so do Saigon bar girls and dancing girls.

Similar to industry-wide unions in the U.S. are those in Viet Nam composed of employes of several plants in a single industry, such as tile and concrete, beer, soft drinks, textiles, footwear, chemicals, paint, plastics and the processing of rubber, paper, rice and sugar.

Vietnamese unions measure success in small terms. Like a daily basic wage of 57 piasters—48 cents—for Plantation Workers and the elimination of the word "coolie" from their contracts. Or a cost of living allowance of 29 piasters a day. Or a 60-40 split of the catch between boat owners and the Fishermen's members. Or a free canteen, two uniforms each and time and a half for night work for workers in a construction materials plant.

These gains are important in a country where dock workers, semi-skilled laborers and factory hands average from 100 to 120 piasters a day and where 9,000 piasters a month—$76.50—is good money for a skilled mechanic.

Out of that income, organized workers pay about 20 piasters a month—17 cents—in union dues. A unique custom among some Vietnamese unions is that a new member pays no dues until his personal income rises as a direct benefit from his affiliation.

Vietnamese unions do not limit their horizon to bread and butter issues, but manifest a social conscience which has sparked one of the country's most extensive welfare programs. CVT's efforts fill a dire need in a country where most social welfare concepts follow the Confucian pattern of family members caring for one another.

The nucleus of the CVT social welfare program is a network of more than 20 centers, which offer adult and primary education classes, help for the sick, assistance with funeral expenses, canteens and such useful skills as sewing lessons. In provincial hamlets, CVT centers are headquarters for all social service projects, including credit union facilities.

Those families that benefit from the CVT social welfare centers are asked to help finance their operations with a two-piaster a month contribution per family. The centers are open to union and non-union families alike.

In the aftermath of the Communist Tet offensive in early 1968, CVT purchased 200 tons of rice from the government and distributed it through social welfare centers and union offices at official prices. This helped undercut the private entrepreneurs and black market racketeers who do not hesitate to reap a profit from the misery of their war-beleaguered countrymen.

The rice-distribution program was similar to other programs in which labor has used its organizational facilities to move the materials of war as well as the goods for the nation's economy.

One of CVT's most successful such programs has been its distribution of fertilizer to members and non-members in farming areas. Fertilizer may not be a subject of much interest to Americans, most of whom have no problem with food other than that of obesity, but it is essential in the production of Asia's food staple, rice.

In 1967, CVT was the biggest distributor of fertilizer, moving more than 55,000 tons while government agencies and other sources accounted for only 11,000 tons. The difference is motivation. CVT is out to win the allegiance of farmers, to make friends, not money. This attitude begets enemies among the commercial dealers, whose market-manipulations have been curtailed by labor's entry into the fertilizer business.

Despite CVT's altruistic motives, it encountered trouble in obtaining governmental approval for its 1968 fertilizer program. The Ministry of Economy, one of 26 cabinet-level bureaus in the central government, sought to limit CVT's distribution only to its members. This showed the concern of the minister of economy for the private operators. CVT, through its weekly newspaper and by enlisting help from the public press and friends in government, beat down the attempt to curtail its fertilizer distribution.

President Thieu, Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky and others in the Saigon government, by words and actions have displayed an enlightened attitude toward labor—prompted either by sincere philosophic motivation or a practical political awareness of CVT's growing power or a combination of the two. But this enlightenment does not permeate all layers of the bureaucracy.

Vestiges of colonial anti-unionism persist not only in government but also in the general society, steeped in the mandarinism of its past. Harsh illustrations can be seen in the jailing and harrassment of labor leaders.

After the Tet offensive, the CVT executive board, speaking through President Buu and Secretary General Tran Huu Quyen, denounced the Communists and appealed to union members to close ranks behind the government. Yet police held Quyen in "protective custody" immediately after the Viet Cong attacks. He was quickly released, however, in response to protests from CVT and its American friends, including AFL-CIO aides.

Just prior to Tet, Saigon police smashed a strike of electrical workers, who were protesting the refusal of the Saigon Electricity Company's new management to honor a contract negotiated with the previous owners. Union leaders were jailed but later released. Ultimate victory came to the strikers in mid-summer when a labor court ordered management to give them

a retroactive 12 percent cost of living allowance.

The police breakup of the strike was reported in the American press, but not the labor court's ruling in favor of the strikers, which is an example of how good news from Viet Nam doesn't always get the same attention in the U.S. as bad news.

The jailings and the harassment are recurring reminders to South Vietnamese labor leaders of the unhappy past. CVT is vigilant in its efforts to curb overzealousness by government authorities in labor disputes. In its Labor Day statement last May 1, CVT emphasized that the republic's Constitution guarantees workers the right to strike.

Labor's friends in government recognize that it is within the framework of being a loyal opposition that CVT scolds some government policies and prods for more progress in social, economic and land reforms. Government allies of labor realize that CVT, as the one major group to have survived the past two decades of crises and war, is a force for national stability.

Farsighted and pragmatic government leaders are cognizant that CVT, led by men with a strong social conscience and possessing a nationwide apparatus, can be an effective ally in the government's stated policy of wanting "to win the minds and hearts of the people."

In Buu, government officials, including the 45-year-old Thieu and Ky, 40, see a man who, by virtue of his survival as CVT president for 20 years, is an elder statesman who has resources of wisdom that make his counsel worth seeking.

Because of his sagacity and his position as the broker of the largest power bloc in the country, Buu's influence with Thieu and Ky is said to be steadily rising. He is credited privately with having quietly mediated some of the differences between the two young officials whose ambitions make them personal rivals.

As Vietnamese workers meet the pressing problems of the wartime today and prepare for the hoped-for peace of tomorrow, a helping hand is being given them by the labor movements of other nations, especially the U.S.

Last spring, in accordance with resolutions adopted by the 1967 AFL-CIO convention and subsequent Executive Council sessions, a U.S. labor delegation went to Viet Nam to establish a relief program for war victims and to assist CVT in creating programs to develop a free and democratic labor movement. As a first move, nearly $30,000 in family relief was distributed to victims of the Tet offensive. To carry out the program of assisting the CVT, the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute opened an office in Saigon, headed by Fernand Audie of the Retail Clerks. He and his assistant. Len Yarborough of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, both have had extensive experience in helping labor movements in other countries.

Audie and Yarborough are concentrating on leadership development in CVT and creating cooperatives and credit unions among affiliated labor unions.

Audie spelled out the purpose of the AFL-CIO's overseas programs at a ceremony where he presented 10 hand-operated tractor-tillers to the Tenant Farmers. The machines are especially designed to function efficiently in the rice paddies. To make the program self-perpetuating, the Tenant Farmers formed a cooperative revolving fund into which recipients of the machines pay for them on a monthly basis, creating seed capital for purchasing more tractor-tillers. At the presentation ceremony, Audie said:

"The AFL-CIO, as the largest single organization in the United States supporting the Viet Nam policy of the U.S. Government, feels very strongly the urgent need to help further the development of a strong and democratic free trade union movement in Viet Nam, Asia and throughout the world. In this manner we hope to stir the minds and imaginations of men towards creating a world at peace which can only be brought about by achieving economic and social justice for the masses of the working people and adequately providing for the general welfare of all the citizens."

In addition to the AFL-CIO itself, a number of affiliated U.S. unions have contributed money and goods to aid the Vietnamese. The National Maritime Union sent its Far Eastern regional director, James F. Paterson, from Tokyo to Viet Nam with $2,000 for reconstruction of the labor center at Hue, badly damaged in the 25-day Tet battle for the old imperial city. The Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union has donated $30,000 raised from its members through in-plant solicitations to help CVT establish a refugee village in Dong Lac.

Emil G. Lindahl, labor advisor for the U.S. Agency for International Development Mission in South Viet Nam, would like to see more American unions con-

CVT President Tran Quoc Buu accepts check from James F. Paterson of National Maritime Union to aid in rebuilding Hue labor center, badly damaged in Tet attacks. At left is CVT Secretary-General Tran Huu Quyen. At right are Patrick King of Masters, Mates and Pilots and Fernand Audie, AFL-CIO.

tribute help to their brother unionists in other nations.

Lindahl, a former IUE leader in New York, has been with the State Department's AID operation for nearly a decade, three years of it in Viet Nam. Based on his experience in working with CVT, he says:

"The future of Viet Nam lies with labor. To communicate with the people, you need some sort of organization. And there it is: CVT, the one nonpartisan group that has survived Viet Nam's shifting political and social scene."

CVT survived its first two decades in part because it avoided partisan alliances with individual politicians. Buu knew that an alliance with any of them could mean the death-knell for CVT when that officeholder lost his grip on power.

But as democracy began to take root, Buu realized that the time had come for the labor movement to exert its latent power for the country's political good. Prior to the 1967 nationwide elections, CVT amended its constitution to remove a ban on political activity, a holdover from the colonial period when the French prohibited unions from involving themselves in politics. As Buu explained:

"The CVT is not entering politics for any political party, to seize power or to have positions in government. But given the danger the nation faces, we cannot close our eyes to let the others determine our destiny. The CVT is in politics for the nation and for its people."

Labor moved slowly and cautiously in the quicksand of Vietnamese politics. CVT started by urging its members to vote in the 1967 elections. It endorsed a slate of candidates for both houses of the constituent assembly, but refrained from backing any presidential hopeful. Its upper house slate won, but endorsed candidates in the lower house fared poorly.

CVT took its next major step in the spring of 1968, with Buu playing a key role in formation of the Association of Workers and Farmers, which he described as representing two groups that "are the majority of the Vietnamese and the victims of both Communists and corruption."

Then, in midsummer, with Buu again in a leadership role, the Association became the backbone of a new political party, the People's Alliance for Social Revolution, which is an amalgamation of about 30 political and religious splinter groups. PASR was formed on July 4 at a meeting attended by 600 representatives of the component groups. Buu successfully prevailed upon Thieu and Ky to visit the meeting.

Thieu hailed PASR's birth, praising its objectives of fighting poverty, disease, illiteracy, social injustice, corruption and militarism—goals also of CVT. It was in his address to the assembly that Thieu analyzed political parties of the past as being little more than a group of self-appointed big shots who believed the bombast of their own propaganda gave them popular power, but who lacked any participating membership among the masses. Thieu took favorable note of PASR plans to develop a deeprooted infrastructure so essential to a viable political party.

It is characteristic that Buu, though he was a prime mover of PASR's formation, holds no office in it. He prefers to work behind the scenes.

CVT headquarters, Saigon's labor temple, is now a focal point of PASR activity, which centers around political training classes, with each of the participating groups sending members there for leadership training. Or what is called cadre training in Viet Nam.

Now that Buu has made CVT the Adam's rib of an ambitious effort to create a national political party pursuing the same goals that CVT strives for, his influence in South Viet Nam can be expected to steadily increase. Foremost of his hopes for his country, of course, is a desire for peace.

A hope for peace is uppermost in any view of the future in Viet Nam, where war has sown its ruin and grief for nearly 30 years and where North and South have been partitioned for 14 years.

As one Vietnamese labor leader expressed it: "We want a bowl of rice, a roof over our heads and to live with our families in peace."

Buu sees a glimmer of hope for peace in the Paris talks, but is skeptical of the North's sincerity. To those in the U.S. who say that South Viet Nam should agree to the North's insistence on a coalition government in Saigon, one that includes the North's puppet group, the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong), Buu says: "The CVT is ready to accept a coalition government in South Viet Nam if the Communists will accept a coalition in North Viet Nam." Based on his knowledge of the North's oppression of labor and its suppression of unions, Buu does not believe the North's government is truly representative of its people.

Buu wants more than an end to hostilities, however. In addition to peace, he wants reunification of Viet Nam.

As a first step, when and if peace comes, the CVT leader proposes maintenance of the governments of North and South under United Nations' control, "with the people of both zones having the right to move to one or the other." Later, he hopes to see a referendum under UN auspices throughout North and South "to enable the Vietnamese people to choose the type of government which would suit them and at the same time to reunify the country."

Who would win such a referendum?

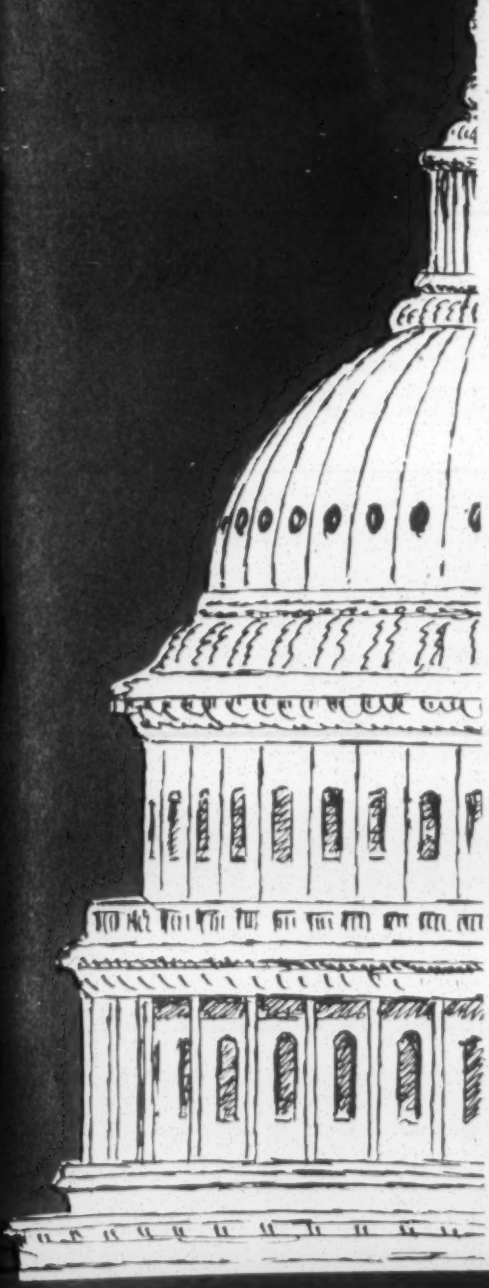
CVT President Tran Quoc Buu and General Secretary Tran Huu Quyen answer that question in these words: "By experience, we are sure that the Communists can never win any election in any part of the free world."

They hope that such a reunification referendum would lead to:

"A sacred peace capable of conquering the animal instinct in man and of leading him to live as a man, with his family, in his shop and with his neighbors, in a truly free, progressive national community, conforming to the principles of modern humanism."

Current Issues

Labor Looks at the 90th Congress



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AFL CIO
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

An AFL-CIO Legislative Report

The Washington Post OUTLOOK Editorials / Columnists

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1969

Rx for a Sick, Flabby Government

By Peter F. Drucker

Drucker is on the graduate faculty of New York University. The following article is excerpted by permission from his book "The Age of Discontinuity," published last week by Harper & Row.

GOVERNMENT SURELY has never been more prominent than today. The most despotic government of 1900 would not have dared probe into the private affairs of its citizens as income tax collectors now do routinely in the freest society.

Even the czar's secret police did not go in for the security investigations we now take for granted. Nor could any bureaucrat of 1900 have imagined the questionnaires that governments now expect businesses, universities or citizens to fill out in ever-mounting number and ever-increasing detail. At the same time, government has everywhere become the largest employer in the society.

Government is certainly all-pervasive. But is it truly strong? Or is it only big?

There is mounting evidence that government is big rather than strong; that it is fat and flabby rather than powerful; that it costs a great deal but does not achieve much. There is mounting evidence also that the citizen less and less believes in government and is increasingly disenchanted with it. Indeed, government is sick—and just at the time when we need a strong, healthy, and vigorous government.

There is obviously little respect for government among the young—but the adults, the taxpayers, are also increasingly disenchanted. They want still more services from government. But they are everywhere approaching the point where they balk at paying for a bigger government, even though they may still want what government promises to give.

Members of the Civilian Conservation Corps at work in the 1930s. "When the Great Depression hit . . . everyone immediately turned to government as the savior . . . But now our attitudes are in transition. We are rapidly moving to doubt and distrust of government . . ."

Love Affair Ended

THE DISENCHANTMENT with government cuts across national boundaries and ideological lines. It is as prevalent in Communist as in democratic societies, as common in white as in nonwhite countries. This disenchantment may well be the most profound discontinuity in the world around us. It marks a sharp change in mood and attitude between this generation and its predecessors.

For 70 years or so—from the 1890s to the 1960s—mankind, especially in the developed countries, was hypnotized by government. We were in love with it and saw no limits to its abilities or to its good intentions.

Rarely has there been a more torrid political love affair than that between government and the generations that reached manhood between 1918 and 1960. Anything that anyone felt needed doing during this period was to be turned over to government—and this, everyone seemed to believe, made sure that the job was already done.

The Fabians in Great Britain or the German Social Democrats started their love affair with government before 1900. It became general with World War 1, when government, using taxation and the printing press, mobilized social resources way beyond what anyone earlier would have thought possible. When the Great Depression hit, a decade later, everyone immediately turned to government as the savior.

It is pathetic to recall the naive beliefs that prevailed in the late 1930s—such, for instance, as was preached in one of the best-sellers of the depression years, "To Plan or Not to Plan," by the British Labor economist Barbara Wooton. The book's author, honored by the British government with a life peerage as Lady Wooton, is still alive and active, but nothing is more remote from us today, or less appealing, than the messianic innocence of this fervent love letter to government.

All it says, and it says it on every page, is: "Utopia is here—all that's needed is to take everything away from the wicked, selfish interests and to turn it over to government." World War II reinforced this belief. Again, government proved itself incredibly effective in organizing the energies of society for warfare.

But now our attitudes are in transition. We are rapidly moving to doubt and distrust of government and, in the case of the young, even to rebellion against it. We still, if only out of habit, turn social tasks over to government. We still revise unsuccessful programs over and over again, and assert that nothing is wrong with them that a change in procedures or a "competent administrator" will not cure. But we no longer really believe these promises when we reform a bungled program for the third time.

Who, for instance, any longer believes that administrative changes in the foreign aid program of the United States (or of the United Nations) will really produce rapid worldwide development? Who really believes that the War on Poverty will vanquish poverty in the cities? Who in France believes that one more commission on administrative reform will really change the system? Or who in Russia really believes that a new program of incentives will make the collective farm productive?

We still repeat the slogans of yesteryear. Indeed, we still act on them. But we no longer believe in them. We no longer expect results from government. What was torrid romance between the people and government for so very long has now become a tired, middle-aged liaison which we do not quite know how to break off but which only becomes exacerbated by being dragged out.

What explains this disenchantment with government?

We expected miracles—and that always produces disillusionment. Government, it was widely believed (though only subconsciously), would produce a great many things for nothing. Cost was thought to be a function of who did something rather than of what was being attempted. There is little doubt, for instance, that the British, in adopting the "free health service," believed that medical care would cost nothing.

All that such a health service can be, of course, is a form of "prepaid" medical care. Nurses, doctors, hospitals, drugs and so on have to be paid for by somebody. But everybody expected this "somebody" to be somebody else.

At the least, everyone expected that under a "free" health service, the taxes of the rich would pay for the health care of the poor. But there never are enough rich people around to carry the burden of any general service.

All such plans are, in effect, taxation and compulsory saving that force the individal to pay for something whether he wants it or not. This is their whole rationale, and it is not necessarily a bad rationale. But the illusion persisted that government could somehow make costs go away and produce a great deal for nothing—or at the expense of only an affluent minority.

Automatically Correct

THIS BELIEF has been, in effect, only one facet of a much more general illusion from which the educated and the intellectuals in particular have suffered: that by turning tasks over to government, conflict and decision would be made to go away.

Once the "wicked private interests" had been eliminated, a decision as to the right course of action would be rational and automatic. There would be neither selfishness nor political passion. Belief in government was thus largely a romantic escape from politics and from responsibility.

One root of this argument was a hatred of business, of profit and, above all, of wealth. That motives other than the desire for monetary gain could underlie self-interest and that values other than financial values could

See SICK, Page B4, Column 1

government among the young—but the adults, the taxpayers, are also increasingly disenchanted. They want still more services from government. But they are everywhere approaching the point where they balk at paying for a bigger government, even though they may still want what government promises to give.

Love Affair Ended

THE DISENCHANTMENT with government cuts across national boundaries and ideological lines. It is as prevalent in Communist as in democratic societies, as common in white as in nonwhite countries. This disenchantment may well be the most profound discontinuity in the world around us. It marks a sharp change in mood and attitude between this generation and its predecessors.

to the 1960s—mankind, especially in the developed countries, was hypnotized by government. We were in love with it and saw no limits to its abilities or to its good intentions.

Rarely has there been a more torrid political love affair than that between government and the generations that reached manhood between 1918 and 1960. Anything that anyone felt needed doing during this period was to be turned over to government—and this, everyone seemed to believe, made sure that the job was already done.

The Fabians in Great Britain or the German Social Democrats started their love affair with government before 1900. It became general with World War 1, when government, using taxation and the printing press, mobilized social resources way beyond what anyone earlier would have thought possible. When the Great Depression hit, a decade later, everyone immediately turned to government as the savior.

It is pathetic to recall the naive beliefs that prevailed in the late 1930s—such, for instance, as was preached in one of the best-sellers of the depression years, "To Plan or Not to Plan," by the British Labor economist Barbara Wooton. The book's author, honored by the British government with a life peerage as Lady Wooton, is still alive and active, but nothing is more remote from us today, or less appealing, than the messianic innocence of this fervent love letter to government.

All it says, and it says it on every page, is: "Utopia is here—all that's needed is to take everything away from the wicked, selfish interests and to turn it over to government." World War II reinforced this belief. Again, government proved itself incredibly effective in organizing the energies of society for warfare.

But now our attitudes are in transition. We are rapidly moving to doubt and distrust of government and, in the case of the young, even to rebellion against it. We still, if only out of habit, turn social tasks over to government. We still revise unsuccessful programs over and over again, and assert that nothing is wrong with them that a change in procedures or a "competent administrator" will not cure. But we no longer really believe these promises when we reform a bungled program for the third time.

Who, for instance, any longer believes that administrative changes in the foreign aid program of the United States (or of the United Nations) will really produce rapid worldwide development? Who really believes that the War on Poverty will vanquish poverty in the cities? Who in France believes that one more commission on administrative reform will really change the system? Or who in Russia really believes that a new program of incentives will make the collective farm productive?

We still repeat the slogans of yesteryear. Indeed, we still act on them. But we no longer believe in them. We no longer expect results from government. What was torrid romance between the people and government for so very long has now become a tired, middle-aged liaison which we do not quite know how to break off but which only becomes exacerbated by being dragged out.

THIS BELIEF has been, in effect, only one facet of a much more general illusion from which the educated and the intellectuals in particular have suffered: that by turning tasks over to government, conflict and decision would be made to go away.

Once the "wicked private interests" had been eliminated, a decision as to the right course of action would be rational and automatic. There would be neither selfishness nor political passion. Belief in government was thus largely a romantic escape from politics and from responsibility.

One root of this argument was a hatred of business, of profit and, above all, of wealth. That motives other than the desire for monetary gain could underlie self-interest and that values other than financial values could

See SICK, Page B4, Column 1

Pueblo Skipper's 152-Minute Ordeal

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

CORONADO, Calif.—The legal fate of Cmdr. Lloyd M. Bucher of the USS Pueblo hangs on the way the Navy interprets three words in its regulations: "power to resist."

In two weeks of testimony before five admirals sitting here as a naval court of inquiry, Bucher has contended he did not have the power to resist the North Koreans who snatched his ship away on the high seas Jan. 23, 1968.

So far, his story of how he became the first skipper in more than 150 years to surrender his ship without firing a shot has held up well. But starting Monday, the court will hear from other members of the 83-man crew and there have been rumors, though only rumors, that some of Bucher's officers did not want to give up the Pueblo. Bucher is confident, however, that his crew will back him up by agreeing that there was no choice.

Navy regulation 0730 states: "The commanding officer shall not permit his command to be searched by any person representing a foreign state nor permit any of the personnel under his command to be removed from the command by such person so long as he has the power to resist."

"Cmdr. Bucher," his attorney, E. Miles Harvey, asked in court, "at the time the North Koreans set foot on your ship, did you any longer have the power to resist?"

"No, I did not," Bucher replied.

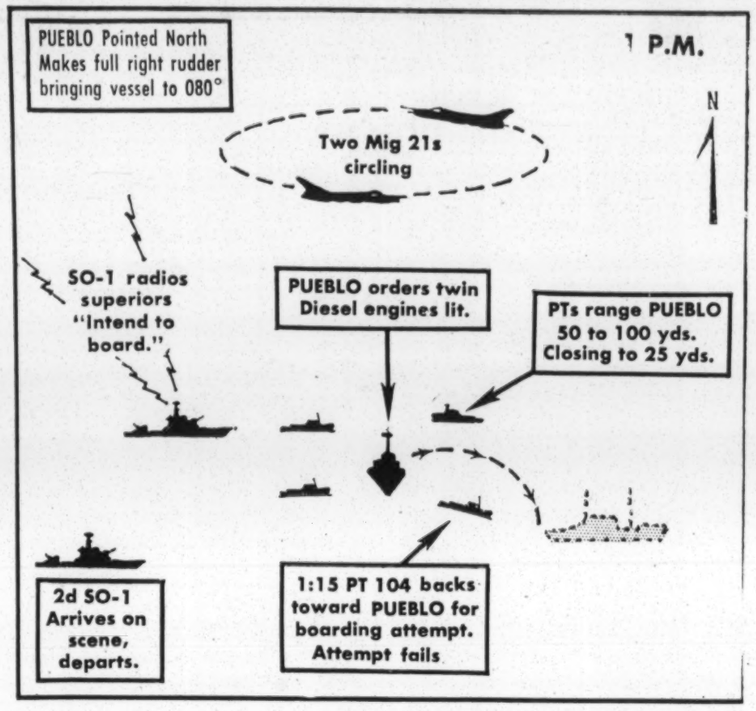
What follows is Bucher's own story of his 152-minute ordeal. The unattributed quotations are his.

"AT ABOUT 1200 [noon] or a few minutes thereafter, we sighted the SO-1," a North Korean subchaser. QM 1/c Charles B. Law Jr. said that "we were between 15 and 18 miles from the nearest land, Ung Do Island. We were laying to, attempting to collect electronic intelligence."

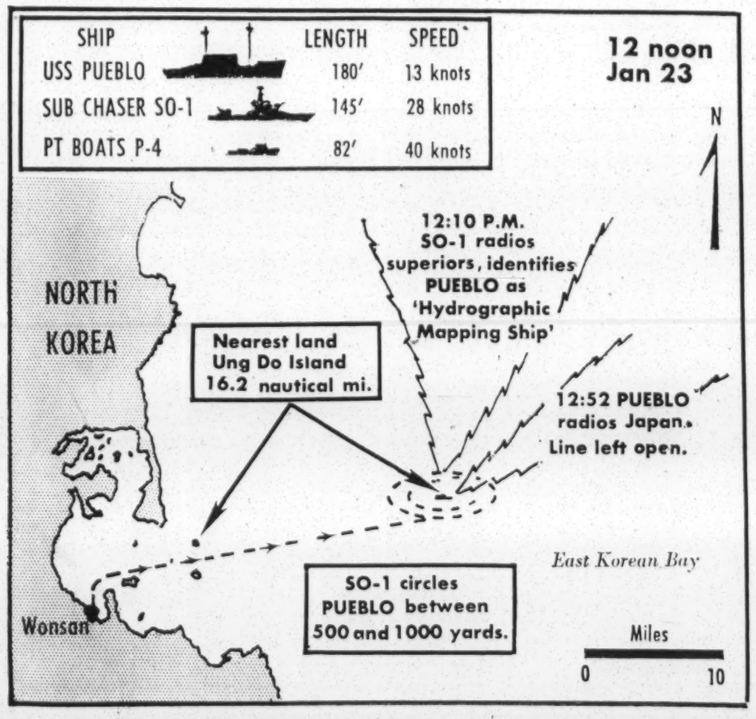
The subchaser circled the Pueblo at a range of 500 to 1000 yards, giving the spy ship a thorough scrutiny. The Pueblo was flying no American flag at the time. Its white numbers, GER-2, had not been painted out.

"After a minute of circling, the SO-1 asked, 'What nationality?,' through the international code of signals flag hoist. 'My response to this signal was to hoist the U.S. flag, my ensign. And I noticed a great deal of activity aboard the SO-1.

"I expected that we might have this SO-1 for company for the remainder of the time that we would be in the area and that he would perform in the fashion of other ships that had tailed the Banner [the Pueblo's sister ship] on several of her missions . . . I did, however, plan to report the incidents, particularly in view of the fact that all of his guns were manned. But I figured that this was nothing more than harassment and something that was intended to intimidate me, and to intimidate the ship."



Charts by Joseph P. Mastrangelo—The Washington Post



A Scientific Guise

TO DISGUISE the Pueblo's real purpose and also to assert its rights to the high seas, Bucher had raised the flags on his ship indicating that hydrographic operations were under way. He also ordered the oceanographer to conduct a Nansen cast: heaving over the side a string of bottles attached to a cable. The bottles are opened after the weighted line hits the bottom; they fill with water at various depths and take its temperature.

"The SO-1 hoisted the international code signal, 'Heave to or I will fire' . . . I was already lying dead in the water . . . I answered back, 'I'm in international waters.' This exchange took place on the SO-1's third circle of the Pueblo. The subchaser was flying pennant No. 35."

At 12:10 p.m., according to a radio message intercepted by U. S. intelligence, the North Korean subchaser radioed its superiors: "The name of the target is GER-2. I judge it to be a reconnaissance ship. It is American guys. It does not appear that there are weapons, and it is a hydrographic mapping ship." The subchaser had seen the hydrographic flags.

At 12:52, the Pueblo radioed its superiors at U. S. Naval Forces Japan (headquartered at Yokosuka). Air Force Lt. Gen. George Brown, who looked into the Pueblo incident for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told Congress last February that the Pueblo's 52-minute delay in reporting the "heave to" order "indicates that she wasn't particularly disturbed by this challenge." Bucher testified that he raised the precedence of his 12:52 p.m. message from "flash" to "critical," "which would permit the message to go immediately and straight to the White House in addition to all the addressees."

He had an open radio line to Japan at the while, in contrast to the previous day, when he said it took him 12 to 14 hours to make contact with his home command.

AT 1 P.M. Korean time, the seagoing game of chicken in international waters off Wonsan escalated. Three North Korean torpedo boats, armed with light machine guns as well as torpedoes, sped from the direction of Wonsan to join the subchaser harassing the Pueblo—still dead in the water. The torpedoes were still in their covers but the deck guns were manned. Also, Bucher said, two Korean fighter planes, which he believed were Mig-21s, circled overhead.

"The P-4s (torpedo boats) closed and stationed themselves [illegible] the ship at a range of between [illegible]00 yards, sometimes getting in [illegible] as 25 yards . . . Attempting [illegible] my 50-caliber machine guns and breaking out my 45s (pistols on board) would only have given them perhaps an excuse to

See PUEBLO, Page B2, Column 1

Our Mideast Policy Is Archaic Colonial

By Abdul Aziz Said

Said is professor of international relations in the American University School of International Service.

THE RECORD of American foreign policy in the Middle East over the last two decades is a catalogue of failures. The principal cause of this unhappy performance is that the basic assumptions from which U.S. foreign policy proceeded are no longer—and perhaps never were—in tune with contemporary Middle Eastern realities.

The American Middle Eastern policy of recent tradition can simply, but accurately, be described as anticommunist in its approach to the major objective: the guarantee of Israeli and Arab territorial integrity. But today this approach is clearly counterproductive; it both perpetuates intraregional tensions and exacerbates regional hostilities.

As a foreign policy style, anticommunism is particularly inappropriate to the Middle East because, beyond clan loyalites, no ideology, including Islam and the more recently developed pan-Arabism and Arab socialism, has stimulated an enthusiastic, sustained popular response. Middle Eastern Communist parties are notoriously weak in terms of real political power. The American anti-communist approach has resulted in a divided region, with reactionary, often monarchist, U.S.-supported client states in complex confrontation with revolutionary, populist, essentially nonaligned states which tend to gravitate toward the Soviet Union.

Similarly, the American objective of guaranteed Israeli and Arab frontiers merely reinforces Israel's overwhelmingly centripetal isolation. It has allowed the Israelis the luxury of ignoring the several compelling reasons for them to adjust to the realities of their Middle Eastern environment. The stubborn American commitment to Israel has, at the same time, provided the Arabs with scapegoat—"Zionist-American imperialism"—on which to blame all the ills of the Arab world.

The Colonial Style

BOTH THE United States and the Soviet Union were pulled into the power vacuum created by the withdrawal of the colonial powers from the Middle East; both feel compelled to define and pursue exclusive, if not conflicting, interests in the region. But, especially since the declining importance of the Suez Canal, neither set of interests is supported by vital and historically permanent principles of foreign policy.

The United States has chosen to pursue vaguely defined interests from Vietnam to Suez in much the same style as the colonial powers of the 19th century. Such behavior raises the question: Can today's great powers legitimately claim interests identical with the great power interests of the colonial era?

As in Southeast Asia and the Far East, Soviet Middle Eastern interests are manifested in a pattern of increasing response to an expanding American influence in the area. Russian interests in the defense of her own Middle Eastern real estate and, to a lesser extent, in the strategic value of the Persian Gulf oil reserves are intense. Nonetheless, the goals of Soviet policy in the Middle East are essentially limited.

In the classical balance-of-power system, strategic interests could be achieved only by the maintenance of local forces in being. Similar results are possible in today's world, dominated as it is by the superpowers, without the permanent presence of power. This concept takes on added significance in the Middle Eastern context.

In the classical system, Napoleon's Egyptian campaign was intended to secure protection against other European powers rather than to expand the perimeter of French influence. In the present international system, U.S. strategic interests must be determined not by the presence of power but by the power of influence. In today's world, where it is possible for the two superpowers to confront each other from within their own territories, it is increasingly difficult for them to justify their presence in such areas as the Middle East, where the presence of a great power is immediately taken to imply ambition rather than charity.

Both Sides Vulnerable

AT A TIME when defense technology was less advanced, the Middle East was of immense strategic importance to the United States. Strategic bases were built there to allow for a variety of American routes of attack on the Soviet Union and to protect ourselves from medium-range Soviet bombers. Our presence was designed to counter rather than exert local influence.

Despite the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union are now

See EAST, Page B3, Column 1

Pigs, Now, Get Balanced Diets

By Arnold E. Schaefer

Dr. Schaefer is the Department of Health, Education and Welfare nutritionist in charge of the National Nutrition Survey ordered by Congress in late 1967. The following is excerpted from his preliminary report to the Senate's Select Committee on Nutrition and Related Human needs.

THE PRELIMINARY DATA clearly indicate an alarming prevalence of those characteristics that are associated with undernourished groups. Our studies to date clearly indicate that there is malnutrition, and in our opinion it occurs in an unexpected large proportion of our sample population [12,000 mainly poor persons in Texas, Louisiana, Kentucky and New York].

Inadequate nutrient intake, if prolonged, results in weakness, fatigue and inability to carry out the simplest tasks, and in its extreme form leads to starvation and death. Nutrient deficiency manifests itself in retarded growth in the young child. Of special concern to us is so-called "hidden hunger," in which the individual may not recognize any particular symptom but has such low nutrient tissue levels that if he is subjected to stress such as hard physical labor or disease, his physiological functional performance is reduced and eventually the physical manifestations of malnutrition will appear.

The preschool child from the time of weaning until approximately 6 years of age is the most vulnerable to malnutrition. His wellbeing is dependent upon the knowledge and capability of the mother to feed him properly, protect his health and supply clothing and shelter. The problems of malnutrition are definitely associated with other health, education, social and economic problems.

In general, the most widespread nutritional problem is one of multiple deficiency of one or more nutrients such as protein, vitamins, minerals and calories. It is shocking to realize that the problems in the poverty groups in the United States seem to be very similar to those we have encountered in the developing countries. The overall health status is better here, however, probably due to the better environmental sanitation (pure water, safe food supply and waste disposal systems). Also, medical care, though limited in many areas, is still more available in the United States than in the developing countries.

Height and weight measurements for age provide the simplest means we have for assessing early growth status. Our data seem to indicate that we do have growth retardation in the 1-to-6-year-old child.

In addition to the growth curves figure, we have preliminary evidence of this retardation from wrist bone X-ray analyses. Analyses of a very small number (120) of X-rays from children reveal retarded bone growth in 3.5 per cent. Of even greater consequence are the undetected detrimental effects of early malnutrition on the learning ability, mental and neurological capacity and behavior of children who survive impaired physical growth.

All essential nutrients must be provided to ensure optimal growth and development. Our findings on the high prevalence of anemia and of reduced levels of serum albumin, vitamin A, vitamin C and urinary riboflavin clearly indicate the seriousness and magnitude of the hunger problem.

A diet with only one nutrient restricted at a suboptimal level is reflected in reduced tissue stores in chickens, rats, dogs, pigs and other animals and results first in retardation of growth. Such animals may continue to live and grow at a slow rate, but they are not productive from an economic standpoint.

The American farmer or pet owner need not worry about the nutritional adequacy of formulated animal feed because it has adequate levels of all nutrients. This is not the case for man. Our diets are based on our knowledge of what food will provide the required nutrients, on customs, personal preference and cost. Lack of knowledge of food needs, or insufficient money to purchase food, can result in a poor diet and lead to malnutrition.

To date, we have found seven cases which the physician diagnoses as severe malnutrition using such terms as kwashiorkor (severe protein and multiple nutrient deficiency) and marasmus, primarily a caloric deficiency. We did not expect to find such cases in the United States. In the majority of these cases, a contributing factor was a lack of knowledge on the part of the mother, often complicated by infectious disease or diarrhea.

Of primary concern to those of our group who have worked in the international field was that nonfat dry milk which had vitamins A and D removed was distributed under the food commodity program to American poverty groups. In 1965, our office was instrumental in having AID and the Agriculture Department fortify nonfat dry milk with vitamins A and D before it was shipped overseas. It was not until the fall of 1968 that nonfat dry milk was fortified for use in food donation programs in the United States. Much of the data we are reporting here is based on studies of family groups made from July through November of 1968.

Unless you happen to be an individual who requires surgery for an enlarged thyroid or goiter due to iodine deficiency, a discussion of this problem evokes little response even among the medical profession. Over 30 years ago, the United States was one of the first countries to launch a large-scale program to eradicate goiter by promulgating the use of iodized salt. Yet our findings to date indicate that in the areas where we have worked, approximately 5 per cent of the population has goiter.

This is not a money problem; it can be prevented for less than one-fourth of a cent per person per year. But in many areas of the United States, iodized salt is not even available for man.

High Rate of Anemia

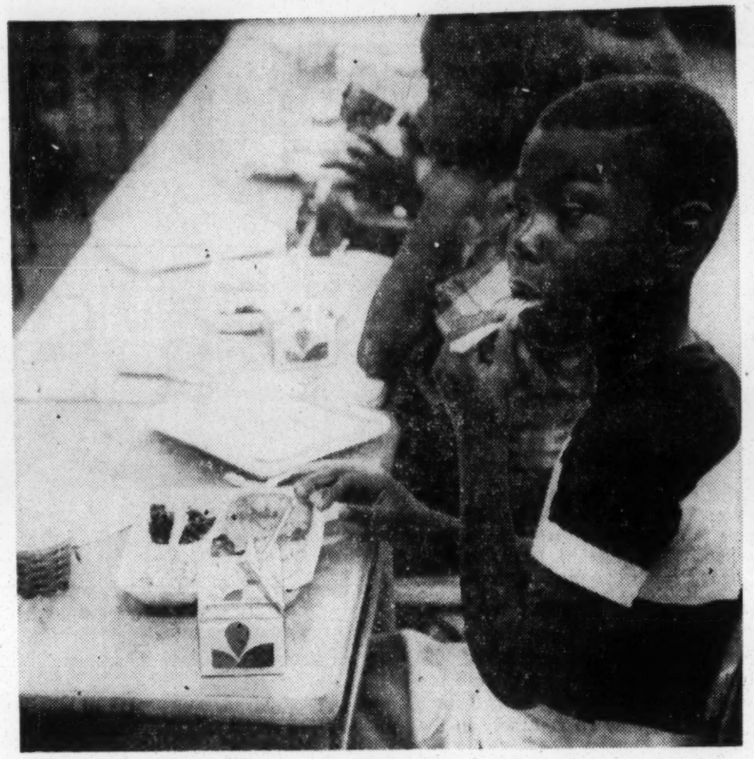
OUR DATA to date show that 15 per cent of the population had hemoglobin levels less than acceptable, which means they were candidates for medical treatment for anemia. Anemia is not restricted to low-income groups: the data suggest that its prevalence may have remained the same over the past 30 years. But in the impoverished population, this problem may actually be on the increase.

The fact that we have discovered cases of rickets again alerts us to the reality that we cannot ignore public health nutrition programs once they are started. This disease was virtually eradicated over 30 years ago through the simple mechanism of fortifying milk with vitamin D at no cost to the consumer. If you will check the price of vitamin D milk and other milk in the Washington area today, you will be surprised at the difference.

One of the greatest rewards my staff and I have received is the sincere cooperation of the state and local levels of health, education, welfare and agricultural personnel. These offcials are anxious to define the problems, assess their local resources and proceed with corrective and preventive measures.

Texas and Louisiana are already reviewing their educational curricula to strengthen health study units and incorporate additional units with emphasis on nutrition. They are reviewing procedures to get to the mother of the prekindergarten child, to operate the school lunch program as a means of more than just feeding the children once a day and to improve breakfast programs.

The one clear-cut point that stands out is the need for improved education in nutrition, health and family planning for the mother, the future mother now in school and every other person concerned with purchasing food.



Texas and Louisiana are reviewing their school lunch programs to make them do more than simply feed children once a day.

The Politics of Hunger

By Victor Cohn

Washington Post Staff Writer

HUNGER has politics.

A Senate select committee created to try to answer the question, "Is there hunger in America?," heard that there are indeed "malnutrition," "undernutrition" and "hidden hunger" (meaning body tissues starved for nutrients despite bellies more or less filled with wrong foods).

There are "alarming," "surprising" conditions among the poor in Texas, Louisiana and other states so far surveyed, said a Public Health Service report. Children are stunted and sick.

Senators listened. Then some began asking the question: "What is the cause?"

Is it mainly poverty? Or is it mainly ignorance?

The answer—an answer that may not be fully available for many months—will have great political significance. For it will say either, "All we have to do is educate and inform the poor to buy some tomatoes as well as rice and beans." Or: "We can't wipe out hunger and malnutrition without wiping out poverty and all that goes with it, including ignorance."

Keen awareness of the issue became apparent on the days devoted to the early results of this first National Nutrition Survey. Dr. Arnold E. Schaefer, a spunky little HEW nutritionist and head of the survey, was testifying. Sen. Allen Ellender of Louisiana—where 40 per cent of 3000 Headstart children were found to be anemic for lack of dietary iron—kept boring in.

"I assume in the end we'll be able to find the real cause," he said . . . "What is the reason?" . . . "Personally, I feel a good deal of it is due to lack of knowledge on the part of mothers. I'm sure some is due to inability to buy foods." And again: "Would you say that a good deal is due to lack of knowledge in mothers and fathers?"

A good deal of it is indeed due to lack of knowledge, Schaefer agreed. But "our data to date"—like all data ever collected on this vast human problem—show that lack of income and ignorance "are closely related" and in fact interwoven.

The next day, Dr. Walter Unglaub of Tulane University, directing the Louisiana part of the study, was less definite. First, he said, "Part of it is economic, but I think it is mostly ignorance." Then he downgraded ignorance to "a major factor" and conceded that most of the nutritional problem will be found among the poor.

There was ample testimony from every witness that far more nutritional education is sorely needed. Food alone will never be enough. The poor of St. Charles Parish, La., lack vitamin C but ignore cheap greens and tomatoes in local markets.

There was also ample testimony, however, that malnutrition stunts both physical and mental growth. And no one plugging education quite answered the question: "How do you teach a 19-year-old mother, herself mentally crippled as a child by ill feeding, to give her child more scientific nutrition?"

The 152-Minute Ordeal That Bucher 'Couldn't Resist'

PUEBLO, From Page B1

turn from what might be glossed over

PUEBLO heads out to sea. Course 000°. Speed 4 knots. PUEBLO

1:28 P.M.

torpedo boat 40 yards off the starboard quarter spotted him and opened fire. The bullets missed him. Leach and Bobin, rather than risk that fire,

lowed the sub chaser as slowly as possible to buy maximum time to destroy secret equipment. The sub chaser pulled about 3000 yards ahead of the Pueblo. The PT boats surrounded the

ordered the ship ahead one-third . . . and we continued to follow the SO-1 in."

This second stopping of the Pueblo was probably between 1:45 and

problems.

In general, the most widespread nutritional problem is one of multiple deficiency of one or more nutrients such as protein, vitamins, minerals and calories. It is shocking to realize that the problems in the poverty groups in the United States seem to be very similar to those we have encountered in the developing countries. The overall health status is better here, however, probably due to the better environmental sanitation (pure water, safe food supply and waste disposal systems). Also, medical care, though limited in many areas, is still more

ference and cost. Lack of knowledge of food needs, or insufficient money to purchase food, can result in a poor diet and lead to malnutrition.

To date, we have found seven cases which the physician diagnoses as severe malnutrition using such terms as kwashiorkor (severe protein and multiple nutrient deficiency) and marasmus, primarily a caloric deficiency. We did not expect to find such cases in the United States. In the majority of these cases, a contributing factor was a lack of knowledge on the part of the mother, often complicated by infectious disease or diarrhea.

may have remained the same over the past 30 years. But in the impoverished population, this problem may actually be on the increase.

The fact that we have discovered cases of rickets again alerts us to the reality that we cannot ignore public health nutrition programs once they are started. This disease was virtually eradicated over 30 years ago through the simple mechanism of fortifying milk with vitamin D at no cost to the consumer. If you will check the price of vitamin D milk and other milk in the Washington area today, you will be surprised at the difference.

so far surveyed, said a Public Health Service report. Children are stunted and sick.

Senators listened. Then some began asking the question: "What is the cause?"

Is it mainly poverty? Or is it mainly ignorance?

The answer—an answer that may not be fully available for many months—will have great political significance. For it will say either, "All we have to do is educate and inform the poor to buy some tomatoes as well as rice and beans." Or:

"I assume in the end we'll be able to find the real cause," he said . . . "What is the reason?" . . . "Personally, I feel a good deal of it is due to lack of knowledge on the part of mothers. I'm sure some is due to inability to buy foods." And again: "Would you say that a good deal is due to lack of knowledge in mothers and fathers?"

A good deal of it is indeed due to lack of knowledge, Schaefer agreed. But "our data to date"—like all data ever collected on this vast human problem—show that

tional education is sorely needed. Food alone will never be enough. The poor of St. Charles Parish, La., lack vitamin C but ignore cheap greens and tomatoes in local markets.

There was also ample testimony, however, that malnutrition stunts both physical and mental growth. And no one plugging education quite answered the question: "How do you teach a 19-year-old mother, herself mentally crippled as a child by ill feeding, to give her child more scientific nutrition?"

The 152-Minute Ordeal That Bucher 'Couldn't Resist'

PUEBLO, From Page B1

turn from what might be glossed over into a full-blown incident."

Apparently unknown to Bucher at the time, U.S. intelligence had intercepted a 1:06 p.m. message from the subchaser to shore that she intended to board the Pueblo and tow her into Wonsan.

"I never considered that I would ever be attacked on this mission. It never occurred to me. I had read nothing, nothing in the many Banner reports, and I believe that there were ten of them. Nor had I received any briefings at any station along the way during my period as prospective commanding officer or after I was commanding officer—and the many briefings I received from people at CINPACFleet (Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet) and in Japan—that would indicate that there was any danger of my ever coming under attack."

Koreans Converse

THE SUBCHASER sent another signal which Bucher translated as: "Follow in my wake. I have a pilot aboard." The subchaser and one of the PT boats conferred by semaphore and megaphone after this signal went up, apparently deciding how to force the Pueblo to follow them into Wonsan. PT boat No. 4 then backed toward the starboard bow area of the Pueblo with a boarding party on deck.

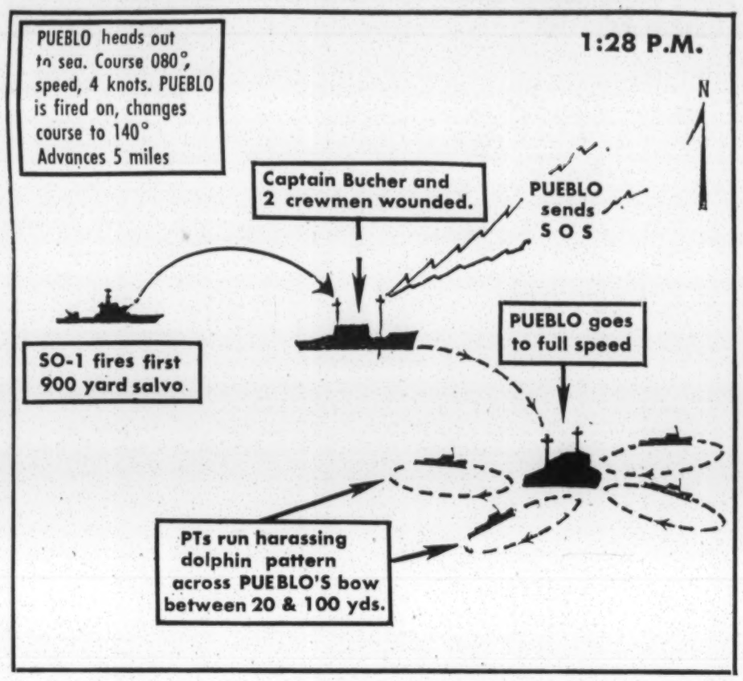
"I said on the bridge (when he saw the boarding party coming toward the Pueblo), I would be damned if they were going to get away with that, so I got under way and proceeded out to sea, and asked the navigator for the best course to open land . . . He recommended 080 . . . As I was departing the area, I also hoisted a flag with the intention of confusing the SO-1: 'Thank you for your consideration. I am departing the area.' I should have filled my yardarm with flags that said absolutely nothing and let them fiddle around for some time . . . I thought just sending them something would cool them off a little bit.

"I started off at one-third speed in order to leave the area in as dignified a way as I possibly could. I did not want to appear to be panicky . . . I went at one-third speed in order to present a dignified departure from a rather tight situation."

By using right full rudder as he got under way, Bucher broke up the initial boarding attempt. A second subchaser came on the scene and then left, but the PT boats stayed with him. A fourth had come on the scene. They kept close in on the Pueblo—one on each bow and one on each beam—as Bucher made a wide circle and headed out toward deep water.

Bucher had ordered his crew to prepare to destroy classified material aboard. "I didn't know but that I might be able to get away by running out to sea. I still had not been fired upon . . . I did not consider that I had enough positive information as to what was going to happen eventually . . . that I should order emergency destruction at that time."

"I was able to open the SO-1 to a



Charts by Joseph P. Mastrangelo—The Washington Post

range of something between 2000 and 3000 yards before she did anything else. I was, however, being constantly harassed by the P-4s. The one P-4 which was on my starboard quarter was the only P-4 to uncover a torpedo tube and train it in my direction. Otherwise, I was merely being held under the sights of the machine guns, which were deck mounted.

"The SO-1 was still lying back and was getting farther and farther behind me. About the time we had opened the range to him to approximately 3000 yards. . . . he opened on my port quarter in order apparently to gain a tactical advantage of being able to bring his guns to bear on at least as much of my ship as possible . . .

"He was running at a speed of 20 to 25 knots in order to close me. As he commenced closing, he raised the signal again: 'Heave to or I will fire on you.' I ignored this signal and continued to run at full speed. . . ."

'Request Help. SOS'

AT 1:27 P.M., as U.S. intelligence officers were to report later, the North Korean sub chaser ordered the four torpedo boats to get out of the way so she could fire at the fleeing Pueblo. At 1:28 p.m., the Pueblo radioed: "The North Koreans plan to open fire. . . . Initiating emergency destruction of classified equipment. Request help. SOS."

This was the message that Rear Adm. Frank L. Johnson's headquarters back in Japan was to find itself unable to respond to for lack of ships or planes in the right place.

"At a range of 1500 to 2000 yards, the SO-1 opened up on me and fired the first salvo. Each salvo contained between six and 14 individual shells."

Some of the PT boats—Bucher said he did not know how many—were firing away at the Pueblo at the same time with what he guessed were 30-caliber machine guns. "I could see the dents being made as the machine guns raked the side of the ship, but very few of those penetrated."

One of the shells from the first salvo of 57-millimeter (Bucher judged they were that size) exploded near Bucher on the flying bridge. The fragments wounded Bucher, Signalman 1/c Wendell G. Leach and Communications Technician 3/c Steven J. Robin—all of whom were on the bridge.

The explosion knocked Bucher down. He had one painful fragment in his buttocks and seven more in his ankle area. But none of the men was put out of action by his wounds. Bucher said he got back up on his feet and ordered the destruction of the classified equipment aboard.

A Smaller Target

"AFTER THE first salvo was fired, I continued to open the coast on a course of approximately 080, although I had come slightly to the right and was perhaps at that time on a course of about 100 degrees in an attempt to place the SO-1 more directly astern of me in order that I would present as small a target angle as possible. He continued to open to the east and, having much greater speed than I had, he was able to position himself once again out on my port quarter . . .

"After about the third salvo, it occurred to me that most of the firing was being directed toward my flying bridge . . . The SO-1 had closed by this time to a range of approximately 900 yards on my port quarter . . . He was continuing to close and therefore was firing at what I would consider a point-blank range."

Bucher said he therefore decided to go down to the pilot house by an exposed ladder on the starboard side. A torpedo boat 40 yards off the starboard quarter spotted him and opened fire. The bullets missed him. Leach and Robin, rather than risk that fire, jumped down from the flying bridge to the pilot house level.

Problem of Destruction

BUCHER HAD ordered a modified general quarters—ordering all his men except those burning secret papers to stay off the decks and inside the ship where the machine gun bullets could not reach them. The torpedo boats had forced him away from his seaward course to a bearing more toward land of 140 degrees. He said this kept him from getting to 600-foot-deep water, the required depth for dumping classified equipment over the side.

He said he was worried about everybody getting killed or the ship being sunk in shallow water—alternatives which would have given the Koreans the secret equipment largely intact. He said he decided to stop his "high-speed" run to see if the firing would stop so his crew could concentrate on destroying secret equipment He raised the flags protesting the firing and brought the Pueblo to a full stop under the guns of the sub chaser and four PT boats.

"We continued to destroy classified material" while the ship was stopped. The firing had stopped as well. "I decided at that time that if the destruction of classified material was progressing successfully, and depending upon what their next action would be, that I would surrender the ship."

Pistols Over Side

AFTER LEAVING the pilot house to make sure no secret papers were there, and throwing his personal pistols over the side so the Koreans would not get them, Bucher said he went back up to the bridge. The sub chaser was lying to about 800 yards away from the Pueblo. It had hoisted the signal, "Follow me, I have a pilot aboard." This was apparently about 1:40 p.m.

At 1:45 p.m., the Pueblo radioed shore that "we are being escorted into probable Wonsan." Bucher said he followed the sub chaser as slowly as possible to buy maximum time to destroy secret equipment. The sub chaser pulled about 3000 yards ahead of the Pueblo. The PT boats surrounded the Pueblo close in, motioning Bucher to speed up. He said he pretended not to understand and kept going at one-third speed.

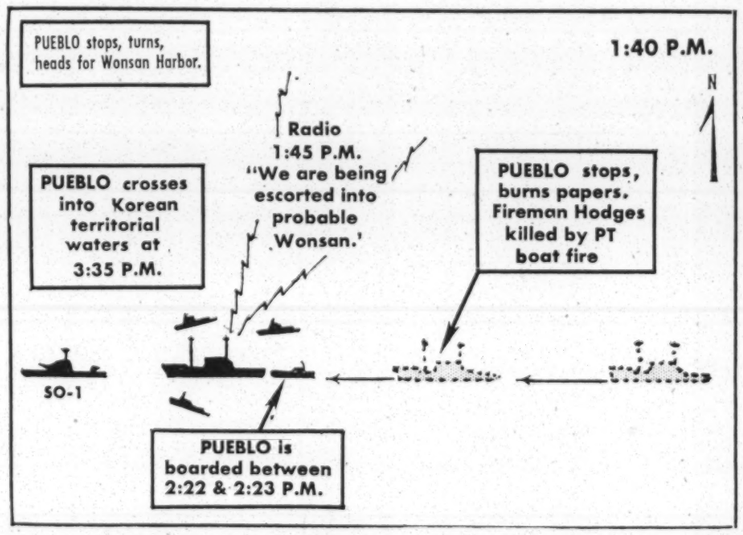
Once again Bucher became worried about whether the classified material would be destroyed before the Pueblo tied up at Wonsan. He stopped the ship again to buy time. A torpedo boat radioed the Pueblo's all-stop to the sub chaser. It returned to a range of 2000 yards and opened fire again. One shell from this salvo hit Fireman Duane D. Hodges in the right hip, practically blowing his leg off and destroying much of his lower stomach region. Hodges died from his wounds.

"It became apparent to me at this time, and it was my considered opinion, that to continue to remain stopped as I was would only invite additional firing and would in all probability give us less of an opportunity to complete the destruction which was going on at the time. So I ordered the ship ahead one-third . . . and we continued to follow the SO-1 in."

This second stopping of the Pueblo was probably between 1:45 and 2:10 p.m., because it was in that interval that the ship radioed to Japan: "Have three wounded and one man with leg blown off. Have not used any weapons nor uncovered 50-caliber machine guns. Destroying all (deleted from public transcript) and as much electrical equipment as possible. How about some help? These guys mean business. Do not intend to offer any resistance."

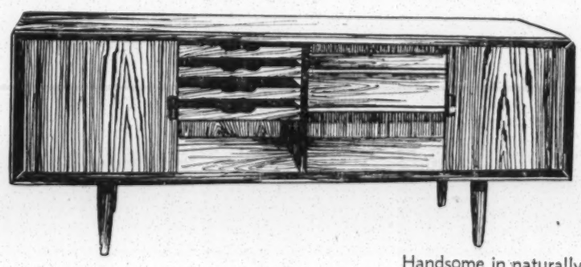
Bucher kept following the subchaser into Wonsan. He was ordered to stop at 2:32 p.m. It was apparently at this time that the North Koreans boarded the Pueblo. It was still in international waters, even outside the 12-mile limit claimed by North Korea—according to Navy officials. At 5 p.m., the Pueblo was still 6½ nautical miles outside Wonsan Harbor.

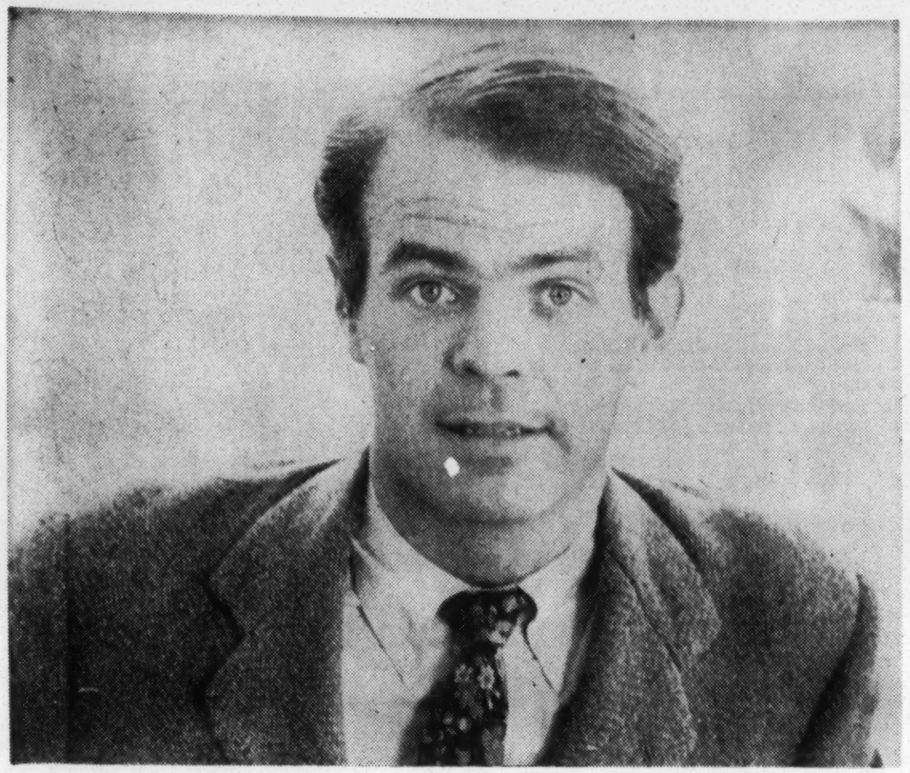
Bucher estimates that the North Koreans tied his ship up in Wonsan about 8:30 p.m. Destruction of classified materials had not been completed.



EDMUND BURKE SCHOOL
College Preparatory Grades 9-12. Non-Sectarian. Co-Educational. Small Classes. Innovative Courses.
462-5888
2107 Wyoming Ave., N.W.

Congressional Digest pro & con
NUCLEAR TREATY RATIFICATION
The Pending Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (January issue) includes "Nuclear Disarmament Efforts Since 1945," "Related U.S. & International Agencies," "Text of the Nonproliferation Treaty," and "Congress Action to Date on the Treaty." Pro & Con discussion centers on the question of Treaty ratification.
Rates: 1 yr., $12.50; 2 yrs., $22; 3 yrs., $30. Single copy, $1.50.
Write: The Congressional Digest, Dept. G., 3231 P St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007.


DANISH BUFFET
with genuine tambour doors
Handsome in naturally grained teak, walnut or rosewood veneers. The tambour doors in perfectly matched grain, look solid but are actually flexible and turn INTO the buffet when opened. Saves space. Four felted sliding trays for silver, four adjustable shelves for storage. Finished back permits use as room divider. In teak or walnut. (L80, H31, D19") **209.** Also available in 60 and 90" lengths. (higher in rosewood)
SCAN
IMMEDIATE DELIVERY
Shop 9 to 9 daily, Sat. to 6 • Parking
VAN NESS CENTRE 4301 Conn. **FALLS CHURCH** 809 W. Broad **TAKOMA PARK** 6871 New Hamp.

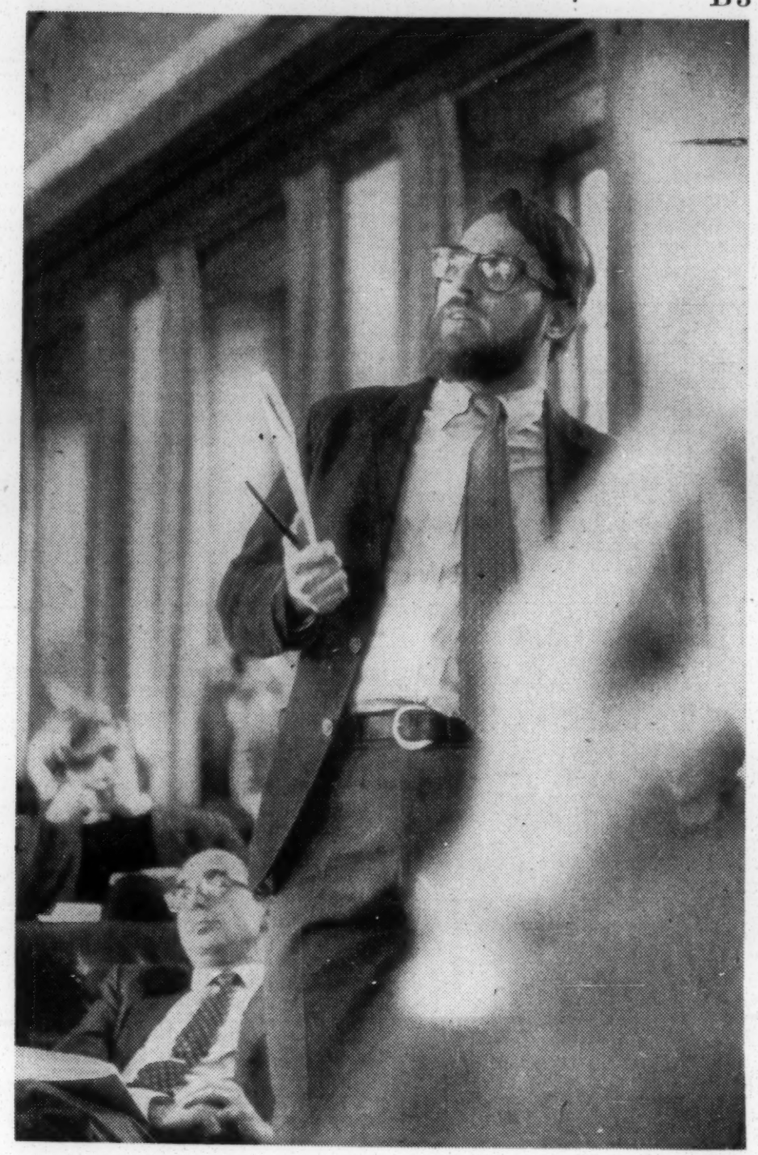


Philanthropy by rich young men is a growing trend, and two of the best-known examples are Stewart Rawlings Mott, 31-year-old heir to General Motors millions, and Martin Peretz, 29-year-old assistant professor of social studies at Harvard. Both are involved in liberal or leftist causes. Both gave generously to the presidential campaign of Sen. Eugene McCarthy. But there the similarities end. Washington Post Staff Writer Leroy F. Aarons interviewed both men and associates of each. He found that few people are so different in temperament, background and motivation as Stewart Mott and Martin Peretz.

Mott: *"People who give money ought not to do so quietly if they want to get leverage . . . Besides, if a person does something he believes in, he should be proud of it."*

Peretz:

"I've let myself in for being a public man and don't want to be. I was in the airport yesterday and I was recognized. It was terrifying."



The Boston Globe

Two Rich Young Activists

NEW YORK—"At a cocktail party before the [McCarthy] rally, I began to tremble, and I went over and wrote a check," said Stewart Rawlings Mott in a May, 1968, Village Voice interview. ". . . Then at the rally when the Rev. Howard Moody was speaking, I passed a note to him via Tony Randall. He read it and first he mouthed words, speechless in astonishment, then he did a war dance and announced the gift."

Comments Parker Donham, a Harvard undergraduate who was Eugene McCarthy's press secretary: "Mott? Good God! What kind of a guy wants to stand up before 20,000 people at Madison Square Garden and announce that he's giving away thousands and thousands of dollars?"

Which would seem a rather ungenerous attitude toward someone who gave $50,000 to the McCarthy cause at that rally, was later to add $160,000 and raised several thousand more for the hard-pressed campaign. But it's a good question, nonetheless.

Mott comes to philanthropy as to the manner born. He is the son of Charles Stewart Mott of Flint, Mich., the nonagenarian senior board mem-

jobs, then settled into a career of giving away money.

His choice of charities, again, is in sharp contrast to his father's style. The elder Mott has a foundation with $430 million in assets, the income from which goes entirely to the Flint school system. Stewart's charities, to which he devotes about half his annual income of $1 million, run the gamut from population control to psychic phenomena to peacenik politics. They seem almost designed to shock the old man.

Intelligent Nonintellectual

PERSONALLY, Mott, a bachelor, is a mix of up-tight charm and independence, with a substantial dash of eccentricity. Tall (6 feet 2) burly (190 pounds) and good-looking (a female aide says he has been taken for both Warren Beatty and Robert Kennedy), Mott is highly intelligent, but no intellectual heavyweight.

His philanthropy, while consistently liberal, has no deep-seated philosophic base (he supported Rockefeller, switched to McCarthy and finally voted for Humphrey). It is for him a vocation, a form of expression and ful-

and investments (of which Mott has a respectable portfolio).

Mott, who delivers all this in a low-keyed, carefully controlled monotone, like an announcer reporting a golf match, has a favorite charity—Planned Parenthood, to which he has given $1.2 million over the last five years.

Second to population control, he is interested in arms control and peace causes. But it was his public leap into politics last year that brought him widespread attention. In March, 1968, he impulsively placed two full-page ads in the New York Times, The Washington Post and eight Michigan newspapers pledging $50,000 to Nelson Rockefeller if readers would double the amount with contributions.

Mott, who travels either by bicycle or in a second hand 1966, non-General Motors Volkswagen, recalls how it happened:

"I was driving my car and was thinking about this play I had just seen, 'The Trojan Woman,' by Giradoux. It's a very strong anti-war play. I went home and couldn't sleep. So I got up and started blocking out this ad, which appeared the following Sunday."

drifted into the more receptive McCarthy camp after the sensational New Hampshire victory. After his Garden rally gambit, he was made special gifts chairman, and claims to have raised $1.5 million for the McCarthy cause.

A Determined Small Boy

MOTT'S CONTROLLED CHARM sometimes gives way in the privacy of board rooms. Once he angrily pulled his money out of a group he had been helping when it would not go along with his ideas.

Says one person who has observed Mott in an adversary situation: "Sometimes he seemed like a small boy determined to get his way, and if he didn't he would stomp out of the room."

Mott's seeming penchant for publicity leads many to take him less than completely seriously, a fact that causes him no little pain. He points out that most of his work for peace, population control and the arts is done with little fanfare.

But public exposure holds no fears for Stewart Mott.

"People who give money ought not to do so quietly if they want to get leverage

BOSTON—Where Stewart Mott is all charm, Martin Peretz is intense, brooding and, by the account of his associates, capable of at least the appearance of arrogance.

Although born of a well-to-do New York family, he was an intellectual, a teacher and an activist before he became a giver.

Most of his philanthropy is in conjunction with his second wife, a retiring, publicity-shy descendant of the Singer sewing machine family.

In contrast to Mott, whose discerning candor amounts almost to informational overkill, Peretz is close-mouthed about his charities. There have been reports, for example, that Peretz contributed as much as $500,000 to the McCarthy campaign, but Peretz admits to only $200,000 and the disclosure was made reluctantly.

Reports filed with the Secretary of State of New York indicate that Peretz and his wife made contributions totaling $95,000 on behalf of last year's unsuccessful Senate campaign of Democrat Paul O'Dwyer, another peace candidate. But Peretz says the figure is

Massachusetts businessman Richard Russell together invested some $400,000 in the magazine, according to Ramparts sources. But Peretz cut off his support after the Six-Day War when Ramparts took what he considered a doctrinaire radical stand against Israel.

Peretz is a graduate of the Bronx High Schol of Sciences and Brandeis University, where he came under the influences of Max Lerner, Herbert Marcuse and Irving Howe—all from the leftward end of the spectrum.

Short, stocky, with a carefully trimmed red beard, Peretz is a radical who has watched his radicalism be outdistanced. In the early 1960s at Harvard, when picketing Woolworth's was considered a radical act, Peretz's activism and aggressive style quickly earned him a reputation as the university's enfant terrible.

Today he is in the disturbing position of being considered passe by the new radicals—whose nihilist philosophy he refuses to endorse.

Floored by Blacks

THE TURNING POINT was prob-
ably 1967's New Politics Con-

terview. ". . . Then at the rally when the Rev. Howard Moody was speaking, I passed a note to him via Tony Randall. He read it and first he mouthed words, speechless in astonishment, then he did a war dance and announced the gift."

Comments Parker Donham, a Harvard undergraduate who was Eugene McCarthy's press secretary: "Mott? Good God! What kind of a guy wants to stand up before 20,000 people at Madison Square Garden and announce that he's giving away thousands and thousands of dollars?"

Which would seem a rather ungenerous attitude toward someone who gave $50,000 to the McCarthy cause at that rally, was later to add $160,000 and raised several thousand more for the hard-pressed campaign. But it's a good question, nonetheless.

Mott comes to philanthropy as to the manner born. He is the son of Charles Stewart Mott of Flint, Mich., the nonagenarian senior board member of General Motors, whose wealth is estimated at $800 million.

The elder Mott was 63 when Stewart was born to his fourth wife. The young man readily reveals the intimacy that the elder Mott, an archconservative, "didn't have the resiliency to cope with his late-life offspring.

"He had kids in order to please my mother, I think," says young Mott. By his own admission, the chronicle of Stewart's life is filled with evidences of rebellion against his father's style of life.

A $1500 Grand Tour

AT 17, HE DECIDED to "devote myself to public service." He dropped out of MIT's engineering program and took a year to hitchhike around the world (at a cost of $1500, according to Mott's exhaustive autobiographical data sheet).

Then Mott entered Columbia University, where he got two degrees and graduated with honors while living part of the time on a Chinese junk in the East River. He tried a variety of

elder Mott has a foundation with $430 million in assets, the income from which goes entirely to the Flint school system. Stewart's charities, to which he devotes about half his annual income of $1 million, run the gamut from population control to psychic phenomena to peacenik politics. They seem almost designed to shock the old man.

Intelligent Nonintellectual

PERSONALLY, Mott, a bachelor, is a mix of up-tight charm and independence, with a substantial dash of eccentricity. Tall (6 feet 2) burly (190 pounds) and good-looking (a female aide says he has been taken for both Warren Beatty and Robert Kennedy), Mott is highly intelligent, but no intellectual heavyweight.

His philanthropy, while consistently liberal, has no deep-seated philosophic base (he supported Rockefeller, switched to McCarthy and finally voted for Humphrey). It is for him a vocation, a form of expression and fulfillment. He is an active member of most of the major organizations to which he contributes, sitting on boards, planning conferences, raising money.

In New York—where he set up residence two years ago in an ostentatiously unplush $100,000 Park Avenue penthouse—he has created a veritable philanthropy factory, with a staff of five dispersing cash and volunteer time at an action-packed pace.

Mott's candor makes him almost too good to be true. His biographical data sheet is probably the most detailed document of its kind outside of an FBI security check, right down to the inclusion of his blood type (AB plus).

In the New York phone book, Mott lists himself as Stewart R. Mott, philanthropist.

With a minimun of prodding, he will recite a detailed financial report, announcing his annual income, his $5 million total worth, his roughly half-million annual chunk of philanthropy and a breakdown of tax deductions

like an announcer reporting a golf match, has a favorite charity—Planned Parenthood, to which he has given $1.2 million over the last five years.

Second to population control, he is interested in arms control and peace causes. But it was his public leap into politics last year that brought him widespread attention. In March, 1968, he impulsively placed two full-page ads in the New York Times, The Washington Post and eight Michigan newspapers pledging $50,000 to Nelson Rockefeller if readers would double the amount with contributions.

Mott, who travels either by bicycle or in a second hand 1966, non-General Motors Volkswagen, recalls how it happened:

"I was driving my car and was thinking about this play I had just seen, 'The Trojan Woman,' by Giradoux. It's a very strong anti-war play. I went home and couldn't sleep. So I got up and started blocking out this ad, which appeared the following Sunday."

The ad drew $144,000 in responses, inspiring Mott to open an office for Rockefeller while the New York Governor went through his agonies of indecision.

But the Rockefeller camp was strangely inhospitable, and Mott

$1.5 million for the McCarthy cause.

A Determined Small Boy

MOTT'S CONTROLLED CHARM sometimes gives way in the privacy of board rooms. Once he angrily pulled his money out of a group he had been helping when it would not go along with his ideas.

Says one person who has observed Mott in an adversary situation: "Sometimes he seemed like a small boy determined to get his way, and if he didn't he would stomp out of the room."

Mott's seeming penchant for publicity leads many to take him less than completely seriously, a fact that causes him no little pain. He points out that most of his work for peace, population control and the arts is done with little fanfare.

But public exposure holds no fears for Stewart Mott.

"People who give money ought not to do so quietly if they want to get leverage," he said, noting that his public donation for McCarthy attracted a lot more of the same. "Besides, if a person does something he believes in, he should be proud of it."

And he asked a departing interviewer: "Will you need any pictures?"

appearance of arrogance.

Although born of a well-to-do New York family, he was an intellectual, a teacher and an activist before he became a giver.

Most of his philanthropy is in conjunction with his second wife, a retiring, publicity-shy descendant of the Singer sewing machine family.

In contrast to Mott, whose discerning candor amounts almost to informational overkill, Peretz is close-mouthed about his charities. There have been reports, for example, that Peretz contributed as much as $500,000 to the McCarthy campaign, but Peretz admits to only $200,000 and the disclosure was made reluctantly.

Reports filed with the Secretary of State of New York indicate that Peretz and his wife made contributions totaling $95,000 on behalf of last year's unsuccessful Senate campaign of Democrat Paul O'Dwyer, another peace candidate. But Peretz says the figure is not altogether accurate, since it includes some money they had collected from others. He does not volunteer the correct figure.

Peretz also backed the primary campaign of Rep. William F. Ryan (D-N.Y.) for mayor of New York City, and he has contributed to aid efforts for Biafran starvation victims. Over the years, Peretz has made substantial donations to a variety of liberal causes, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Massachusetts Pax, a peace group he helped to form.

Where Mott took his money and decided on A Cause, Peretz's philanthropy has been more the consequence of his philosophic and ideological development. As such, it flows with the ripples and tides of that development. At various times, he has ceased to support causes as they (or he) moved into different ideological orbits.

Ramparts magazine (which, incidentally, now enjoys the support of Stewart Mott) is an example. Peretz and

Ramparts took what he considered a doctrinaire radical stand against Israel.

Peretz is a graduate of the Bronx High Schol of Sciences and Brandeis University, where he came under the influences of Max Lerner, Herbert Marcuse and Irving Howe—all from the leftward end of the spectrum.

Short, stocky, with a carefully trimmed red beard, Peretz is a radical who has watched his radicalism be outdistanced. In the early 1960s at Harvard, when picketing Woolworth's was considered a radical act, Peretz's activism and aggressive style quickly earned him a reputation as the university's enfant terrible.

Today he is in the disturbing position of being considered passe by the new radicals—whose nihilist philosophy he refuses to endorse.

Floored by Blacks

THE TURNING POINT was probably 1967's New Politics Convention, of which Peretz was a major supporter and principal organizer. According to Jerome Grossman, a friend and chairman of Massachusetts Pax, Peretz somewhat naively hoped that the Chicago gathering would bring "at long last the coalization of civil rights, liberal and peace groups the people had been looking for for years."

But he had reckoned without the swiftly changing state of radical politics and, especially, the emergence of black separatism. The convention quickly deteriorated under pressures from a black caucus.

"We were not prepared to cope with it culturally, politically or socially," Grossman ruefully recalls. "We had come there with the idea of nominating Martin Luther King and Benjamin Spock for President and Vice President. But the element of black separatism floored us. We had never even heard of the idea of a black caucus."

The deterioration of the New Politics convention was a shattering blow. Michael Walzer, an assistant professor of government at Harvard and a Brandeis associate of Peretz, said, "The new left for awhile had a healthy growth, and Marty was involved in that growth. Then, things went sour—the racial split, the effects of the war in producing whole patterns of frustration and nihilism. And Marty was never that way. He avoided the pathologies and became one of the critics."

Undermined Credentials

NIHILISM IS NOT in the Peretz lexicon, try as he might to keep abreast of the movements of the young. "There's not going to be a revolution in this country," Peretz says. "The people who talk about revolution are irresponsible and make no sense. I for one will not make the choice between the confrontationists and vacillating, vapid liberals."

It is talk like this, his dogged loyalty to McCarthy despite the latter's recent "betrayals" in the Senate and his almost compulsive devotion to Israel that have undermined his credentials with the new, new left.

Simultaneously, his insistence on the dismantling of corporate power as the essential step in societal reform—with its echoes of 1930s Marxist theory—has put him in trouble with liberals.

Clearly, the stresses have had their effect. Peretz is more subdued, with an almost paranoid suspicion of the press (especially after he was roasted in the New York Times for his participation in an intellectuals' conference at Princeton). He intends to pull in his wings for a year and turn to what he insists is his first love—teaching. At Harvard, he remain extremely popular with most students, who he insists should call him by his first name.

"I've let myself in for being a public man and don't want to be," he said recently. "I was in the airport yesterday and I was recognized. It was terrifying."

An Eight-Year Tax Scheme

STEWART MOTT lists 15 enterprises as financial investments in his inclusive biographical data sheet. They include "The Believers," an off-Broadway musical; Club Tours, a travel agency; Red Diamond Marine, a tanker firm; Pop-Op Corp. (the Cheetah night clubs), and Ramparts magazine, to which he has loaned $50,000.

In addition, he refers to a variety of listed common stocks in publicly held corporations and a number of tax-exempt bonds. Among the latter are $3 million in municipal bonds, for which he pays no taxes on income.

Mott has an income of $1 million a year, 10 per cent of it from investments and the rest from a trust established by his father. He donates about $400,000 of his income annually and takes a 30 per cent tax deduction. He is working on a scheme that will, at the end of eight years of giving away at least 90 per cent of his taxable income each year, enable him to take unlimited deductions for charity.

Our 'Colonial' Policy in Mideast Is Archaic

EAST, From Page B1

able to conduct their strategic roles from within their own territories, they have chosen to focus their confrontation in the Middle East. In so doing, they are vulnerable to the violent forces of the Middle Eastern historical experience, including conflicting nationalisms, revolution and Pan-Arabism.

But we are confronted with a situation which can no longer be called direct, since France's traditional ties and its ability to employ a mediator's policy within the present context are recognized by both the U.S.S.R. and the Arab states. Though France's military capabilities are limited, her influence in the Middle East has increased.

The potential of France's cultural and psychological role in the region effectively challenges American and Soviet influence. Do we, or our rivals, have the ability to match this French influence and, if necessary from a strategic point of view, to neutralize it? This is a very difficult question for Americans since the United States does not have any significant bonds of history, tradition or culture in the region.

The United States and the Soviet Union have chosen to continue the competition using traditional, if not classical, methods of political gaming. In such a system, military assistance, the presence of military advisers and the like, including at times rather sophisticated weaponry, replace the traditional military base and, in so doing, create a political base which is equal to a center of military power in the traditional system.

In the Middle Eastern context, democracy represents an attempt to organize progress while communism attempts to disorganize tradition. Both ideologies operate in an environment where change is viewed as detrimental since it challenges tradition.

Communism has been appealing only when Soviet or Chinese seduction can be invoked to gain and consolidate one's position momentarily. Similarly, democracy has had little lasting effect in the Middle East except to the extent that it has moved a United States driven by military imperatives to bestow economic favors on those countries which demonstrate accommodating attitudes.

Tunisia and Morocco, for example, continue to receive American aid primarily because of their approval of the U.S. role in Vietnam and their moderate stand in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Algerian, Syrian and Iraqi radicalism and Tunisian and Moroccan moderation characterize the entire area.

U.S. policy in the Middle East is inherently limited by at least two basic considerations. Military intervention provides, at best, only a temporary and precarious base for the extension of national power. Nonmilitary policy options, including economic aid, technical assistance and diplomatic pressure, provide no certain guarantees of American success in influencing local politics.

Such inherent limitations are compounded by environmental limitations of endemic political instability. Over the next ten years, the United States can expect to encounter continually shifting regional power alignments as well as domestic competition between civilian and military, technocratic and ideological or charismatic elites. U.S. policy is likely to be shaped by a sense of limitation rather than of hope.

Encouraging Fluidity

RECOGNIZING these limitations on American foreign policy, what constitutes a positive American policy toward the Middle East? Politically, the United States should encourage the inherent fluidity of the region. It should, however, also attempt to structure the shifts of political alignments by inducing Turkey and Iran to assume a more active role in regional politics.

Third parties such as France, Yugoslavia and other European states should be encouraged to participate in the exercise of this policy. The involvement of such powers could offer the other states of the region alternative outlets for the external expression of sovereignty.

This political dimension of a positive American policy can be implemented only by considering the possibility that democracy can be counter to U.S. interests and communism counter to Soviet interests. This would allow us to support or oppose governments without regard for their domestic or foreign ideological commitments.

By de-emphasizing our identification with our client states, we would make them more inward-looking and viable. The Soviet clients would be deprived of their only source of legitimacy: the ogre of American imperialism. France and other third powers could assume more responsibility, and the United States would become more assertive.

In short, the United States should support governments with the purpose of fracturing the present transnational alignments.

The United States should admit the counterproductive effects of the Truman and Eisenhower Doctrines and CENTO, which have merely introduced cold war tensions and polarized the Middle East into pro- and anti-Western camps. It should realize that the cost of American bases in Saudi Arabia, Libya and Morocco has outweighed strategic American gains. Naval power can replace land bases, as the Soviets are demonstrating.

On Common Interests

THE SECOND dimension of a positive U.S. policy consists of Middle Eastern-American social and economic cooperation to affect revolution in the area. The United States should concentrate on what is satisfactory to it and not on what the Middle East might expect from it.

This concerted effort would be directed at those areas of interest that are common to the Middle Eastern states and the United States. Generally speaking, these may be limited to Arab-Israeli relations, settlement of border disputes among several states of the region and narrowing of the widening gap between human needs and resources.

This common effort should take a decidedly regional cast. Extraregional cooperation should proceed on an ad hoc basis and divergent interests and policies should be tolerated.

What would this fluid regional system mean for the Middle East? The polarized camps of reactionary, monarchist, anticommunist states and of revolutionary, populist, socialist states would dissolve into nonideological alignments. The security of all the states would be increased by the diminished possibility of hostile coalitions being formed against them; all would find increased safety in multiple centers of power competing with one another.

Middle Eastern-American cooperation does not describe objective realities as much as it indicates worthwhile possiblilities. It does not assume the existence of an indivisible Middle Eastern-American community of interests; rather, it points the way to realistic achievements which can be gained through coordination.

This effort should not be conceived as a means of perpetuating Washington's "leadership of the free world" but rather as a way to increase jointly the ability of the Middle East and America to deal effectively with identifiable common problems, including aggression from outside or inside the region. Admittedly, these concerns will be qualitatively different from those assumed by the United States in the Middle East since World War II. Washington must decide between realistic achievements and improbable possibilities.

Government Is Ungovernable

SICK, From Page B1

underlie conflict did not occur to the generation of the 1930s. Theirs was a world in which economics seemed to be the one obstacle to the millennium.

Power did not appear in their vision —though this blindness in the decade of Hitler and Stalin is hard to imagine, let alone to understand. C. P. Snow's description in "The Masters" (1951) of the conflict for power within the "selfless" and "disinterested" small community of an Oxbridge college profoundly shocked the sensibilities of a generation that had grown up believing that conflicts were always motivated by economic self-interest and could be avoided by eliminating gain; that is, by nationalizing the economy.

One need not be in favor of free enterprise—let alone a friend of wealth —to see the fallacy in this argument. But reason had little to do with the belief in government ownership as the panacea. The argument was simply: "Private business and profits are bad —ergo government ownership must be good." We may still believe in the premise, but we no longer accept the "ergo."

Thus the Labor government felt committed in 1967 to renationalize the British steel industry (just at the time when, ironically, the industry was on the verge of long-term decline and when, therefore, takeover by government meant the highest possible windfall profit for the shareholders). But it immediately declared that the industry would have to be run for profit. It put in as chief executive the purest of archcapitalists, Lord Melchett, heir to one of the world's greatest industrial fortunes (his grandfather and father founded and built Imperial Chemical Industries), a hereditary peer and a top-flight investment banker in addition to being a lifelong Tory!

By contrast, less than 20 years earlier, when steel was first nationalized in Britain by an earlier Labor government, an ideologically "pure" trade union stalwart had been the chief executive-designate.

There is still a good deal of resistance to the responsibility of politics and resentment of the burden of political decision. Indeed, the young today want to "drop out" altogether—in a frightening revival of the hostility to responsibility that made an earlier young generation, 40 years ago, so receptive to totalitarian promises and slogans. But no one, least of all the young, believes any longer that the conflicts, the decisions, the problems would be eliminated by turning things over to government. Government, on the contrary, has itself become one of the wicked "vested interests" for the young.

Two 'Accomplishments'

THE GREATEST factor in the disenchantment with government is that government has not performed. The record over these last 30 or 40 years is a record of great promises and great achievements. We have kept our promises. We have achieved what we set out to achieve. We could certainly not have done worse if we had done nothing . . . Sao Paulo in Brazil . . . inundated by similar floods of rural, illiterate Negroes, did nothing—and is in better shape than New York City.

Government promised to provide social services. It promised to create a new and happy society. It promised to release creative energies. It promised to do away with ugliness and envy and strife.

No matter how well it is doing its jobs—and in some areas, in some countries, some jobs are being done very well—the welfare state turns out at best to be just another big insurance company, as exciting, as creative and as inspiring as insurance companies tend to be. This explains why President Johnson's spectacular performance in enacting the unfinished welfare tasks of the New Deal failed to make him a hero with the public.

The best we get from government in the welfare state is competent mediocrity. More often, we do not even get that; we get incompetence such as we would not tolerate in an insurance company. In every country, there are big areas of government administration where there is no performance whatever—only costs.

This is true not only of the mess of the big cities, which no government—United States, British, Japanese or Russian—has been able to handle. It is true in education. It is true in transportation. And the more we expand the welfare state, the less capable even of routine mediocrity does it seem to become.

A Paper Harvest

I DO NOT know whether Americans are particularly inept at public administration—though they are hardly particularly gifted for it. Perhaps we are only more sensitive than other people to the incompetence and arrogance of bureaucracy because we have had, until recently, comparatively so much less of it than other people.

In any case, we are now appalled to realize that, during the past three decades, Federal payments to the big cities have increased almost a hundredfold for all kinds of programs whereas results from this incredible dollar-flood are singularly unimpressive. What is impressive is the administrative incompetence.

We now have ten times as many government agencies concerned with city problems as we had in 1939. We have increased by a factor of 1000 or so the number of reports and papers that have to be filled out before anything can be done in the city. Social workers in New York City spend some 70 or 80 per cent of their time filling out papers for Washington, for the state government in Albany and for New York City. No more than 20 or 30 per cent of their time, that is, almost an hour and a half a day, is available for their clients, the poor.

As James Reston reported in the New York Times (Nov. 23, 1966), there were then 170 different Federal aid programs on the books, financed by over 400 separate appropriations and administered by 21 Federal departments and agencies aided by 156 Washington offices. Cooperation between various agencies is replacing concern with results and with responsibility.

Ends in Themselves

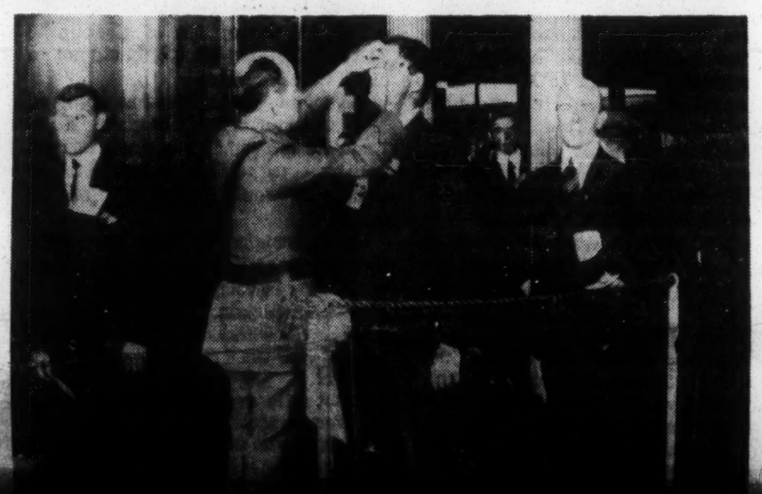
MODERN GOVERNMENT has become ungovernable. There is no government today that can still claim control of its bureaucracy and of its various agencies. Government agencies are all becoming autonomous, ends in themselves, and directed by their own desire for power, their own narrow vision rather than by national policy.

This is a threat to the basic capacity of government to give direction and leadership. Increasingly, policy is fragmented and execution is governed by the inertia of the large bureaucratic empires rather than by policy.

Bureaucrats keep on doing what their procedures describe. Their tendency, as is only human, is to identify what is in the best interest of the agency with what is right, and what fits administrative convenience with effectiveness. As a result, the welfare state cannot set priorities. It cannot concentrate its tremendous resources —and therefore does not get anything done.

The President of the United States may still be the most powerful ruler—more powerful than either the prime ministers of parliamentary regimes dependent upon a majority in parliament, or the dictators who can be overthrown by conspiracies against them among the powerful factions within their totalitarian apparatus. And yet even the President of the United States cannot direct national policy any more.

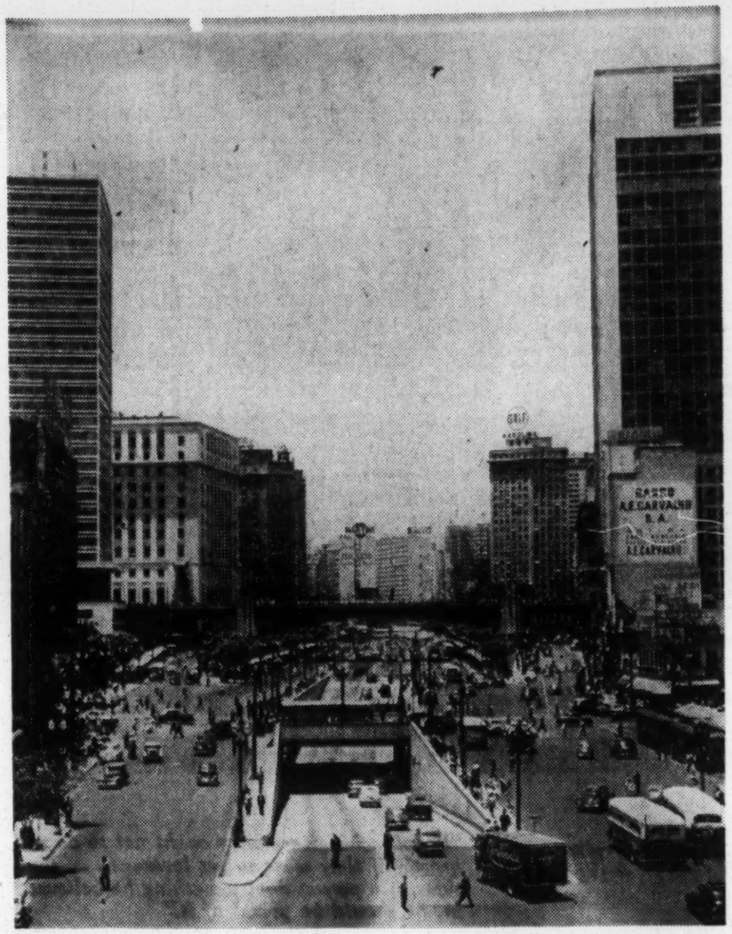
The various bureaucracies do much what they want to do. The Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, for instance, has been making its own policies and pursuing its own course these last 20 years, with little concern for what the incumbent President believes or orders. The Soil Conservation Service and the Bureau of Reclamation, the Forestry Service and the Weather Bureau, the Federal Trade Commission and the Army Engineers made in an orderly and systematic fashion. It is no longer possible for any decision to be arrived at by negotiation, consultation, agreement. It can only be arrived at by dictation or by exhaustion. Although force has, therefore, become infinitely more important in the international system, it has become infinitely less decisive—unless it be the ultimate force of a nuclear war that might destroy mankind.



Decisions are also no longer effective. No longer can they be expected to be carried out. In the international sphere, we have the same divorce of policy from execution that characterizes domestic government.

We get more and more governments. But all this does is to increase costs. For each of these sovereignties has to have its own foreign service, its own armed forces and so on. And no government, whether its territory spans the continents or is smaller than one city block, can any longer discharge the first duty of government: protection from, and defense against, attack from outside.

It is perfectly true that most of the new "ministates" are political absurdities, defenseless against the threat of instant annihilation. But so are the superpowers in this age of nuclear "overkill." With nuclear weapons being easy to make and, in effect, available to the smallest and weakest country, there is no "defense." There is only — questionably — "deterrence" — by



"We could certainly not have done worse if we had done nothing . . . Sao Paulo in Brazil . . . inundated by similar floods of rural, illiterate Negroes, did nothing—and is in better shape than New York City."

This is not happening, as the liberals had always hoped, because a political world community has transcended the narrow, petty boundaries of national states. On the contrary, the national state is everywhere in danger of collapsing into petty parochial baronies—whether French Canada or an independent Flanders, Biafra in West Africa or self-governing Scotland.

To our grandparents, around 1900, it was clear that the trend ran toward larger government units. It was clear to them that the national state created political organisms capable of effective cooperation in international society. This had been the lesson of 19th century history. Indeed, the century closed with the last "unification," though an imposed one: the taking over of the Boer republics of South Africa by the British and their incorporation into the British Empire.

Since then, the process has been one of steady fission. It began in the Balkan wars, which, undertaken to create larger unified countries, ended by creating more small ones. It has accelerated ever since. Even Czechoslovakia, the most successful of the new countries created in World War I, proved incapable of becoming the effective agent of unification but was torn apart by the strife of the national minorities—German, Hungarian and Slovak—that refused to be "unified."

Not one of the new countries established since World War II has so far created the unified nation that, to the 19th century, was so obviously the end point of history. Instead, we are getting tribal splinters pretending to be national states, imposing on their citizens all the costs of a national state, driven by all the jealousies, resentments and pride of a national state—but incapable of being an effective organ either of domestic government or of the international community. Increasingly, we are fragmenting the world into governmental pygmies, each endowed with tremendously expensive toys, but incapable of being effective. The "national state" no longer functions as the effective organ for political tasks.

productive. All of man's institutions—and for that matter, all men—are committed to what they are used to and reluctant to accept that it no longer needs doing or that it does not produce results. But government is under far greater pressure to cling to yesterday than any other institution. Indeed, the typical response of government to the failure of an activity is to double its budget and staff.

Nothing in history, for instance, can compare in futility with those prize activities of the American Government, its welfare policies and its farm policies. Both policies are largely responsible for the disease they are supposed to cure. We have known this for quite some time—in the case of the farm program since before World War II; in the case of the welfare program certainly since 1950.

The problem of the urban poor is undoubtedly vast. No city in history has ever been able to absorb an influx of such magnitude as the American cities have had to absorb since the end of World War II. Wherever it happened in the past, there was the same collapse of family, community and local government—in the cities of England in the late 18th century when the Irish came in; in the cities of North America around 1840, again with the coming of the Irish; in the cities of continental Europe later on, as for instance when the Czechs started to migrate in large numbers into the Vienna of the Hapsburgs in the closing years of the 19th century.

The influx of almost two million

ized in Britain by an earlier Labor government, an ideologically "pure" trade union stalwart had been the chief executive-designate.

There is still a good deal of resistance to the responsibility of politics and resentment of the burden of political decision. Indeed, the young today want to "drop out" altogether—in a frightening revival of the hostility to responsibility that made an earlier young generation, 40 years ago, so receptive to totalitarian promises and slogans. But no one, least of all the young, believes any longer that the conflicts, the decisions, the problems would be eliminated by turning things over to government. Government, on the contrary, has itself become one of the wicked "vested interests" for the young.

Two 'Accomplishments'

THE GREATEST factor in the disenchantment with government is that government has not performed. The record over these last 30 or 40 years has been dismal. Government has proven itself capable of doing only two things with great effectiveness. It can wage war. And it can inflate the currency. Other things it can promise, but only rarely accomplish.

Its record as an industrial manager, in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe as well as in the nationalized industries of Great Britain, has been unimpressive. Whether private enterprise would have done worse is not even relevant. For we expected near-perfection from government as industrial manager. Instead, we only rarely obtained even below-average mediocrity.

Government as a planner has hardly done much better (whether in Communist Czechoslovakia or in de Gaulle's capitalist France). But the greatest disappointment, the great letdown, is the fiasco of the welfare state.

Not many people would want to do without the social services and welfare benefits of an affluent, modern industrial society. But the welfare state promised to do far more than to profold for all kinds of programs whereas results from this incredible dollar-flood are singularly unimpressive. What is impressive is the administrative incompetence.

We now have ten times as many government agencies concerned with city problems as we had in 1939. We have increased by a factor of 1000 or so the number of reports and papers that have to be filled out before anything can be done in the city. Social workers in New York City spend some 70 or 80 per cent of their time filling out papers for Washington, for the state government in Albany and for New York City. No more than 20 or 30 per cent of their time, that is, almost an hour and a half a day, is available for their clients, the poor.

As James Reston reported in the New York Times (Nov. 23, 1966), there were then 170 different Federal aid programs on the books, financed by over 400 separate appropriations and administered by 21 Federal departments and agencies aided by 150 Washington bureaus and over 400 regional offices. One congressional session alone passed 20 health programs, 17 new educational programs, 15 new economic development programs, 12 new programs for the cities, 17 new resources development programs and four new manpower training programs, each with its own administrative machinery.

This is not perhaps a fair example—even of American administrative incompetence. That we speak of "urban crisis" when we face a problem of race explains a lot of our troubles. But in other areas, the welfare state has not performed much better. Nor is the administrative mess a peculiarly American phenomenon.

The daily press in Great Britain, in Germany, in Japan, in France, in Scandinavia—and increasingly in the Communist countries as well—reports the same confusion, the same lack of performance, the same proliferation of agencies, of programs, of forms—and the same triumph of accounting rules over results. Everywhere, rivalry be-

Associated Press

"John Kennedy had all the strength of conviction and boldness of a 'strong' President . . . He had, however, no impact whatever on the bureaucracy. He was a 'strong' President in the traditional sense. But he was a singularly ineffectual one."

lieves or orders. The Soil Conservation Service and the Bureau of Reclamation, the Forestry Service and the Weather Bureau, the Federal Trade Commission and the Army Engineers

Ellis Island, America's traditional gateway. The 15-year influx of two million Negroes and Puerto Ricans into New York City dwarfed the earlier waves of immigration from Europe.

have similarly become "independent" rather than "autonomous."

Not so long ago, policy control by the political organs of government could be taken for granted. Of course, there were "strong" and "weak" Presidents as there were "strong" and "weak" prime ministers. A Franklin Roosevelt or a Winston Churchill could get things done that weaker men could not have accomplished. But this was, people generally believed, because they had the courage of strong convictions, the willingness to lay down bold and effective policies, the ability to mobilize public vision. Today, a "strong" President or a "strong" prime minister is not a man of strong policies; he is the man who knows how to make the lions of the bureaucracy do his bidding.

John Kennedy had all the strength of conviction and all the boldness of a "strong" President; this is why he captured the imagination, especially of the young. He had, however, no impact whatever on the bureaucracy. He was a "strong" President in the traditional sense. But he was a singularly ineffectual one. His contemporary, Nikita Khrushchev in Russia, similarly failed to be effective despite his apparent boldness and his popular appeal.

By contrast, bureaucratic men who have no policies and no leadership qualities emerge as effective—they somehow know how to make red tape do their bidding. But then, of course, they use it for the one thing red tape is good for, i.e., bundling up yesterday in neat packages.

This growing disparity between apparent power and actual lack of control is perhaps the greatest crisis of government. We are very good at creating administrative agencies. But no sooner are they called into being than they become ends in themselves, acquire their own constituency as well as a "vested right" to grants from the Treasury, continuing support by the taxpayer and immunity to political direction. No sooner, in other words, are they born than they defy public will and public policy.

Collapse Into Baronies

THE CRISIS of government domestically is nothing compared to the crisis of government as an effective organ in international life. In the international arena, government has all but disintegrated. The "sovereign

fective organ either of domestic government or of the international community. Increasingly, we are fragmenting the world into governmental pygmies, each endowed with tremendous power vis-a-vis its citizens, each perfectly capable of tyranny but incapable of governing.

In 1900, there were fewer than 50 sovereignties in the whole world—20 in Europe and 20 in the Americas, with the rest of the world having fewer than a dozen. World War I increased the number to about 60. Now we have more than 160, with new "ministates" joining the ranks almost every month. Only on the American continents has there been no splintering of sovereignties.

There are 20-odd sovereignties of 1900 that are still, by and large, the political reality of today (except in the rapidly fragmenting Caribbean area). Some of the new sovereignties are very large countries: India, Pakistan, Indonesia. But most of them are smaller than the Central American countries an earlier generation contemptuously dismissed as "banana republics" and much too small to discharge the minimum responsibilities of sovereignty.

Today we have scores of "independent nations" whose population is well below a million people. Indeed, we have some whose population is hardly as large as that of a good-sized village.

Impotent Superpowers

AT THE OTHER end of the scale, we have the "superpowers," whose very size and power debar them from having a national policy. They are concerned with everything, engaged everywhere, affected by every single political event, no matter how remote or petty. But policy is choice and selection. If one cannot choose not to be engaged, one cannot have a policy—and neither the United States nor Russia can, in effect, say: "We are not interested."

The superpowers are the international version of the welfare state—and, like the welfare state, incapable of priorities or of accomplishments. The superpowers, therefore, invariably overreact—as Russia has done in the satellite countries and as the United States has done in the Congo, in Santo Domingo and perhaps in Vietnam. Yet they underachieve. Their might, although great enough to annihilate each other—and the rest of us into the bargain—is inappropriate to the political task.

This means that decisions in the international sphere can no longer be

Decisions are also no longer effective. No longer can they be expected to be carried out. In the international sphere, we have the same divorce of policy from execution that characterizes domestic government.

We get more and more governments. But all this does is to increase costs. For each of these sovereignties has to have its own foreign service, its own armed forces and so on. And no government, whether its territory spans the continents or is smaller than one city block, can any longer discharge the first duty of government: protection from, and defense against, attack from outside.

It is perfectly true that most of the new "ministates" are political absurdities, defenseless against the threat of instant annihilation. But so are the superpowers in this age of nuclear "overkill." With nuclear weapons being easy to make and, in effect, available to the smallest and weakest country, there is no "defense." There is only — questionably — "deterrence" by the threat of retaliation. But if government cannot defend its people, the first reason for the very existence of government has gone.

This may be regarded as gross exaggeration. It certainly is not the picture the older generation still sees. But it is, increasingly, the reality. It is the situation to which we react. And the young people, who are not, as we older ones are, influenced by the memories of our love affair with government, see the monstrosity of government, its disorganization, its lack of performance and its impotence rather than the illusions the older generation still cherishes and still teaches in the class room.

Immovable Objects

CERTAIN THINGS are inherently difficult for government. Being by design a protective institution, it is not good at innovation. It cannot really abandon anything. The moment government undertakes anything, it becomes entrenched and permanent. Better administration will not alter this. Its inability to innovate is grounded in government's legitimate and necessary function as society's protective and conserving organ.

A government activity, a government installation and government employment become immediately built into the political process itself. This holds true whether we talk of a declining industry—such as the nationalized British coal mines or the government-owned railroads of Europe and Japan. It holds equally true in Communist countries. No matter how bankrupt, for instance, the Stalinist economic policies have become in Czechoslovakia, Hungary or Poland, any attempt to change them immediately runs into concern for the least productive industries, which, of course, always have the most, the lowest-paid and the least-skilled—and, therefore, the most "deserving"—workers.

The inability of government to abandon anything is not limited to the economic sphere. We have known for well over a decade, for instance, that the military draft that served the United States well in a total war is immoral and demoralizing in a cold war or "limited war" period. No one defends our present system—yet we extend it year after year on a "temporary" basis.

The same inability to abandon applies to research projects supported by government. It holds true as soon as government supports the arts. Every beneficiary of a government program immediately becomes a "constituent." He immediately organizes himself for effective political action and for pressure on the decision-maker.

All institutions, of course, find it hard to abandon yesterday's tasks and to stop doing the un-

can compare in futility with those prize activities of the American Government, its welfare policies and its farm policies. Both policies are largely responsible for the disease they are supposed to cure. We have known this for quite some time—in the case of the farm program since before World War II; in the case of the welfare program certainly since 1950.

The problem of the urban poor is undoubtedly vast. No city in history has ever been able to absorb an influx of such magnitude as the American cities have had to absorb since the end of World War II. Wherever it happened in the past, there was the same collapse of family, community and local government—in the cities of England in the late 18th century when the Irish came in; in the cities of North America around 1840, again with the coming of the Irish; in the cities of continental Europe later on, as for instance when the Czechs started to migrate in large numbers into the Vienna of the Hapsburgs in the closing years of the 19th century.

The influx of almost two million rural Negroes and Puerto Ricans into New York City alone in less than a 15-year period exceeded any of these earlier migrations. It is unprecedented in the history of cities. But we certainly could not have done worse if we had done nothing at all. In fact, the 19th century cities that did nothing, did better. And so, these last 20 years, has Sao Paulo in Brazil, which, inundated by similar floods of rural, illiterate Negroes fresh from serfdom, did nothing—and is in better shape than New York City.

Our welfare policies were not designed to meet this problem. They were perfectly rational—and quite effective—as measures for the temporary relief of competent people who were unemployed only because of the catastrophe of the Great Depression. Enacted in the mid-1930s, the relief policies had essentially finished their job by 1940. But being government programs, they could not be abandoned. Far too massive a bureaucracy had been built. The emotional investment in these programs and in their slogan had become far too great. They had become "symbols" of the New Deal.

Small wonder, then, that we reached for them when the entirely different problems of the 1950s arose, that is, when the rural Negro moved into the core city in large numbers. And small wonder that these programs did not work, that instead they aggravated the problem and increased the helplessness, the dependence, the despair of the Negro masses. But all we could do when relief failed to relieve was to double the budget and to double the number of people engaged in filling out forms.

An Opposite Result

THE FARM program tells the same story. It was designed—also in the 1930s—to save the family farmer and to restore his economic and social health. Instead it has subsidized his replacement by large, heavily capitalized and highly productive "industrial farms." This may well be a more desirable result than the one the farm program was meant—and is still meant—to produce. But it was an abysmal failure in terms of the program's announced objectives. Yet the program goes on, with an increased budget and increasingly perverse consequences.

Lest this be read as a criticism of the American Government, let me add that this experience knows no distinction of race, creed or nationality. The depressed-areas policy in Great Britain dates back to the 1920s. In all that time, it has not restored to economic health one single "depressed area." But it has effectively penalized the shift of labor to areas of higher productivity, higher wages and better jobs. It thereby has slowed growth in the healthy regions. Yet whenever it is

See Facing Page

Costly Bureaucracy Cannot Be Eliminated

From Preceding Page

realized that the "depressed areas" are still depressed, the budget goes up.

Government is a poor manager. It is, of necessity, concerned with procedure, just as it is also, of necessity, large and cumbersome. Government is properly conscious that it administers public funds and must account for every penny. It has no choice but to be "bureaucratic"—in the common usage of the term.

Every government is, by definition, a "government of paper forms." This means inevitably high cost. For "control" of the last 10 per cent of any phenomenon always costs more than the first 90 per cent. If control tries to account for everything, it becomes prohibitively expensive. Yet this is what government is always expected to do.

And the reason is not just "bureaucracy" and red tape; it is a much sounder one. A "little dishonesty" in government is a corrosive disease. It rapidly spreads to infect the whole body politic. Yet the temptation to dishonesty is always great. People of modest means and dependent on a salary handle very large public sums. People of modest position dispose of power and award contracts and privileges of tremendous importance to other people—construction jobs, radio channels, air routes, zoning laws, building codes and so on.

To fear corruption in government is not irrational. This means, however, that government "bureaucracy"—and its consequent high costs—cannot be eliminated. Any government that is not a "government of paper forms" degenerates rapidly into a mutual looting society.

Politics Looks Elsewhere

THE GENERATION that was in love with the state 30 and 40 years ago believed fondly that government would be economical. Eliminating the "profit motive" was thought to reduce costs. This was poor economics, to begin with. It is worse public administration.

The politician's attention does not go to the 90 per cent of money and effort that is devoted to existing programs and activities. They are left to their own devices and to the tender mercies of mediocrity. Politics—rightly—is primarily concerned with "new programs." It is focused on crisis and problems and issues. It is not focused on doing a job. Politics, whatever the form of government, is not congenial to managerial organization and makes government defective in managerial performance.

We have built elaborate safeguards to protect the administrative structure within government against the political process. This is the purpose of every civil service. But although this protects the going machinery from the distortions and pressures of politics, it also [illegible] the incumbents in the assumption: that each is short-lived and temporary.

We might, from the beginning, assume that it will come to an end within five or ten years unless specifically renewed. And we may discipline ourselves not to renew any program unless it has the results that it promised when first started. We may, let us hope, eventually build into government the capacity to appraise results and systematically to abandon yesterday's tasks.

Yet such measures will still not convert government into a "doer." They will not alter the main lesson of the last 50 years: government is not a "doer."

The purpose of government is to make fundamental decisions and to make them effectively. The purpose of government is to focus the political energies of society. It is to dramatize issues. It is to present fundamental choices. The purpose of government, in other words, is to govern. This, as we have learned in other institutions, is incompatible with "doing." Any attempt to combine government with "doing" on a large scale paralyzes the decision-making capacity.

There is reason today why soldiers, civil servants and hospital administrators look to business management for concepts, principles and practices. For business, during the last 30 years, has had to face, on a much smaller scale, the problem that government now faces: the incompatibility between "governing" and "doing." Business management learned that the two have to be separated, and that the top organ, the decision-maker, has to be detached from "doing." Otherwise he does not make decisions, and the "doing" does not get done, either.

In business, this goes by the name of "decentralization." The term is misleading. It implies a weakening of the central organ, the top management of a business. The true purpose of decentralization, however, is to make the center, the top management of business, strong and capable of performing the central, the top-management, task. The purpose is to make it possible for top management to concentrate on decision-making and direction, to slough off the "doing" to operating managements, each with its own mission and goals and with its own sphere of action and autonomy.

If this lesson were applied to government, the other institutions of society would then rightly become the "doers." "Decentralization" applied to government would not be just another form of "federalism" in which local rather than central government discharges the "doing" tasks. It would rather be a systematic policy of using the other, the nongovernmental, institutions of the society—the hospital as well as the university, business as well as labor unions—for the actual "doing," i.e., for performance, opera-

"Government would be seen as society's resource for the determination of major objectives and as the 'conductor' of social diversity . . . The conductor himself does not play an instrument. . . . His job is to know the capacity of each instrument and to evoke optimal performance from each."

The nongovernmental institutions—university, business and hospital, for instance—would be seen as organs for the accomplishment of results. Government would be seen as society's resource for the determination of major objectives and as the "conductor" of social diversity.

I have deliberately used the term "conductor." It might not be too fanciful to compare the situation today with the development of music 200 years ago. The dominant musical figure of the early 18th century was the great organ virtuoso, especially in the Protestant north. In organ music, as a Buxtehude or a Bach practiced it, one instrument with one performer expressed the total range of music. But as a result, it required almost superhuman virtuosity to be a musician.

By the end of the century, the organ virtuoso had disappeared. In his place was the modern orchestra. There, each instrument played only one part, and a conductor up front pulled together all these diverse and divergent instruments into one score and one performance. As a result, what had seem to be absolute limits to music suddenly disappeared. Even the small orchestra of Haydn could express a musical range for beyond the reach of the greatest organ virtuoso of a generation earlier.

hand, the German university has traditionally been almost as autonomous as the American "private" university, even though—as is the case with European universities generally—it is a state institution.

Reprivatization, therefore, may create social structures that are strikingly similar, though the laws in respect to ownership differ greatly from one country to another and from one institution to another. What they would have in common is a principle of performance rather than a principle of authority. In all of them, the autonomous institution created for the performance of a major social task would be the "doer."

Government would become increasingly the decison-maker, the vision-maker. It would try to figure out how to structure a given political objective so as to make it attractive to one of the autonomous institutions. It would, in other words, be the "conductor" that tries to think through what each instrument is best designed to do.

And just as we praise a composer for his ability to write "playable" music which best uses the specific performance characteristic of French horn, violin or flute, we may come to praise the lawmaker who best structures a particular task so as to make it most congenial for this one or that

What is more, of all our institutions, business is the only one that society will permit to disappear. It takes a major catastrophe, a war or a great revolution to allow the disappearance of a university or of a hospital, no matter how superfluous and unproductive they might have become. Again and again, for instance, the Catholic Church in the United States attempts to close down hospitals that have ceased to be useful. In almost every case, a storm of community nostalgia forces the supposedly absolute bishop to retract his decision.

But when the best-known airplane manufacturer in the United States, the Douglas Co., designer and producer of the DC-3, was in difficulty in 1967, neither the American public nor American Government rushed to its rescue. If a competitor had not bought the company and merged it into his operations, we would have accepted the disappearance of Douglas—with regret, to be sure, and with a good deal of nostalgic rhetoric, but also with the feeling: "It's their own fault, after all."

Precisely because business can make a profit, it must run the risk of loss. This risk, in turn, goes back to the second strength of business: Alone among all institutions, it has a test of

case, it is likely to work even better in less desperate ones.

One instance of reprivatization in the international sphere is the World Bank. Though founded by governments, it is autonomous. If finances itself directly through selling its own securities on the capital market The International Monetary Fund, too, is a case of reprivatization. Indeed, if we develop the money and credit system we need for the world economy, we will have effectively reprivatized the creation and management of money and credit that for millennia have been considered the prime attributes of sovereignty.

Again, business is well equipped to become the "doer" in the international sphere. The multinational corporation, for instance, is our best organ for rapid social and economic development. In the Communications Satellite Corp. (COMSAT), we are organizing worldwide communications (another traditional prerogative of the sovereign) as a multinational corporation.

A socialist government, the Labor government of Britain, has used reprivatization to bring cheap energy to Britain—in contracts with the multinational oil companies for the exploration and development of the natural gas fields under the North Atlantic Ocean. And the multinational corporation may be the only institution equipped to get performance where the fragmentation into tribal splinter units, such as in the "ministates" of Equatorial Africa, makes performance by government impossible.

But domestically as well as internationally, business is, of course, only one institution and equipped to do only one task, the economic one. Indeed it is important to confine business—and every other institution—to its own task. Reprivatization will, therefore, entail using other nongovernmental institutions—the hospital, for instance, or the university—for other, noneconomic "doing" tasks. Indeed, the design of new nongovernmental, autonomous institutions as agents of social performance under reprivatization may well become a central job for tomorrow's political architects.

We do not face a "withering away of the state." On the contrary, we need a vigorous, a strong and a very active government. But we do face a choice between big but impotent government and a government that is strong because it confines itself to decision and direction and leaves the "doing" to others. We do not face a "return of laissez-faire" in which the economy is left alone. The economic sphere cannot and will not be considered to lie outside the public domain.

But the choices of economy—as well as for all other sectors—are no longer either complete governmental indifference or complete governmental control. In all major areas, we have a new choice: an organic diversity in which institutions are used to do what they are best equipped to do.

motive" was thought to reduce costs. This was poor economics, to begin with. It is worse public administration.

The politician's attention does not go to the 90 per cent of money and effort that is devoted to existing programs and activities. They are left to their own devices and to the tender mercies of mediocrity. Politics—rightly—is primarily concerned with "new programs." It is focused on crisis and problems and issues. It is not focused on doing a job. Politics, whatever the form of government, is not congenial to managerial organization and makes government defective in managerial performance.

We have built elaborate safeguards to protect the administrative structure within government against the political process. This is the purpose of every civil service. But although this protects the going machinery from the distortions and pressures of politics, it also protects the incumbents in the agencies from the demands of performance.

Of course, we maintain officially that civil service tenure is compatible with excellence. But if we had to choose, we would probably say that mediocrity in the civil service is a lesser evil than "politics." As far as the judiciary is concerned—where we first created "independence"—this is certainly true. How far it is true in administrative agencies is debatable. A good many people have come to believe that we need some way of rewarding performance and of penalizing nonperformance, even within civil service.

Still, the premium within government will be on not "rocking the boat" in existing agencies, that is, on no innovation, no initiative, but rather on doing with proper procedures what has been done before. Within the political process, attention will certainly not be paid to the on-going routine work unless there is the publicized malfunction of a "scandal."

As a result, management of the daily work of government will remain neglected, or be considered a matter of following "procedure" and of filling out forms. By excelling as a manager, no one in politics will get to the top unless at the same time he builds his own political machine, his own political following, his own faction.

We can—and must—greatly improve the efficiency of government. There is little reason these days to insist on "100 per cent audit," for instance. Modern sampling methods based on probability mathematics actually give us better control by inspecting a small percentage of the events. But we need something much more urgently: the clear definition of the results a policy is expected to produce, and the ruthless examination of results against these expectations.

This, in turn, demands that we spell out in considerable detail what results are expected rather than content ourselves with promises and manifestos. In the last century, the auditor general became a central organ of every government. We learned that we needed an independent agency to control the daily process of government and to make sure that money appropriated was spent for what it was intended for, and spent honestly. Now we may have to develop an independent government agency that compares the results of policies against expectations and that, independent of pressures from the executive as well as from the legislature, reports to the public any program that does not deliver.

Automatic Cutoff

WE MAY EVEN go further—though only a gross optimist would expect this today. We may build into government an automatic abandonment process. Instead of starting with the assumption that any program, any agency and any activity is likely to be eternal, we might start out with the opposite

tralization, however, is to make the center, the top management of business, strong and capable of performing the central, the top-management, task. The purpose is to make it possible for top management to concentrate on decision-making and direction, to slough off the "doing" to operating managements, each with its own mission and goals and with its own sphere of action and autonomy.

If this lesson were applied to government, the other institutions of society would then rightly become the "doers." "Decentralization" applied to government would not be just another form of "federalism" in which local rather than central government discharges the "doing" tasks. It would rather be a systematic policy of using the other, the nongovernmental, institutions of the society—the hospital as well as the university, business as well as labor unions—for the actual "doing," i.e., for performance, operations, execution.

'Reprivatization'

SUCH A POLICY might more properly be called "reprivatization." The tasks that flowed to government in the last century because the family could not discharge them would be turned over to the new nongovernmental institutions that have sprung up and grown the last 60 to 70 years.

Government would start out by asking the question: "How do these institutions work and what can they do?" It would then ask: "How can political and social objectives be formulated and organized in such a manner as to become opportunities for performance for these institutions?" It would also ask: "And what opportunities for accomplishment of political objectives do the abilities and capacities of these institutions offer to government?"

This would be a very different role for government from that it plays in traditional political theory. In all our theories, government is *the* institution. If "reprivatization" were to be applied, however, government would become *one* institution — albeit the central, the top, institution.

Reprivatization would give us a different society from any our *social* theories now assume. In these theories, government does not exist. It is outside of society. Under reprivatization, government would become the central social institution.

Political theory and social theory, for the last 250 years, have been separate. If we applied to government and to society what we have learned about organization these last 50 years, the two would again come together.

I have deliberately used the term "conductor." It might not be too fanciful to compare the situation today with the development of music 200 years ago. The dominant musical figure of the early 18th century was the great organ virtuoso, especially in the Protestant north. In organ music, as a Buxtehude or a Bach practiced it, one instrument with one performer expressed the total range of music. But as a result, it required almost superhuman virtuosity to be a musician.

By the end of the century, the organ virtuoso had disappeared. In his place was the modern orchestra. There, each instrument played only one part, and a conductor up front pulled together all these diverse and divergent instruments into one score and one performance. As a result, what had seem to be absolute limits to music suddenly disappeared. Even the small orchestra of Haydn could express a musical range for beyond the reach of the greatest organ virtuoso of a generation earlier.

The conductor himself does not play an instrument. He need not even know how to play an instrument. His job is to know the capacity of each instrument and to evoke optimal performance from each. Instead of "performing," he "conducts." Instead of "doing," he leads.

Autonomy Important

THE NEXT major development in politics, and the one needed to make this middle-aged failure—our tired, overextended, flabby and impotent government — effective again, might therefore be the reprivatization of the "doing," of the performance of society's tasks. This need not mean "return to private ownership." Indeed, what is going on in the Communist satellite countries of Eastern Europe today—especially in Yugoslavia—is reprivatization in which ownership is not involved at all.

Instead, autonomous businesses depend on the market for the sale of goods, the supply of labor and even the supply of capital. That their "ownership" is in the hands of the government is a legal rather than an economic fact—though, of course, an important one. Yet to some Yugoslavs, it does not even appear to be incompatible with that ultra-bourgeois institution, a stock exchange.

What matters, in other words, is that institutions not be run by government but be autonomous. Cooperatives, for instance, are not considered "capitalist" in the Anglo-American countries, although they are "private" in that they are not run by government. And the same applies to "private" hospitals and the "private" universities. On the other

ownership differ greatly from one country to another and from one institution to another. What they would have in common is a principle of performance rather than a principle of authority. In all of them, the autonomous institution created for the performance of a major social task would be the "doer."

Government would become increasingly the decison-maker, the vision-maker. It would try to figure out how to structure a given political objective so as to make it attractive to one of the autonomous institutions. It would, in other words, be the "conductor" that tries to think through what each instrument is best designed to do.

And just as we praise a composer for his ability to write "playable" music which best uses the specific performance characteristic of French horn, violin or flute, we may come to praise the lawmaker who best structures a particular task so as to make it most congenial for this one or that of the autonomous, self-governing, private institutions of a pluralist society.

Business is likely to be only one—but a very important—institution in such a structure. Whether it be owned by the capitalist, that is, by the investor, or by a cooperative or a government might even become a secondary consideration. For even if owned by government, it would have to be independent of government and autonomous—as the Yugoslavs show—not only in its day-to-day management but, perhaps more important, in its position in the market, and especially in a competitive capital market.

Created to Create

WHAT MAKES business particularly appropriate for reprivatization is that it is predominantly an organ of innovation; of all social institutions, it is the only one created for the express purpose of making and managing change. All other institutions were originally created to prevent, or at least to slow down, change. They become innovators only by necessity and most reluctantly.

Specifically, business has two advantages where government has major weaknesses. Business can abandon an activity. Indeed, it is forced to do so if it operates in a market—and, even more, if it depends on a market for its supply of capital. There is a limit beyond which even the most stubborn businessmen cannot argue with the market test, no matter how rich he may be himself. Even Henry Ford had to abandon the Model T when it ro longer could be sold. Even his grandson had to abandon the Edsel.

Unlike government, "business can abandon an activity. Indeed, it is forced to do so if it operates in a market . . . " Even Henry Ford II had to abandon the Edsel when it could no longer be sold.

Church in the United States attempts to close down hospitals that have ceased to be useful. In almost every case, a storm of community nostalgia forces the supposedly absolute bishop to retract his decision.

But when the best-known airplane manufacturer in the United States, the Douglas Co., designer and producer of the DC-3, was in difficulty in 1967, neither the American public nor American Government rushed to its rescue. If a competitor had not bought the company and merged it into his operations, we would have accepted the disappearance of Douglas—with regret, to be sure, and with a good deal of nostalgic rhetoric, but also with the feeling: "It's their own fault, after all."

Precisely because business can make a profit, it must run the risk of loss. This risk, in turn, goes back to the second strength of business: Alone among all institutions, it has a test of performance. No matter how inadequate profitability may be as an indicator, in certain respects, it is a test for all to see.

One can argue that this or that obsolete hospital is really needed in the community or that it will one day again be needed. One can argue that even the poorest university is better than none. The alumni or the community always have a "moral duty" to save "dear old Siwash." The consumer, however, is unsentimental. It leaves him singularly unmoved to be told that he has a duty to buy the products of a company because it has been around a long time.

The consumer always asks: "And what will the product do for me tomorrow?" If his answer is "nothing," he will see its manufacturer disappear without the slightest regret. And so does the investor.

This is the strength of business as an institution. It is the best reason for keeping it in private ownership. The argument that the capitalist should not be allowed to make profits is a popular one. But the real role of the capitalist is to be expendable. His role is to take risks and to take losses as a result. This role the private investor is much better equipped to discharge than the public one.

We want privately owned business precisely because we want institutions that can go bankrupt and can disappear. We want at least one institution that, from the beginning, is adapted to change, one institution that has to prove its right to survival again and again.

If we want a really strong and effective government, therefore, we should want businesses that are not owned by government. We should want businesses in which private investors, motivated by their own self-interest and deciding on the basis of their own best judgment, take the risk of failure.

The strongest argument for "private enterprise" is not the function of profit. The strongest argument is the function of loss. Because of it, business is the most adaptable, and the most flexible, of the institutions around. Therefore, it is the one best equipped to manage.

Some Global Successes

REPRIVATIZATION is still heretical doctrine, but it is no longer heretical practice. Reprivatization is hardly a creed of "fat cat millionaires" when Black Power advocates seriously propose making education in the slums "competitive" by turning it over to private enterprise, competing for the tax dollar on the basis of proven performance in teaching ghetto children.

It may be argued that the problems of the Black Ghetto in the American city are very peculiar problems—and so they are. They are extreme malfunctions of modern government. But if reprivatization works in the extreme

noneconomic "doing" tasks. Indeed, the design of new nongovernmental, autonomous institutions as agents of social performance under reprivatization may well become a central job for tomorrow's political architects.

We do not face a "withering away of the state." On the contrary, we need a vigorous, a strong and a very active government. But we do face a choice between big but impotent government and a government that is strong because it confines itself to decision and direction and leaves the "doing" to others. We do not face a "return of laissez-faire" in which the economy is left alone. The economic sphere cannot and will not be considered to lie outside the public domain.

But the choices of economy—as well as for all other sectors—are no longer either complete governmental indifference or complete governmental control. In all major areas, we have a new choice: an organic diversity in which institutions are used to do what they are best equipped to do.

In this society, all sectors are "affected with the public interest," whereas in each sector a specific institution, under its own management and dedicated to its own job, emerges as the organ of action and performance.

50 Years Astray

THIS IS A DIFFICULT and complex structure. Such symbiosis between institutions can work only if each disciplines itself to strict concentration on its own sphere and to strict respect for the integrity of the other institutions. Each, to use again the analogy of the orchestra, must be content to play its own part.

This will come hardest to government, especially after the last 50 years in which it had been encouraged in the belief of the 18th-century organ virtuosos that it could—and should—play all parts simultaneously. But every institution will have to learn the same lesson.

Reprivatization will not weaken government. Indeed, its main purpose is to restore strength to sick government. We cannot go much further along the road on which government has been traveling these last 50 years. All we can get this way is more bureaucracy but not more performance. We can impose higher taxes, but we cannot get dedication, support and faith on the part of the public.

Government can gain greater girth and more weight, but it cannot gain strength or intelligence. All that can happen, if we keep on going the way we have been going, is a worsening sickness of government and growing disenchantment with it. And this is the prescription for tyranny, that is, for a government organized against its own society.

This can happen. It has happened often enough in history. But in a society of pluralist institutions, it is not likely to be effective too long. The Communists tried it, and after 50 years have shown—though they have not yet fully learned—that the structure of modern society and its tasks are incompatible with monolithic government. Monolithic government requires absolute dictatorship, which no one has ever been able to prolong much beyond the lifetime of any one dictator.

Ultimately, we will need new political theory and probably very new constitutional law. We will need new concepts and new social theory. Whether we will get these and what they will look like, we cannot know today.

But we can know that we are disenchanted with government—primarily because it does not perform. We can say that we need, in a pluralistic society, a government that can and does govern. This is not a government that "does"; it is not a government that "administers"; it is a government that governs.

© 1968-1969 by Peter F. Drucker. From "The Age of Discontinuity," published by Harper & Row.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER ··· SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1969 PAGE B6

Don't Give Up The Inquiry

There is something genuinely fine about the United States Navy's strict reliance on tradition—on freedom of the seas, unchallenged for a century and a half, on a hallowed legacy from a gallant, mortally wounded ship's captain who commanded his men, as he was carried below: Don't give up the ship. For the good of a military service, tradition cannot be taken lightly. Honor, duty, pride, discipline—all must be served and the military concept of justice cannot be expected to be the same as civil justice, because it serves a quite different demand. So the question before the Naval Court of Inquiry in Coronado, California, does come down, in a narrow sense, to whether Commander Bucher broke existing regulations. If the evidence indicates he did, by surrendering the Pueblo while he still had the power to resist, the Navy is obligated to deal with him in its own way by ordering him to stand trial.

But the chances are slim that the matter will end there, for there are review procedures that will ultimately take the verdict out of the hands of the admirals. And that, too, is as it should be, for tradition, however hallowed, is a tricky thing to rely upon. It is recorded with pride, for example, that the ship that was ordered not to surrender, in 1813, was the Frigate Chesapeake; less is said of the fact that this same vessel was involved in a naval encounter a few years earlier in which it actually did surrender after firing just one, solitary shot. Ordered to heave to by a British warship on suspicion that there were British deserters among its crew, the Chesapeake was on this occasion simply incapable of fighting. As set down in John Bach McMaster's *History of the People of the United States:*

> "The condition of the Chesapeake was a disgrace to the government that sent her out and to the officer who commanded her. Some of the guns were not even on the carriages. The sponges, the wads, the very cartridges would not go into the mouths of the few guns that were mounted. Not a rammer could be found. Not a powder-horn was full. The matches were all mislaid. The loggerheads were cold. After 20 minutes a gun was loaded and fired with a live coal brought from the cook's galley. Then, when twenty-one round shot had struck the hold . . . when three men had been killed and 18 wounded, (Commander) Barron hauled down his colors and the Chesapeake was a prize."

What this episode suggests is not that the Commander of the Chesapeake was blameless, but that the blame was as much on the "government that sent her out" and here, perhaps, we have the beginnings of a piece of naval tradition that might usefully be applied to the Pueblo affair. For with every new scrap of evidence, it becomes more and more apparent that the Pueblo was not much better prepared for its mission, or the risks it might reasonably be expected to encounter than was the Chesapeake when it surrendered 162 years ago.

It is said, by all hands, that nobody could have foreseen the risk of an unlawful seizure of the Pueblo in the open seas, but an article by Richard Halloran, appearing elsewhere on this page, offers some rather compelling evidence arguing otherwise. There was first of all the increasingly menacing mood of the North Koreans, and second the tragic mishap of the U.S.S. Liberty at the hands of a nation that could have logically been counted on for a lot more prudence than a country with which we are, for all practical purposes, in a state of hostilities.

So it is, first of all, fair to ask why elementary precautions were not taken, and after that the questions run on and on. When is the power to resist exhausted? When a third of the crew has been killed, or half, or the ship is on the bottom with all hands lost? What would resistance have accomplished, if the Pueblo had been sunk? What reprisals would the American public have then demanded, and where would this have ended, and with how big a second Asian war? Was the Pueblo a warship or simply a spy ship, with no particular relevance to a tradition which could not take into account the provocation offered from outside territorial waters by electronic espionage?

Perhaps there are no clear-cut answers to these questions. But they ought to be asked, before the inquiry is closed or another spy ship sent out. And because it is perfectly clear that the Pueblo mission was a calculated risk in which a large number of Naval officers and civilian policy-makers shared, all the risk-takers ought to be heard. In short, the same high standards imposed upon Commander Bucher by the Navy at the time of his capture should be imposed in turn upon the Navy and the United States Government that put him off a hostile coast, in a mockery of a warship, with no help on call, and nothing more to fall back on in the way of a contingency plan than a regulation based on a great moment in the history of an American fighting ship whose fighting record was at the best ambiguous.

Secretary Finch's Decision

There are several ways of looking at Secretary Robert Finch's action in terminating aid to five Southern school districts on Wednesday, and—in splendid, contradictory array—most of them have been given public expression in the past couple of days. Thus, the cutoff of Federal funds, which was accompanied by a pledge to restore them once the erring districts had complied with HEW desegregation guidelines, has been hailed as a victory and deplored as a sellout by spokesmen for the same istration has itself to blame for the way in which everyone has jumped to conclusions. During the campaign, Mr. Nixon chose to make this very delicate matter into a major campaign issue, and it was apparent at the time that he—along with just about everyone else—had failed to grasp its intricacies. Thus, while quickly correcting an impression that he meant not to invoke the penalties the Civil Rights Act provides for school districts which defy the law, Mr. Nixon did continue

"Watch Those Bread Crumbs–Bread Costs Money"

Letters to The Editor

The Manner of Protest

As one strongly opposed to the war in Vietnam and horrified by the detachment of "pragmatists" who smile patronizingly at the expression of any sense of urgency in a desire for peace, I am convinced that it is both proper and duty-fulfilling to carry protest to the leadership whenever the opportunity presents itself. But I was aghast and ashamed at the manner in which this protest was carried out during Richard Nixon's inaugural ceremonies. It is more than clear that those responsible could not see beyond their acne or they would have seized immediately on the appropriateness of that fashionable word "counterproductive" to describe their hysteria. Perhaps, too, with any sensitivity, they might have perceived the irony in their own shouts, "The whole world is watching."

It has been sad to watch the baton of the antiwar movement pass from the reasoned argument of academé to the contumacy of the Yippie. This misaction of these misguided children serves only to exacerbate a domestic ill while doing nothing to ameliorate the plague of war.

To those who would march to the drumbeat of Thoreau and perform civil disobedience in a just cause—study the dignity of his style of dissent and remember that he also wrote, "There is not odor so bad as that which arises from goodness tainted."

CHARLES D. STORES JR.

Arl. Fishing of Richard M. Nixon Jr. Chairman
Washington

Fairfax County Board its final report and recommendation. It was disturbing to learn that certain members of this committee seem more concerned about promoting the popular use of firearms than about curbing their misuse. It has been suggested that the Fairfax County School Board provide firearm instruction in public schools just as it has drivers' education. Will guns become the next status symbol among today's teenagers?

During the first nine months of 1968 Fairfax County recorded the following firearm incidents: 6 gun murders; 59 robberies by gun; 50 felonious assaults by gun; 12 suicides by gun. When the issue is brought up again in February it is hoped that the Board of Supervisors will recognize the need for stricter gun control in Fairfax County and act accordingly.

TINEKE B. HAASE.

Alexandria.

Grape Workers' Demands

Matt Triggs, assistant legislative director of the American Farm Bureau Federation, in his letter which you published on Jan. 7, said that the issue in the national grape boycott is a union contract demand "which would require all workers to join the union whether they wanted to or not."

The truth is that the only demand facing the growers is that they recognize the union for purposes of bargaining.

Why the Surprise At Pueblo Seizure?

By Richard Halloran
Washington Post Staff Writer

THE QUESTION nobody seems to have asked yet in the Pueblo inquiry is: What made everyone so sure the North Koreans would not try something so audacious as capturing that ship?

Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher, captain of the ship, testified in answer to a question from the board of inquiry: "No, sir, I never considered I would ever be attacked on this mission. It never occurred to me . . . it never occurred to me that I would ever be put in the position I found myself in that afternoon."

Capt. Thomas Dwyer, in charge of naval intelligence in Japan at the time of the Pueblo's capture, testified in closed session that he did not even know the North Koreans had publicly warned the United States against such missions.

Rear Adm. Frank L. Johnson, the Navy commander in Japan at that time, testified that such a seizure was considered "highly improbable." He defined this as, "in effect, there is almost no chance of this happening."

"The feasibility of this type of operation," Johnson said of the Pueblo's mission, "is dependent to a large degree on the safety provided by the time-honored recognition of the freedom of the seas. This has gone on for over 150 years. No public vessel had been seized in all that time. This was a very excellent precedent on which to base the safety of any one individual ship."

Yet in June, 1967, only seven months earlier, Israeli aircraft and patrol boats strafed and torpedoed the USS Liberty, a ship similar to the Pueblo on a similiar mission on the high seas in the Mediterranean.

That was the case of a *friendly* nation attacking an American ship and by accident. Did it not occur to anyone that a *hostile* nation might do so and deliberately?

There was no attempt to capture the *Liberty* but the distinction between an attack and a seizure is surely only one of minor degree. In military terms, capture is the logical objective of attack.

CONSIDER THE evidence of North Korean hostility toward the United States in the following facts, all obtained from overt, public sources:

On Nov. 2, 1966, the day President Johnson left Seoul after a state visit, the North Koreans ambushed and killed six American and one South Korean soldier in the southern portion of the demilitarized zone that divides Korea.

That was the first incident in a marked upsurge of flagrant violations of the Korean armistice and clearly aggressive actions by the North Koreans.

During 1967, the North Koreans killed 131 American and South Korean soldiers and wounded 294 more in attacks along and below the DMZ. There were a total of 445 firefights along the DMZ, plus more in the South Korean interior.

Moreover, two American camps were shot up. There were artillery exchanges and at least one small tank battle. Two railroad trains were sabotaged.

At sea, numerous South Korean fishing vessels were captured. A South Korean patrol boat was blown out of the water by North Korean ships similiar to those that attacked the Pueblo. There were other exchanges of fire inside and outside territorial waters, north and south of an imaginary extension of the DMZ.

In December, 1967, North Korean Premier Kim Il-sung reiterated in the clearest terms the North Korean intention to reunify all of Korea under Communist domination by force of arms. It was the third time that he made [illegible]

grace to the government that sent her out and to the officer who commanded her. Some of the guns were not even on the carriages. The sponges, the wads, the very cartridges would not go into the mouths of the few guns that were mounted. Not a rammer could be found. Not a powder-horn was full. The matches were all mislaid. The loggerheads were cold. After 20 minutes a gun was loaded and fired with a live coal brought from the cook's galley. Then, when twenty-one round shot had struck the hold . . . when three men had been killed and 18 wounded, (Commander) Barron hauled down his colors and the Chesapeake was a prize."

What this episode suggests is not that the Commander of the Chesapeake was blameless, but that the blame was as much on the "government that inquiry is closed or another spy ship sent out. And because it is perfectly clear that the Pueblo mission was a calculated risk in which a large number of Naval officers and civilian policy-makers shared, all the risk-takers ought to be heard. In short, the same high standards imposed upon Commander Bucher by the Navy at the time of his capture should be imposed in turn upon the Navy and the United States Government that put him off a hostile coast, in a mockery of a warship, with no help on call, and nothing more to fall back on in the way of a contingency plan than a regulation based on a great moment in the history of an American fighting ship whose fighting record was at the best ambiguous.

Secretary Finch's Decision

There are several ways of looking at Secretary Robert Finch's action in terminating aid to five Southern school districts on Wednesday, and—in splendid, contradictory array—most of them have been given public expression in the past couple of days. Thus, the cutoff of Federal funds, which was accompanied by a pledge to restore them once the erring districts had complied with HEW desegregation guidelines, has been hailed as a victory and deplored as a sellout by spokesmen for the same side. This is hardly surprising: it is difficult to think of a subject more intricately tangled in politics, passions, and head-breaking legal detail than this one—a combination that bodes ill for much in the way of public understanding.

Still, a few facts can be stated simply in relation to the Secretary's ruling and, in view of the storm that has broken over his head, they seem worth stressing. Secretary Finch, despite some pressure on him to the contrary, did *not* rescind the Department's cutoff order or grant the segregated districts in question either a delay or a reprieve. He put the orders into immediate effect and, citing his previous lack of responsibility for their development, said only that he was sending in teams to review the cases and to assist the districts in working out desegregation plans which must meet HEW standards within 60 days, if the districts want their money restored. The manner in which these subsequent operations are carried out, along with the Secretary's approach to several similar cases which are currently ripening for decision, will tell us a lot more about his thinking than Wednesday's action did. At this point, it therefore hardly seems fair for Mr. Finch's critics in the North to air the inferences they have drawn concerning his possible future behavior as if they were airing charges based on certainty or fact. The principal fact involved at this time is that Secretary Finch, who had any number of potential excuses at his disposal for delaying his predecessor's cutoff orders, instead upheld them.

To a considerable extent, of course, the Administration has itself to blame for the way in which everyone has jumped to conclusions. During the campaign, Mr. Nixon chose to make this very delicate matter into a major campaign issue, and it was apparent at the time that he—along with just about everyone else—had failed to grasp its intricacies. Thus, while quickly correcting an impression that he meant not to invoke the penalties the Civil Rights Act provides for school districts which defy the law, Mr. Nixon did continue to suggest that the enforcers of the law at HEW had been acting with too much zeal and too little sensitivity. Finally, he (as well as Mr. Finch) came to lay emphasis on the following proposition—that a Nixon Administration *would* of course invoke the penalties of the law against noncomplying districts, but that they would only do so as a last resort and after prior persuasion and negotiation had failed.

Since this was precisely what the Department had been claiming it was doing all along in the Johnson years, the possibility arose that some campaign excesses could be quietly laid to rest and the broad policy of the Department continued, with or without a seemingly new name or new direction. That possibility still exists, and there is evidence that Secretary Finch understands well the dangers of in fact reversing course. He is known to be fully aware that to let the last-ditch-stand crowd triumph in the Southern school cases would be to encourage further defiance, to embarrass those who have tried to meet the guidelines at some expense to their own local standing, and to undo a lot of work already done. None of this is to say that the Department's obligation is a punitive one or that it should be guided by some retaliatory urge. On the contrary, the Department's obligation is to use the tools at its disposal—including the threat or fact of cutoff—to achieve compliance. That would appear to be what Secretary Finch is trying to do; one can only hope that he succeeds.

Crime Curb

Judge Oliver Gasch's ruling that the District Council has power to enact a firearms control ordinance clears the way, at least in part, for application of one of the most effective curbs on crime. The judge has not put the stamp of judicial approval on the terms of the ordinance adopted by the Council; he has merely said that the Council possesses some power, the reach of which has yet to be determined, to act in this field. When the Council initially enacted this ordinance last fall, Judge Aubrey Robinson granted an injunction delaying application of its terms until Jan. 12 and then extended the stay for an additional month to Feb. 12 on the ground that inadequate time had been allowed for compliance. In the interim—just a few days ago, in fact—the Council adopted some clarifying and perfecting amendments assuring ample time for compliance.

The aim of the ordinance seems to us thoroughly sensible and salutary. It calls for the registration of all firearms in the District of Columbia—a requirement no more onerous and no more embarrassing to honest men than the requirement that they register their automobiles, their dogs and even their marriages. But to dishonest men, the ordinance could prove extremely uncomfortable, for it would make it more difficult than at present for them to purchase a gun of any kind and extremely risky to possess a gun without registering it.

The ordinance also calls for a police permit or license to possess a rifle or shotgun. Thus anyone caught in the commission of a crime carrying one of these weapons without a license will be guilty of an additional offense. It is often said that only the law-abiding will abide by this ordinance and that criminals will ignore it. This is true, of course, of any provision of law. It is to say no more than that crime is committed only by criminals. To make it a crime for anyone to possess, without a registration certificate or a license, weapons virtually indispensable to the commission of an important catalogue of crimes is to pose an effective curb on crime. Sportsmen, target shooters and responsible householders will not suffer from this ordinance. And the community will be safer when it goes into effect.

The Manner of Protest

As one strongly opposed to the war in Vietnam and horrified by the detachment of "pragmatists" who smile patronizingly at the expression of any sense of urgency in a desire for peace, I am convinced that it is both proper and duty-fulfilling to carry protest to the leadership whenever the opportunity presents itself. But I was aghast and ashamed at the manner in which this protest was carried out during Richard Nixon's inaugural ceremonies. It is more than clear that those responsible could not see beyond their acne or they would have seized immediately on the appropriateness of that fashionable word "counterproductive" to describe their hysteria. Perhaps, too, with any sensitivity, they might have perceived the irony in their own shouts, "The whole world is watching."

It has been sad to watch the baton of the antiwar movement pass from the reasoned argument of academé to the contumacy of the Yippie. This misaction of these misguided children serves only to exacerbate a domestic ill while doing nothing to ameliorate the plague of war.

To those who would march to the drumbeat of Thoreau and perform civil disobedience in a just cause—study the dignity of his style of dissent and remember that he also wrote, "There is not odor so bad as that which arises from goodness tainted."

CHARLES D. STORES JR.
Asst. Professor of Biology, Mt. Vernon Jr. College.
Washington.

Denial of Lobbying

American Airlines was completely surprised by President Nixon's Jan. 24 decision to reopen the Transpacific Route Case and had not "lobbied for" or recommended such action by the President, as alleged in the Evans and Novak column (*The Washington Post*, Jan. 31). No one in American Airlines has been "scouting" for a law firm with Republican connections; and specifically American has made no contact with the firm of Royall, Koegel and Rogers. We have also ascertained that this firm has no knowledge of any approach by American.

GEORGE A. SPATER,
President, American Airlines.
New York.

High Adventure

As *The Washington Post* pointed out, the new administration does not yet have a fancy slogan. In rereading the text of the President's Inaugural Address, I was again struck by one rather snappy phrase in which Mr. Nixon appealed to the citizenry "to join in a high adventure—one as rich as humanity itself and exciting as the times we live in."

The President cannot in good conscience ask his fellow Americans to face the problems of the years to come with hearty optimism; conversely, to confront the future with grim spirits is self-defeating. But to ask people to channel their mental outlook into one of adventure seems to strike a delicate balance.

The concept of adventure seems to have died away with the Gold Rush. Isn't it about time this spirit was revitalized? The exploration of finding new ways to deal with old issues should not be only challenging but exciting as well. Aren't challenge and excitement the essence of adventure?

President Nixon's High Adventure? Well, why not?

MRS. TARPLEY MANN RICHARDS.
Washington.

Gun Control in N.Va.

Last summer President Nixon expressed the opinion that gun control legislation should be the responsibility of state and local governments. Fairfax County will soon have an opportunity to fulfill this responsibility by adopting legislation that will help curb the rising rate of firearm deaths and firearm crimes in this area.

One glance at any recent newspaper shows that present gun laws are hopelessly inadequate. Fairfax County needs a system whereby each gun owner is properly trained and tested before he receives a license. Each firearm should be registered so that the owner can be held responsible for each gun he possesses, for every fatal bullet shot by one of his firearms, intentionally or by accident. (Cost of registration has been estimated at less than 25 cents per gun.)

Early February a Special Advisory Committee on Gun Control will present to the Fairfax County Board its final report and recommendation. It was disturbing to learn that certain members of this committee seem more concerned about promoting the popular use of firearms than about curbing their misuse. It has been suggested that the Fairfax County School Board provide firearm instruction in public schools just as it has drivers' education. Will guns become the next status symbol among today's teenagers?

During the first nine months of 1968 Fairfax County recorded the following firearm incidents: 6 gun murders; 59 robberies by gun; 50 felonious assaults by gun; 12 suicides by gun. When the issue is brought up again in February it is hoped that the Board of Supervisors will recognize the need for stricter gun control in Fairfax County and act accordingly.

TINEKE B. HAASE.
Alexandria.

Grape Workers' Demands

Matt Triggs, assistant legislative director of the American Farm Bureau Federation, in his letter which you published on Jan. 7, said that the issue in the national grape boycott is a union contract demand "which would require all workers to join the union whether they wanted to or not."

The truth is that the *only* demand facing the growers is that they recognize the union for purposes of bargaining on matters affecting hours, wages and working conditions of table grape growers.

Bishops, rabbis, ministers, legislators, mayors, public officials and captains of industry, all and at different times, have offered their good offices to the growers to bring the two groups — management and labor — together simply to see if there is some mutually acceptable machinery for ending the strike and boycott. These growers have turned down each and every approach and for over three years have refused to meet with any leader of the Farm Workers Union under any condition.

Mr. Triggs cannot produce a single grower of table grapes who has had the question of union membership in any form presented as a union contract demand. The only table grapes grown under a union contract are DiGiorgio Corporation grapes, and the clause was placed in the contract by a third party arbitrator.

While I do not have access to industry figures and reports, I believe Mr. Triggs has misrepresented the effectiveness of the boycott. If the strike is such a flop and the national boycott is ineffective—as he says—then why has the Farm Bureau so aggressively taken up the "plight" of the growers? Why did the Farm Bureau feel compelled to make the boycott the focal issue of its recent national convention? Why has the Farm Bureau seen fit to lock arms with the National Right-to-Work Committee, the table grape growers and the labor contractors, who traffic in human misery, to forge another link in the chains that bind farm workers to a life of frustration and privation?

Our national labor policy relegates farm workers to second-class citizenship. They are faced with the choice of accepting second-class citizenship or struggling to obtain first-class citizenship through whatever procedures are open to them. The strike and boycott are the only way. There is nothing else they can do.

WILLIAM L. KIRCHER,
Director of Organization, AFL-CIO.
Washington.

New Vietnam Note?

In your concern for Mr. Nixon's Middle East posture and his views on armaments during his first press conference, you missed the key note of a foreign policy change of heart with regard to Vietnam. Namely, "when you have a guerrilla war, in which one side may not even be able to control many of those who are responsible for the violence in the area . . ." Which is something, in spite of seating the NLF in Paris, Mr. Rusk & Co. never admitted. As a matter of fact, they adamantly maintained that the NLF always was the puppet of Hanoi. Contrary to the previous administration, Mr. Nixon may be looking at the facts.

KEVIN J. KINSELLA
Washington

[illegible] facts, all obtained from overt, public sources:

On Nov. 2, 1966, the day President Johnson left Seoul after a state visit, the North Koreans ambushed and killed six American and one South Korean soldier in the southern portion of the demilitarized zone that divides Korea.

That was the first incident in a marked upsurge of flagrant violations of the Korean armistice and clearly aggressive actions by the North Koreans.

During 1967, the North Koreans killed 131 American and South Korean soldiers and wounded 294 more in attacks along and below the DMZ. There were a total of 445 firefights along the DMZ, plus more in the South Korean interior.

Moreover, two American camps were shot up. There were artillery exchanges and at least one small tank battle. Two railroad trains were sabotaged.

At sea, numerous South Korean fishing vessels were captured. A South Korean patrol boat was blown out of the water by North Korean ships similiar to those that attacked the Pueblo. There were other exchanges of fire inside and outside territorial waters, north and south of an imaginary extension of the DMZ.

In December, 1967, North Korean Premier Kim Il-sung reiterated in the clearest terms the North Korean intention to reunify all of Korea under Communist domination by force of arms. It was the third time that he personally had done so and each time he emphasized that American forces were the target of priority.

On Jan. 6, 1968, five days before Pueblo left Japan, and again on Jan. 11, the day the ship sailed, North Korean broadcasts warned against spy ships off their coast and said they were determined to take counter measures.

MOST FLAGRANT of all, the North Koreans sent 31 men into Seoul in an attempt to assassinate South Korean President Park Chung Hee. This blatant evidence of North Korean belligerence occurred on the night of Jan. 21—a full 36 hours before the Pueblo was seized. It would be interesting to know whether Bucher had been apprised of it.

He may not have been for all three experienced naval officers testified that, in effect, they had no idea the North Koreans were in a threatening mood and would violate the freedom of the high seas, just as they had violated so much on land and at sea before.

Nor have the five admirals on the board of inquiry delved deeply into this point. Rear Adm. Marshall W. White asked Adm. John son whether the DMZ intrusions had not made him think the same thing might happen at sea—"a so-called crossing of the DMZ in the water."

Johnson replied that the chances were so remote "a bookmaker would give you such fantastic odds that even someone as rich as Howard Hughes could not pay off on it."

No one could have predicted, of course, exactly what the North Koreans might do, any more than any other event can be predicted. Gen. Charles H. Bonesteel III, the commander of American forces in South Korea and a perspective student of his North Korean adversaries, has often called Kim Il-sung a "meglomaniac" and said he would never try to guess what Kim would do next.

One might also have been surprised at the audacity of the North Korean seizure of the Pueblo. But little could have been more audacious for North Korea than to send armed soldiers into South Korea to assassinate the President.

But the basic question remains, in light of all the other evidence: What made everyone so sure that the North Koreans would not try it?

The Washington Post
Published by The Washington Post Company

EUGENE MEYER, 1875—1959
PHILIP L. GRAHAM, 1915—1963

FREDERICK S. BEEBE
Chairman of the Board
KATHARINE GRAHAM
President

John W. Sweeterman, Vice Chairman of the Board and Publisher; Benjamin C. Bradlee, Vice President and Executive Editor; Phillip L. Geyelin, Editorial Page Editor; Eugene C. Patterson, Managing Editor; Alfred Friendly, Vice President and Associate Editor; G. Stewart Phillips, Secretary and Treasurer; Gerald W. Siegel, Vice President and Counsel; James J. Daly, Vice President and General Manager; Harry Gladstein, Vice President and Business Manager; Joseph P. Lynch, Vice President-Advertising; Robert A. Bowerman, Advertising Manager; Jack F. Patterson, Circulation Director; Julian J. Eberle, Production Operations Director.

Facing Facts

Nixon's Team Is Trying to Determine What's Really Happening in Vietnam

By Joseph Kraft

THE NIXON Administration has not yet fully formulated its policy for Vietnam. But in one critical area, the new men have decisively parted company with the practices of the Johnson Administration.

They are not kidding themselves, or the country, with rosy progress reports. Instead of merely spouting statistics and homilies designed to justify past actions, they are making a systematic effort to determine what is really happening in Vietnam.

THIS WILLINGNESS to face facts, even unpleasant facts, finds a notable expression in what President Nixon himself said about a cease-fire at his first White House news conference. In the past, a cease-fire in Vietnam was airily included in the official line as a distinct possibility.

How could it not be? The seat of all the trouble was supposed to be an invasion of South Vietnam by North Vietnam. A settlement required only that the North leave its neighbor in the South alone. Once that happened, a cease-fire was child's play.

Mr. Nixon came off this nonsense with a vengeance. By reference to a guerrilla struggle, he implicity recognized that the insurgents had deep local roots all over Vietnam. By reference to the possibility that "one side may not even be able to control many of those who are responsible for the violence," he discreetly surfaced some doubts as to whether the regime in Saigon was all that peace-minded.

Then he went on to tell the truth about how much of an illusion it was to expect a cease-fire. He said: "I think it is not helpful in discussing Vietnam to use such terms as cease-fire, because cease-fire is a term of art that really has no relevance, in my opinion, to a guerrilla war."

IN KEEPING with the new President's appetite for the facts, there has been a significant change in the flow of Vietnam information to the White House. President Johnson depended on his special assistant for national security affairs, Walt Rostow, a fervent partisan of the Vietnam involvement. Rostow in turn looked to a unit in the Central Intelligence Agency headed by George Carver.

Nobody doubts Carver's knowledge of Vietnam or his basic competence. But according to a wide variety of officials in both the Defense and State Departments, the Carver unit largely served up to Rostow what he wanted to hear.

Thus before the Tet offensive of last year, its evaluations were apparently very optimistic about the progress being made in subduing the insurgency. These reports justified the continuing military effort on the ground that success was not too far away.

Subsequent to Tet, the Carver unit apparently filled the air with predictions of a second and third and fourth wave of attacks by the other side. The effect of these reports was to put a discount on the Paris peace talks on the theory that the other side was only using the talks as a stalling device while winding up for a knockout blow on the ground.

Rostow's replacement at the White House, Henry Kissinger, has from the beginning sought to bring on to his staff a capacity for critical evaluation of the intelligence reports. The man he originally sought—one of Carver's chief critics—was not available.

In the end, Kissinger took on his staff a former CIA man, Dean Moore. But Moore was not a member of the Carver unit. He is known to his colleagues at the agency and at the Departments of Defense and State as a top-flight analyst without any bias.

ALL THIS, to be sure, does not add up to anything like a change in policy. But the ground is plainly being laid for change if conditions are found to warrant it. True toughmindedness, a disposition to face facts and to be skeptical and analytical, is at last being substituted for that ultimate expression of romantic sentimentality which caused so many leading figures in the Johnson Administration to equate fighting a war that could not be won with hardheaded realism.

© 1969, Publishers-Hall Syndicate

"We regret that we can't be of service, sir . . . Higher interest rates, you know . . ."

Lobby Swapping

Clients Must Be Reconvinced You Can Open the Doors

By Art Buchwald

ONE OF THE groups most affected by the change from a Democratic Administration to a Republican one is the lobbyists of vested interests. Having wined and dined Democrats for the past eight years, the Capital's lobbyists must now convince their clients that they are in as solid with the Nixon people as they were with the Kennedy and Johnson appointees.

I HAPPENED to stop in to visit a lobbyist friend of mine to find out how he was doing. He was talking on the phone as I was ushered in. "Don't worry about a thing, Mr. Blathering. As luck would have it, my sister went to school with Pat Nixon . . . No, they weren't in the same class but they used to pass each other in the hall all the time . . . What do you mean I told you five years ago my sister went to school with Lady Bird Johnson? . . . I did? . . . Oh, yeh, that was my other sister . . . You see, I have two sisters . . . Mr. Blathering, I assure you there isn't a member of the Nixon Administration that I couldn't get on the phone right now . . . Yes, sir, I'll call you back."

to know that some day he'd be Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare?"

"What good is talking to him now?"

"I'm going to explain to him the letter got lost, and I don't want him to think I forgot."

"Do you believe he'll buy that?"

"I guess not," he said, discouraged. "But I have to think of something to convince my clients I've got influence with the Nixon Administration. If I could only get invited to one of those Billy Graham prayer sessions at the White House."

"They're not open to the public," I said.

"IT REALLY doesn't seem fair," he said. "You work with people for eight years, you get to know their wives and their kids, you build up close personal relationships, and then, zap, they go and change administrations, and you have to start all over again with a whole new set of friends."

"I guess you can't stay friends with people after they're out of the Government," I said.

Alabama Challenge

Incumbent Governor May Buck Wallace In 1970 Battle to Lead State

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

A BITTER struggle now building up behind the scenes in Alabama between Gov. Albert Brewer and former Gov. George Wallace now points to a Wallace-Brewer clash for the governorship in 1970.

Brewer got to his present position as a loyal Wallace lieutenant. As speaker of the Alabama House, Brewer was his losing presidential campaign last year.

The Governor's explanation to intimates seems too simple: He wants the study for his archives. But the only other explanation—that he is eyeing a possible third presidential race in 1972 or 1976 (when he will turn 68)—seems preposterous.

Industrialist J. Irwin

jarred this year by a master of McLuhanite media techniques: Joe Napolitan, who directed the brilliant Humphrey media campaign last fall.

Napolitan, a protege of former Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien, has been retained by one of the three candidates in this year's red-hot Demo-

The Paris Mood

Americans Generally Expect Compromise After Months of Negotiations

By Chalmers M. Roberts

PARIS—A reporter coming to Paris finds what he left behind in Washington, a seeming paradox involved in the negotiations to end the Vietnam war. On the one hand is the expectation of months of grueling negotiations with the Communists. On the other, however, is a general American belief that in the end a compromise acceptable to the big majority of Americans is both possible and probable.

Henry Cabot Lodge, President Nixon's No. 1 man on the scene here, is ensconced in a corner suite at the Hotel Crillon across the street from his Embassy office and a block from an indoor swimming pool he uses to keep in trim. Lodge's chief antagonist, North Vietnamese politburo member Le Duc Tho, lives in a well-walled villa outside the city limits not far from Orly Airport. Both men, along with the heads of the South Vietnamese and National Liberation Front delegations, are making themselves comfortable for what most diplomats and observers figure will be a long spring, summer and probably fall if not winter.

JUDGING from the two sessions thus far of this four-delegation conference, which is either two-sided or four-sided depending on how you want to view it, there will be many polemical sessions. But everybody knows that at some point—an optimistic guess would be within a month—private meetings will get under way at which the serious business will in time take place.

There is a vast difference in attitude between this conference and the 1954 Geneva Conference, which finally ended the Indochina War. The United States then was supplying only money and equipment and it could, and did, wash its hands of the whole affair when John Foster Dulles decided he would not be a party to "losing" Indochina. This time, the United States cannot walk away and every sign, both in Washington and Paris, among the Nixon men is that the new Administration believes it can find, and is working toward, that acceptable compromise.

The name of the game here is the political future of South Vietnam. While the Nixon Administration has picked up where the Johnson Administration left off by asking first for resolution of such military problems as the demilitarized zone and mutual troop withdrawals, there are no illusions that military and political issues can be separately compartmentalized. On that point, there is a general American belief that there will indeed be a final piece of paper with signatures. The expectation as of now, however, is that it will contain some important vagueness designed to fudge parts of the political issue.

THE POLITICAL issue is simply this: How much will each side risk its fate and fortunes to a future political struggle within South Vietnam if and when external forces of the United States and North Vietnam pull out or are in the process of doing so? If there is to be a political settlement in some form, both sides will have to agree to risk taking, since each side knows it cannot enforce its total will by force of arms.

The problem here is how to allot to the Communists a role in the political life of the South commensurate with their actual strength, not the maximum strength they claim or the minimum strength credited them by the Saigon government. As the Americans see it, given the present and potential state of the war, that would mean Communist representation in some form in the Saigon government but not so much representation as to insure that the Communists could automatically use it as a springboard to total power.

But the United States itself cannot assign representation. To do so over Saigon's objection would be to "impose" a coalition regime and the Nixon Administration, like the Johnson Administration, shows no signs of trying to do that. Instead, what will be required is bargaining in some manner between Saigon and the National Liberation Front (Vietcong).

THE WHOLE AFFAIR is a fearful tangle. But the evidence is that the United States has climbed down, or is in the process of climbing down, from the Dean Rusk formulation that all that is required is for the North to leave its Southern neighbor alone. The new crowd, both in Washington and in Paris, knows it must compromise. Saigon has been evolving toward compromise though no one there would admit it out loud. And Hanoi gives the appearance, for all its polemics, of knowing that if President Nixon sticks it out then the Communists too, including the NLF, must also compromise.

In short, behind the words one senses a basic mood. But it is going to take a long time to translate mood into agreement. The reader had better be prepared for rollercoaster ups and downs before the ride is over.

Norelco
Cassette Recorder
If our price for NORELCO is not the LOWEST we will refund difference within 10 days of purchase.

We provide one hour free parking

Our Semi-Annual Sale Is Still in Progress

Alabama Challenge

Incumbent Governor May Buck Wallace In 1970 Battle to Lead State

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

A BITTER struggle now building up behind the scenes in Alabama between Gov. Albert Brewer and former Gov. George Wallace now points to a Wallace-Brewer clash for the governorship in 1970.

Brewer got to his present position as a loyal Wallace lieutenant. As speaker of the Alabama House, Brewer was named by Wallace to run for lieutenant governor in 1966, the year Wallace's wife Lurleen was elected Governor.

Brewer became Governor himself when Mrs. Wallace died last year. Ever since, the Wallace-Brewer relationship has been souring, with Brewer asserting more and more independence.

Now Wallace wants Brewer to run for the governorship in 1970 as a member of Wallace's American Independent Party, setting the stage in Alabama for Wallace to make another run for President on his third-party ticket.

Brewer is bucking. Somewhat reserved when he first took over the governorship, he now glories in his job. He is in no mood to run as a Wallace stooge.

The possible result: A smash-bang, headon gubernatorial battle between Democrat Brewer and third-party candidate Wallace with some politicians giving Brewer, incredibly, a tiny chance.

Running third would be Republican James Martin, the former Congressman who was beaten by Lurleen Wallace in 1966 and wants another crack at the governorship.

Rarick Purge

BESIDES humiliating Speaker John McCormack and the regular Democratic leadership, the vote by the House Democratic caucus to strip seniority from Wallaceite Rep. John Rarick of Louisiana buried the myth that liberals do better on a secret ballot.

Veteran leaders in the Democratic Study Group (DSG) well remembered 1965, when they counted a 40-vote bulge in the caucus to deprive Goldwater Democrats of seniority but, in fact, squeezed by with only 15 votes on a secret ballot.

In private discussions among DSG leaders, consequently, it was decided to go for an open roll call vote (a motion successfully made by Rep. Richard Bolling of Missouri). Wobbly Northern moderates exposed to public view had to vote against Rarick, and the liberals won by a surprising 28 votes.

A footnote: The Rarick loss could prove a setback in the leadership ambitions of Rep. Daniel Rostenkowski of Illinois, the majority caucus chairman, who backed McCormack while his Illinois colleagues voted with the DSG. Simultaneously, it boosted the stock of the new DSG chairman, Rep. Donald Fraser of Minnesota, who led the Rarick purge.

Rocky's Archives?

REPUBLICAN politicians puzzle as to why Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York has asked key 1968 aides to send him exhaustive critiques of his losing presidential campaign last year.

The Governor's explanation to intimates seems too simple: He wants the study for his archives. But the only other explanation—that he is eyeing a possible third presidential race in 1972 or 1976 (when he will turn 68)—seems preposterous.

Industrialist J. Irwin Miller, who headed Citizens for Rockefeller last spring, has submitted his study of where the campaign went wrong. So have other aides, including some who handled the nuts-and-bolts traveling operation.

One criticism: The Governor's relations with the press and television, a function of Press Secretary Leslie Slote, were poor, particularly just before and during the Miami Beach convention.

McLuhan in Virginia

VIRGINIA politics, until recently mired in horse-and-buggy procedures, will be jarred this year by a master of McLuhanite media techniques: Joe Napolitan, who directed the brilliant Humphrey media campaign last fall.

Napolitan, a protege of former Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien, has been retained by one of the three candidates in this year's red-hot Democratic primary for Governor. What's surprising is that Napolitan's client is Lt. Gov. Fred Pollard, the conservative in the field (the other two: moderate William Battle and liberal State Sen. Henry Howell).

Napolitan will find it no easy task to turn the colorless Pollard into a vibrant TV personality. Pollard is now considered to be running third and likely to miss the primary election runoff. But Napolitan performed the impossible in Alaska last spring when Mike Gravel upset the veteran Ernest Gruening for the Senate nomination.

© 1969, Publishers-Hall Syndicate

Stock Market Powder Keg

By Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson

THE SECURITIES and Exchange Commission and the Nation's stockbrokers are sitting unhappily on a powder keg that potentially could explode into perhaps the greatest stock market crash in history.

It is the pile-up of paperwork in brokerage back offices, which has left thousands and perhaps millions of investors holding empty bags of broker IOUs valued in hundreds of millions of dollars. Brokers could not make good if they were pressed to do so.

Both the SEC and stock exchange officials are aware of the catastrophic danger they face. But the problem is so vast and complex that neither the SEC, which is the guardian of the public interest, nor the exchanges have been willing or able to cope with it.

There's been much publicity in recent months about the paperwork jam in brokerage houses. The New York Stock Exchange, prodded by the SEC, has made several efforts to solve it, first by cutting out Wednesday as a trading day, now by trading only four hours a day five days a week. The purpose was to give the back-office workers a chance to cut down on the gigantic backlog of record-keeping involved in daily transfers of millions of shares of stock.

But what has not been publicized is the fact that in the tremendous foulup, many records have been lost and, even if those surviving could be straightened out, large individual brokerage houses could find themselves with multimillion-dollar deficits in their accounts.

About a year ago, a very small brokerage house in New York caved in under its backlog difficulties. When all the chips had been counted, it had a $2-million deficit in its customer accounts that could not be traced or explained.

More recently, Hayden, Stone, Inc., one of the Nation's largest brokers, revealed some of the difficulties it has been experiencing by announcing it was taking major further steps to fight its way out of its own particular tangle.

Last month the firm said it had arranged for massive new capital funds in another step toward handling its problems and said it was going to seek more business from larger investors because their accounts presented relatively less operating difficulties than those of small investors.

Significantly, Hayden, Stone announced that as of last Aug. 30 it had set aside $16 million as a "prudent provision" against possible losses stemming from the backlog problem. A year earlier—before daily trading on the New York Stock Exchange reached its current tremendous volume—its reserve for such losses was only $3.4 million.

But the fact is, according to informed Wall Street experts, that hardly any brokerage house knows what those potential losses may be, records of daily transactions being as fouled up as they are.

ACCORDING to stock exchange rules, when a customer buys stock through a broker he must be given that stock—and pay for it—within five days.

But many stock buyers who do frequent buying and selling don't want delivery; they leave the stock "on deposit" with their brokers, rather than having to store it themselves. Their brokers then are able to use the stock to make deliveries to other customers who actually want delivery.

But when a stockbroker makes a purchase for a customer, the broker pays for it at the time, to be reimbursed by the customer on delivery later.

The reason the situation is so dangerous is that should all of any broker's customers start demanding the stock they bought five days ago, the broker's records would not show what customers he owed or which owed him.

And since his capital assets could not possibly cover the values of his stock transactions over any period of time, he would be in the position of a bank short on cash and unable to pay all depositors on demand—the classic cause of runs on banks and an equally potent threat to stockbrokers.

THEORETICALLY, the stock exchanges are supposed to regulate the brokerage business so as to protect the interests of investors as well as those of member firms. But the exchanges would tend to put member interests above those of the public, so that the self-regulation of the stock business is something short of ideal.

The Securities and Exchange Commission, however, is in a different position. Its sole responsibility is to protect the public. It has the power to do so. It could force stockbrokers, directly and indirectly, either to improve operating methods or reduce trading to levels they can handle.

The big question in both Wall Street and Washington is why the SEC has failed to move in.

One explanation is that it is fearful of alarming the investing public and risking a Wall Street crash. Since the situation has been developing for about two years, the SEC hoped the stock exchanges and individual stockbrokers would act to avert catastrophe on their own. But they haven't. Yet the SEC has done virtually nothing to prod them.

© 1969, Bell-McClure Syndicate, Inc.

phone as I was ushered in. "Don't worry about a thing, Mr. Blathering. As luck would have it, my sister went to school with Pat Nixon . . . No, they weren't in the same class but they used to pass each other in the hall all the time . . . What do you mean I told you five years ago my sister went to school with Lady Bird Johnson? . . . I did? . . . Oh, yeh, that was my other sister . . . You see, I have two sisters . . . Mr. Blathering, I assure you there isn't a member of the Nixon Administration that I couldn't get on the phone right now . . . Yes, sir, I'll call you back."

My friend saw me standing there. "Sit down a minute." He then called his secretary. "Did Bob Finch call back yet?"

"No, sir. I've called him 12 times."

My friend said, "Keep calling."

"What's with Finch?" I asked.

"It's a long story. In 1966, I got a letter from Finch asking me to contribute to his campaign for lieutenant governor of California. I threw the letter in the waste-paper basket."

"That was a stupid thing to do," I said.

"Well, how the hell was I ministration. If I could only get invited to one of those Billy Graham prayer sessions at the White House."

"They're not open to the public," I said.

"IT REALLY doesn't seem fair," he said. "You work with people for eight years, you get to know their wives and their kids, you build up close personal relationships, and then, zap, they go and change administrations, and you have to start all over again with a whole new set of friends."

"I guess you can't stay friends with people after they're out of the Government," I said.

"You can, but why would you want to?"

"You have a point," I agreed. "Where do you think your biggest problem is going to be?"

"Probably in Defense. David Packard is Under Secretary of Defense and my problem is, what can a lobbyist do for a man who has $300 million?"

The secretary came back in. "It's Mr. Blathering again. He wants to know if you met anybody yet."

My friend was perspiring. "Hi there, Mr. Blathering . . . No, I haven't heard from Bob Finch, but I think I have a breakthrough. It turns out my kid and Secretary of Defense Mel Laird's 14-year-old kid are on the same baseball team at Landon . . . how do you like that for coincidence? . . . Please don't be so nervous, Mr. Blathering . . . Of course I'm aware of your problem . . . I'll take it up with the Attorney General on Monday."

He called Attorney General Mitchell's office and spoke to his secretary. "Hi there, my name is Grumbottom and my sister used to go to school with the Attorney General's wife . . ."

© 1969 The Washington Post Co.

month—private meetings will get under way at which the serious business will in time take place.

There is a vast difference in attitude between this conference and the 1954 Geneva Conference, which finally ended the Indochina War. The United States then was supplying only money and equipment and it could, and did, wash its hands of the whole affair when John Fos-

with their actual strength, not the maximum strength they claim or the minimum

be prepared for rollercoaster ups and downs before the ride is over.

Norelco

Cassette Recorder — If our price for NORELCO is not the LOWEST we will refund difference within 10 days of purchase.

CASSETTES

— INDIVIDUAL PAPER MAILER BOX NORELCO-TYPE PLASTIC BOX 15c EXTRA.

C-30 ½ Hr. .55
C-60 1 Hr. .69
C-90 1½ Hr. 1.19
C-120 2 Hr. 1.39

POSTAGE 8% of Total Purchase (over $20 we pay)

Discount Music Catalogs
4 track open reel;
8 track, OR cassettes. Recorder discount catalog.
1776 Columbia Rd., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

SAXTONE

ENGLISH for FOREIGN STUDENTS

Low cost course approved for foreign students.
720 14th St. NW.
DI 7-2900

TEMPLE SCHOOL

FRENCH
SPANISH
TURKISH
THAI

Private Tutorial Instruction

265-5095

INSTITUTE OF MODERN LANGUAGES
2125 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Custom Tailoring
For Men or Women With Your Fabric or Ours
Fine Alteration Service
Fabrics Sold by The Yard
Bethesda Custom Tailors
7836 Wisconsin Ave.
OL. 6-2077
(Opposite Safeway)
IRV BRAUNSTEIN, PROP.

EDUCATION for ADULTS

SPECIAL EVENING COURSES

in

REAL ESTATE for professionals
ORIENTAL ART
CALCULUS
COMMUNICATIONS
PHOTOGRAPHY
REAL ESTATE for laymen
SPEED READING
BASIC MATH
GOV'T CONTRACTS
HUMAN RELATIONS

EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP

REGISTER NOW • CALL 454-2322 • FEBRUARY CLASSES

OR CUT & MAIL TO

The University of Maryland
CONFERENCES AND INSTITUTES DIVISION
CENTER OF ADULT EDUCATION
COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND 20742

SEND ME INFORMATION ON
NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....

We provide one hour free parking

Our Semi-Annual Sale Is Still in Progress

The Joy of Finding A Genuine Bargain

Our clear-cut definition of "bargain" is something of quality, which you buy at a substantial saving. In the case of our great February sale, you are able to purchase the world's finest merchandise for men and women, at wonderful savings all along the line.

Come in and look around. All through our store you will find items of established fame greatly reduced for clearance. With such an outstanding selection of quality goods to choose from, you can understand why Washington's thrifty and quality-loving citizens are crowding our stores in record numbers. Why don't you join these happy throngs soon—and know the joy of finding a genuine bargain!

selected groups greaty reduced:

Two & Three Piece Wool Suits
Topcoats & Outercoats
Sports Jackets & Slacks
"Kentwood" Oxford & Broadcloth Shirts
"Prestige Maker" Patterned Shirts
Turtleneck Shirts & Sweaters
Neckwear, Underwear, Pajamas
Imported English Raincoats

LEWIS & THOS. SALTZ
IMPORTERS AND RETAILERS FINEST GENTLEMEN'S APPAREL
1409 G Street 1009 Conn. Ave.
EXecutive 3-4343

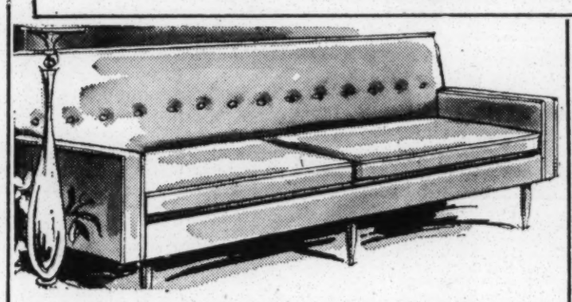
SUNDAY 11 TO 6 - MON. 10 TO 9

Marlo's $66 & $88 BONANZA

FEATURED 2-DAYS ONLY!

ITALIAN PROVINCIAL OPEN STOCK DINING SET, Unusually handsome Dining group crafted in a rich Fruitwood color. YOUR CHOICE: Either the large ROUND TABLE with plasticized top, OR the set of 4-CARVED CHAIRS.

$66



KING-SIZE LUXURY SOFA, Master-crafted in smart Modern styling. This beauty boasts such luxury features as, zippered, buoyant and reversible seat cushions, upholstered in lovely Moss Green performance-tested fabrics.

$88

CHOICE: SOLID MAPLE Schoolmaster's Desk, 72" tall, 2-drawers, 3-shelves and 22" deep Desk, OR the Spanish Provincial Chair in Gold velvet and cane back.

$66

"MAJORCA" SPANISH PROVINCIAL OPEN STOCK MASTER BEDROOM, Crafted in an unusually handsome Mediterranean-inspired distressed finish. YOUR CHOICE: Either the huge TRIPLE-DRESSER with framed TWIN MIRRORS, OR the matching CHEST and full-size CHAIR-BACK BED. Compare this value!

$88

"PEABODY LANE" DINING SET, Fashioned in the Early American manner, hand-rubbed "Salem" finish. Marlo's Low, Low price buys the large Colonial-style ROUND TABLE and the complete set of 4-MATE'S CHAIRS. Matching China, available. Only $187 additional!

$88

"CANYON" OPEN STOCK MODERN BEDROOMS, A handsomely master-crafted beauty fashioned in a gleaming "Canyon" finish with plasticized tops. YOUR CHOICE: The TRIPLE-DRESSER with door and drawers plus the framed MIRROR, OR the spacious CHEST and full-size BOOKCASE BED.

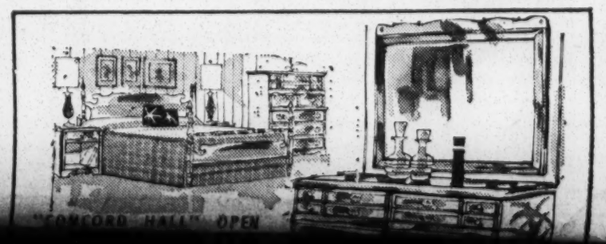
$66

"LOUNGEMASTER" 2-PC. LIVING ROOM, Here's a beautiful SOFA and LOUNGE CHAIR in Modern styling. The Sofa leads a double life! It seats 3 by day and at night it sleeps 2 most comfortably. Upholstered in decorator fabrics.

$88

FRENCH PROVINCIAL OPEN STOCK DINING GROUP, authentically fashioned with a luxury finish. YOUR CHOICE: Either the Fruitwood colored EXTENSION TABLE with plasticized top OR the set of 4-CHAIRS with upholstered seats.

$66



"PEABODY LANE" DINING SET, Fashioned in the Early American manner, hand-rubbed "Salem" finish. Marlo's Low, Low price buys the large Colonial-style ROUND TABLE and the complete set of 4-MATE'S CHAIRS. Matching China, available. Only $187 additional!

$88

"CANYON" OPEN STOCK MODERN BEDROOMS, A handsomely master-crafted beauty fashioned in a gleaming "Canyon" finish with plasticized tops. YOUR CHOICE: The TRIPLE-DRESSER with door and drawers plus the framed MIRROR, OR the spacious CHEST and full-size BOOKCASE BED.

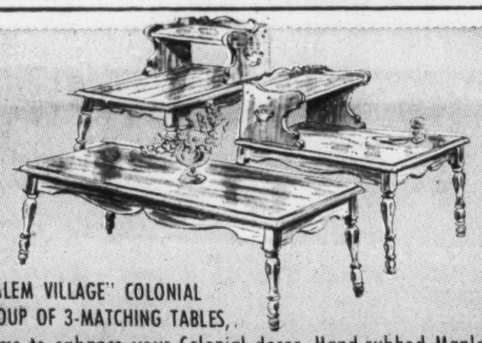
$66

"LOUNGEMASTER" 2-PC. LIVING ROOM, Here's a beautiful SOFA and LOUNGE CHAIR in Modern styling. The Sofa leads a double life! It seats 3 by day and at night it sleeps 2 most comfortably. Upholstered in decorator fabrics.

$88

FRENCH PROVINCIAL OPEN STOCK DINING GROUP, authentically fashioned with a luxury finish. YOUR CHOICE: Either the Fruitwood colored EXTENSION TABLE with plasticized top OR the set of 4-CHAIRS with upholstered seats.

$66



"SALEM VILLAGE" COLONIAL GROUP OF 3-MATCHING TABLES, Gems to enhance your Colonial decor. Hand-rubbed Maple finish on solid hardwoods. You get 2-STEP-END TABLES plus the matching COCKTAIL TABLE. Outstanding values at Marlo's Lower Prices!

$66

"MODERNARA" 4-PC. MODERN MASTER BEDROOM, crafted in a gleaming "Sierra" finish with plasticized tops. You get all 4-pieces including the huge DOUBLE-DRESSER, handsome framed MIRROR, spacious CHEST and the full-size OPEN PANEL BED. Perfect for the guest room too!

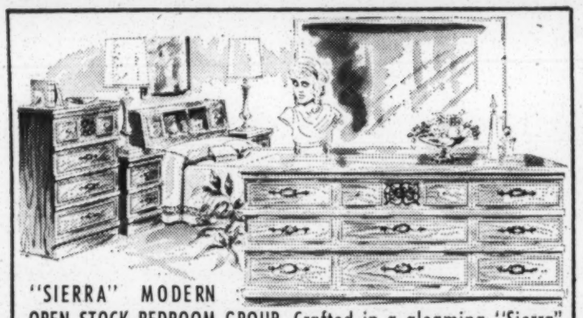
$88

YOUR CHOICE: COLONIAL KNEEHOLE DESK, hand-rubbed "Salem" finish, plasticized writing top with ample drawer space. Plus matching MATE'S CHAIR. OR the Italian Provincial CHEST 38½"-x18"x48" with 5-drawers, in White finish.

$66

"CONCORD HALL" OPEN STOCK BEDROOM, Crafted in gleaming "Spice tone" hand-rubbed finish with genuine "Micarta" tops. YOUR CHOICE: the large DOUBLE-DRESSER, lovely framed MIRROR, or the spacious CHEST and the full-size POSTER BED.

$88

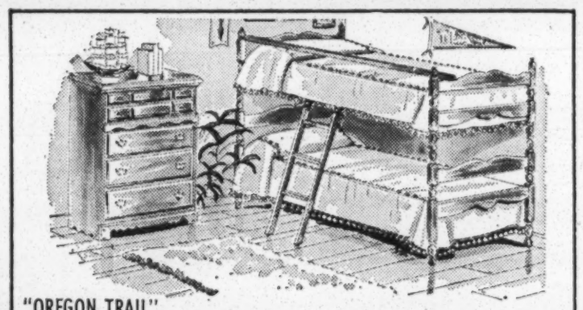


"SIERRA" MODERN OPEN STOCK BEDROOM GROUP, Crafted in a gleaming "Sierra" finish with plasticized tops. Take YOUR CHOICE: Either the massive TRIPLE-DRESSER with handsome framed MIRROR, OR the roomy, matching CHEST and the BOOKCASE BED and NIGHT TABLE. Compare this outstanding value!

$88

DAV-O-NITER LUXURY SOFA AND CHAIR, The SOFA has a removable back bolster, converts easily into a full-length bed. Complete with Modern SCOOP CHAIR, upholstered in handsome Black or Coral vinyl.

$66



"OREGON TRAIL" BUNK BED AND CHEST, Crafted in the Early American manner, handsomly styled in a rich "Nutmeg" finish. You get the handsome BUNK BED, RAIL, LADDER and matching CHEST. Bunk Bed can used as twin beds too.

$88

MODERN SOFA-BED LOUNGER, This handsome full-size SOFA easily opens into a bed that sleeps 2 most comfortably. During the day it seats 3. Master-crafted with smart Walnut-colored front panels, upholstered in performance-tested, decorator fabrics. This beauty is so adaptable to any decorating scheme.

$66

SPANISH - STYLE BOOKCASE, Crafted in rich Oak panels on selected hardwoods. Has sliding glass doors and sliding carved doors in base compartments. Measures 32"x 12"x68" tall. Each Bookcase only.

$66

"LUXUR-QUILT" DELUXE BEDDING ENSEMBLE. This superb fine quality Quilt-top bedding ensemble includes the 252 coil inner-spring MATTRESS with side vents and handles for turning. Complete with matching BOX SPRING foundation. Choice of twin or full-size.

$88

FRENCH PROVINCIAL OPEN STOCK BEDROM ENSEMBLE, Antique White finish with Cherry veneers and select hardwoods. Plasticized tops. YOUR CHOICE: CORNER DESK, UTLITITY CHEST, DOOR CABINET, DOOR HUTCH OR TESTER BED. "Tres Belle" French Provincial classic.

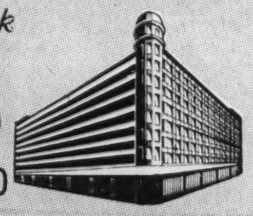
$66

LUXURIOUS MODERN MASTER CHAIR AND OTTOMAN, Just imagine, you get the high-rise wing-armed CHAIR and lovely matching OTTOMAN, both fashioned with deep buoyant cushioning and casual button-tufting, accented with rich Walnut colored bases. Where, but at Marlo's can you find such outstanding values!

$88

Below New York Ave.,—Opp. Riggs National Bank

MARLO'S
FURNITURE WORLD



901 SEVENTH ST., COR. 7th and I (EYE) STS., N.W.—WASHINGTON, D.C.—Phone: 347-8100

BUY EVERYTHING on MARLO'S EASY TERMS

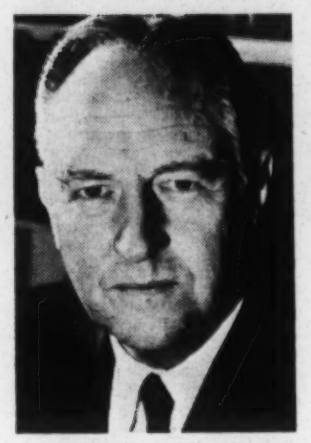
Put all your purchases on a 30-Day "No Carying Charge" account, or take as long as 24-months to pay on Marlo's convenient Budget Payment Plan. Use your Central Charge if desired.

FREE WELL-LIGHTED PARKING for YOU

Use either of 2 well-lighted Park & Shop parking lots directly across the street from Marlo's. The extra large lot on 7th St., or the spacious lot at 638 Eye St. The attendant will gladly park your car.

Nixon's Cabinet-to-Be

Here, with special attention to their labor records, are the 12 men who will manage the Federal Government for the next President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon.



William P. Rogers, 55
State

Senior partner in New York and Washington law firm of Royall, Koegel, Rogers and Wells since 1961. Served as Assistant District Attorney of New York County before and after service in Navy during World War II. Counsel to Senate Special Committee to Investigate National Defense program in 1947. Returned to private practice in 1950. Supported Eisenhower and Nixon in 1952. Under President Eisenhower, he was Deputy Attorney General then, in 1957, Attorney General.

Rogers was chief American delegate in 1955 to United Nations conference on prison conditions and the treatment of offenders. Served on American delegation to the 20th United Nations General Assembly in 1965-1966. Some experience as international corporation lawyer. Is a long-time director of the American Foundation on Automation and Employment, Inc. (IAM President Roy Siemiller is Co-Chairman of the Foundation.)

David M. Kennedy, 63
Treasury

Chairman of Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Co. of Chicago, nation's eighth bank, since 1959. Staff employee, Federal Reserve Board, for 16 years starting in 1930. Went from there to Continental. Under President Eisenhower, he served as assistant to former Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey, 1953-1954.

Kennedy was early backer of 10 per cent Federal surtax on incomes. On federal spending he said, "We are discovering that we cannot simultaneously fight a major war, provide economic and military assistance for many other countries and still expect to expand our activities at home." On Dec. 13, said there is such a thing as an "acceptable deficit," one that would not put excessive pressures on credit supplies or create inflation problems. He has served as economic advisor to Chicago's Democratic Mayor Richard Daley.

Melvin R. Laird, 46
Defense

U.S. Representative from Wisconsin since 1953. Served in U.S. Navy, Pacific Third Fleet during World War II. Third ranking Republican on Housing Appropriations Committee, serving on Defense, Health, Education, Welfare and Labor subcommittees. Supported Landrum-Griffin Bill. MNPL recorded his vote on 80 key issues during his 16 years in Congress. Laird's record: 73 "wrong" votes, 7 "right" votes.

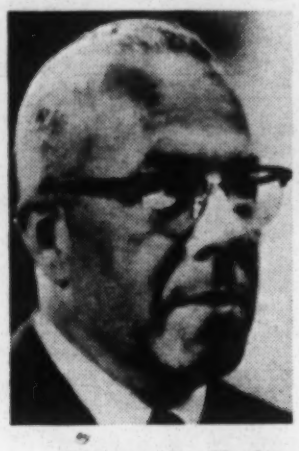
Laird was chairman of 1964 Republican Convention Committee which wrote Goldwater's platform. One of GOP's most vigorous advocates of a strong defense force. Has campaigned for nuclear navy, strong, anti-submarine force, more Polaris missile submarines, and increased research and development for defense.

Winton M. Blount, 47
Postmaster General

President, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, since July, 1968. Heads construction firm, Blount Brothers Corp., a union firm. Started firm, with his brother, after Air Force service in World War II, by investing $28,000 in earth-moving equipment. Firm now a multi-million dollar enterprise. It built Saturn launch complex at Cape Kennedy, several missile defense installations and industrial plants.

Blount campaigned for Nixon in 1960, but refused to support Goldwater in 1964. Was not active politically in 1968 campaign, saying his position with the Chamber of Commerce ruled out political activity.

Building trades representatives say relations with Blount have been good.



George P. Shultz, 48
Labor

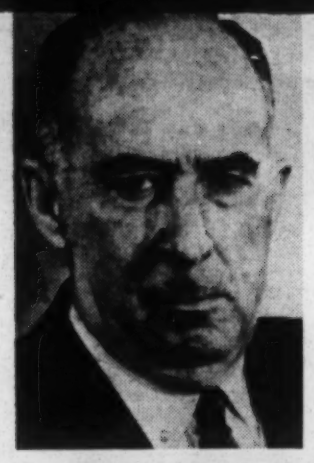
Dean, Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago, since 1962. Marine veteran of World War II. Taught industrial relations at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Co-chairman, Automation Fund Committee, a joint effort by Meat Cutters Union and Armour & Co. to find solutions to the problems of automation in the meat packing industry. Has arbitrated labor disputes in several industries including electrical equipment, farm implements, textiles, chemicals, food products and metal fabricating. Under Eisenhower, he served on President's Council of Economic Advisors. He is now president, Industrial Relations Research Assn., and a director of Borg-Warner Corp. and General American Transportation Corp.

Shultz's selection as Labor Secretary approved by most Chicago trade union officers. After his appointment he said, "The real experts on what's good for a union and its members and what's good for management and its group are the people in the unions and management. It's up to them to work out answers to their problems." Also: "The American economy is much too complex and market forces much too powerful for the application of a simple wage-price guideline."

Walter J. Hickel, 49
Interior

Governor of Alaska since 1967, his first elective office. Born in Kansas, moved to Alaska in 1940. Worked as dishwasher, bartender, carpenter and building inspector. One time professional boxer. Member Carpenters union, Anchorage, from 1950 to 1953; dropped for nonpayment of dues. Started own contracting and real estate business. Also owns several hotels.

Hickel opposed Federal law requiring all shipping between American ports be done in American-built ships. Found way to get around that law so State of Alaska could purchase $7,000,000 Swedish ferry. First supported Rockefeller for President, but switched to Nixon in March, 1968.



John N. Mitchell, 55
Attorney General

A senior partner in New York law firm of Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie, Alexander and Mitchell since 1967. Mitchell's firm merged with Nixon's in January, 1967. An expert on law relating to state and municipal bonds, he helped shape many of Nelson Rockefeller's revenue-raising proposals in New York State. A PT Boat Commander in World War II.

Managed Nixon's Presidential campaign in 1968. No recorded position on matters of national concern. The Nixon law firm represented General Cigar Co. in dispute with IAM in Puerto Rico. It charged IAM representatives with using witchcraft to influence workers.

Robert H. Finch, 43
Health, Education & Welfare

Lieutenant Governor of California since 1967. A lawyer. Marine veteran, World War II, Korea. Ran unsuccessfully for Congress twice. Became administrative assistant to Vice President Nixon in 1958. Managed Nixon's campaign for President, 1960. Worked in Nixon campaign for Governor of California, 1962. Campaign manager for U.S. Sen. Murphy of California, 1964.

John A. Volpe, 60
Transportation

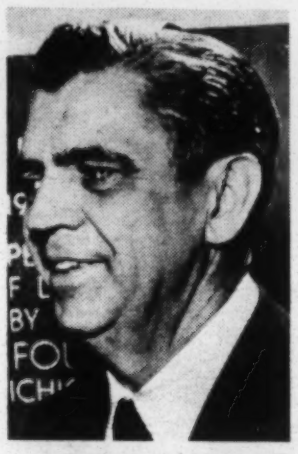
Governor of Massachusetts since 1964. Worked as hod carrier and plasterer while in college. Holds card in Plasterers union. Formed John A. Volpe Construction Co., in 1933, a multi-million dollar union shop contractor. Built Carpenters Union Building in Washington, D.C. Now constructing headquarters for Dept. of Transportation.

Elected governor, 1960; defeated in 1962, re-elected in 1964 and 1966. Originally a Rockefeller supporter, switched to Nixon and ran in state primary last year as Nixon's stand-in. Rockefeller defeated him in a write-in campaign. Was Federal Highway Administrator under Eisenhower.

Maurice H. Stans, 60
Commerce

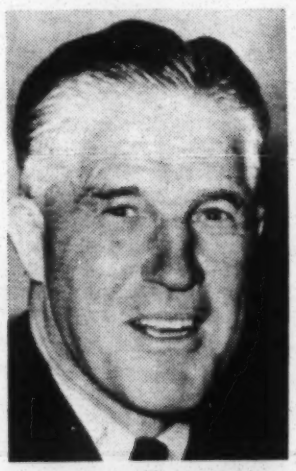
President of Glore, Forgan, William R. Steats (New York investment bank) since 1965. An accountant, he helped build one of the nation's largest accounting firms, Alexander Grant & Co. Under President Eisenhower, he was Deputy Postmaster General, 1955, and Budget Director, 1957.

Stans says a balanced budget should be first order of government's business. As Budget Director he fought a tax reduction designed to expand output and increase employment during 1959-1960 recession. Headed fund-raising for Nixon campaign.



Clifford M. Hardin, 53
Agriculture

Chancellor, University of Nebraska, since 1954. A college administrator for the last 27 years. He helped administer agricultural training programs in South America, Japan and Okinawa. Not identified with any set agricultural policy or farm organization. Has predicted that the trend toward fewer farms and fewer farm workers will continue.



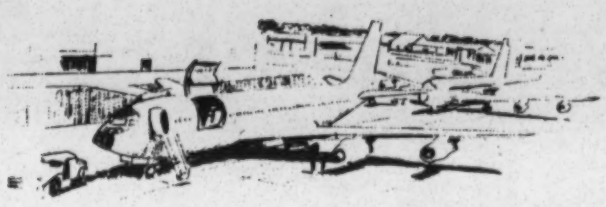
George Romney, 61
Housing & Urban Development

Governor of Michigan since 1963. Gained nation-wide acclaim as President of American Motors Corp., Kenosha, Wis. Had a good record in labor relations as an employer. Michigan labor opposed him in his campaigns for Governor. As Governor, Romney promoted the co-author of anti-union Landrum-Griffin Act, Robert P. Griffin, to U.S. Senate.

Romney has advocated extension of anti-trust laws to trade unions and outlawing industry-wide bargaining. Spoke at Republican convention last year regretting failure of GOP platform to deal with what he called the "growth and concentration of excessive collective bargaining power in hands of excessively powerful union and employer groups."

Air Transport

Air taxi firms warned on rising accident rate



The nation's top transportation safety official has rapped the rapidly expanding air taxi industry for its rising accident rate.

Before the recent National Air Taxi Conference at Hollywood, Fla., Joseph J. O'Connell, Jr., chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board, told the operators their accident statistics were "not encouraging."

O'Connell reported that total accidents involving air taxis increased 15 per cent from 1964 to 1965, 13.5 per cent from 1965 to 1966 and 7.3 per cent from 1966 to 1967.

Fatal accidents rose 8.7 per cent from 1964 to 1965, remained unchanged from 1965 to 1966 and increased nearly one-third from 1966 to 1967. In 1967, there were 33 fatal accidents and 201 non-fatal mishaps involving air taxis.

O'Connell expressed disappointment that the Federal Aviation Administration, the Civil Aeronautics Board and the major airlines haven't done much to help air taxi operators set up safety programs.

He also said he was "disturbed by the absence of any reference to safety" in a recent announcement of a pending merger between the National Air Taxi Conference and the Association of Commuter Airlines. Other problems were mentioned, he noted, but not safety. He declared:

"Every black hole in the ground hurts all of you economically and hurts public confidence in your new industry."

Hi-jacked airliners—Airline unions from free nations around the world are going to press their governments to ratify an international pact that could help cut down the hi-jacking of airliners.

Frank Heisler, IAM airline coordinator and chairman of the aviation safety committee of the International Transport Workers Federation, reported that this was agreed upon at the committee's recent meeting in London.

The unions will press their governments to ratify an agreement signed by 29 nations at the 1963 Tokyo conference of the International Civil Aviation Organization. However, so far, only six nations—Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, the Philippines and Nationalist China have ratified. It takes 12 nations to put it into effect.

The agreement—called a convention—would make it compulsory for any nation ratifying to return hi-jacked aircraft, passengers and crew as rapidly as possible. It would also encourage prosecution of aircraft hi-jackers.

The spate of hi-jackings to Cuba and the recent prolonged detention of a hi-jacked Israeli airliner and crew in Algeria has inspired this action, Heisler said.

He said the IAM will ask the new Conference of Transportation Trades uniting all AFL-CIO transport unions to press the U.S. Senate to ratify this agreement in the coming session of Congress. Like a treaty, the pact needs only Senate ratification.

Curiously, Heisler reported, although the United States signed this agreement more than five years ago, the Administration never sent it to the Senate for ratification until last September. It is now pending before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

FAA Symposium—Seven IAM members at the recent FAA Maintenance Symposium at Oklahoma City, had more first-hand experience with the conference topic than most other delegates. The subject was "Man in the Maintenance Reliability System," the human element involved in airline safety.

IAM delegates included Grand Lodge Rep. Jack Carter, G. S. Berry and John Stillwell of Local 1781, San Francisco, United Air Lines mechanics; Assistant General Chairman Lee Harris of District 141; and George Braun, Los Angeles, Joe LaTorre, Kansas City, and Frank Flood, New York City, all District 142 members on TWA.

Ryan

Government

A hopeful look at the next four years

Under President-elect Nixon progress will probably be slower for Federal employees. That is the prediction of Grand Lodge Rep. William H. Ryan, coordinator of the IAM Government Employees Department.

Ryan reports that the Nixon Administration appears to be more conservative on Federal employee legislation. But the Senate and House Post Office and Civil Service Committees are expected to continue the drives for better wages, benefits and working conditions for federal workers.

Here is Ryan's outlook for the Federal workers in the Nixon Administration.

Wages—The size and number of wage adjustments after next July's guaranteed raise is anyone's guess. During his campaign, Nixon pledged to keep Federal salaries comparable with private industry.

Benefits—Pension improvements should lead the benefit gains. A new annuity computation schedule based on an average of a worker's highest three years instead of five and credit for unused sick leave, are said to stand good chances. Federal workers, however, will probably be paying a bigger part of their retirement bill.

Collective bargaining—Any revisions in Executive Order 10988 now appear dead. Nixon has voiced his support of legislation providing for collective bargaining for Federal employees instead of the present provisions of an Executive Order.

Ryan adds that the biggest issue under the Nixon Administration could be the contracting out of more government work to private industry. He explains that Nixon's closeness with big business upholds that speculation but hopes that the Democraitc Congress will hold the contracting reins.

Federal benefit lag—A new Labor Department study refutes the myth that Federal workers, while lagging in wages, do better in benefits than their counterparts in industry.

The report shows that 24.5 per cent of industry's labor costs per worker, goes to benefits. Uncle Sam pays only 23.8 per cent for benefits for each worker. Furthermore, the study shows the benefit gap has widened since 1963, in industry's favor.

According to the study, Uncle Sam is more generous in annual leave, holidays, and health and life insurance programs. Workers in industry lead in pensions, unemployment programs, and bonuses, and savings programs.

Right to strike—Richard McLaughlin, general counsel for the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, is the latest to make a suggestion on the issue of the right to strike by Federal employees. Speaking at a recent Chicago meeting of the National School Boards Assn., McLaughlin explained that a solution must be found that "is a little bit less than the right to strike and a little bit less than compulsory arbitration."

He suggested that an agency be established to mediate Federal employee disputes, much like the Mediation Service does in industry. His other suggestions included further steps such as limited strikes, work stoppages limited to 10, 30 or 60 days.

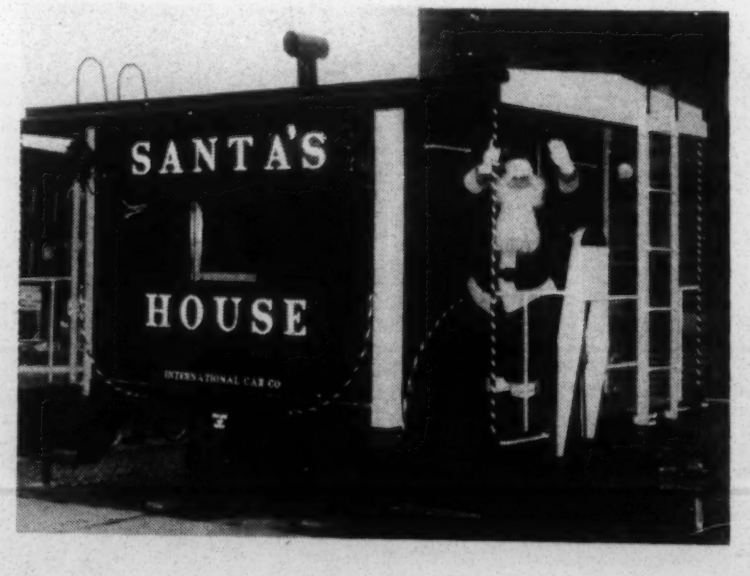
McLaughlin excluded even in his limited strike proposal, walkouts by Federal employees whose work affect public health, welfare or safety. He specifically named firemen, policemen and nurses.

IAM Santa steals show in Kenton, Ohio, caboose

That pink-cheeked, jolly old gentleman waving to the youngsters of Kenton, Ohio, from the platform of his special caboose is none other than George Engle, a member of IAM Local 1847.

Santa's miniature caboose was especially made and decorated by IAM members working at International Car Co. Kenton is known as "the caboose capital of the world," according to Harold Thaxton, IAM chairman at the plant.

International Car built the caboose as a civic project. It won the 'ohs' and 'ahs' of Kenton's kids, Thaxton says, but the real hit of the season was its red-robed, white-whiskered occupant.



Machinist Photo

Members in the news

Plaque

Sal F. Crivelli, left, field representative of the U.S. Dept. of Labor, former Secretary-Treasurer of IAM District 15, New York City, receives a plaque honoring his assistance to the Apprenticeship and Training Program in New York City. Nathan Erlich, center, and Frank Dutto, right, Chairman and Co-Chairman of the Apprenticeship Council, made the presentation, reports Murray Miller, Project Training Coordinator. Erlich said, "The success of this program to a great extent was due to Mr. Crivelli. It was Sal's patient guidance on the initial program that helped bear fruit."

Laurels

Ed Tims, Kansas City Southern Railroad machinist and a member of IAM District 18, displays the dahlias that won the first-place trophy in the dahlia show at Independence, Kan. Tims won a total of four trophies in all at the show, Gordon E. Wheatley, District 18 general chairman, reports.

Letter

Bernard Jacobson, a member of IAM Local 701, Chicago, recently received a letter from Hubert Humphrey, in response to birthday greetings he had sent the Vice President, a longtime friend. "There are many things for which I am grateful," wrote Mr. Humphrey, "and a very important one is your friendship."

Jacobson

Jacobson, who works for the Illinois Division of Highways, is editor of the *Illinois Purple Heart News*, and immediate past State Commander of the Military Order of the Purple Heart for Illinois. Jacobson was awarded his Purple Heart in 1945, while serving with the 75th Infantry in Germany.

Current Issues - 1969

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
BAYARD RUSTIN, Chairman Executive Committee
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 phone **667-1780** • New York address: 20 West 40th St., New York 10018, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: No. 2-69
January 22, 1969

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

STILL A CHANCE TO CHANGE THE FILIBUSTER RULE

The first attempt to get the new Senate to modify its Rule XXII and make it easier to end a filibuster failed last week. But the fight is not over. There is still a chance to change the rule within the next few days.

A Majority Can Close Debate

Though the attempt to change the rule failed, it has established an important precedent. Hubert H. Humphrey, who was still vice president, ruled in clear and unmistakable terms that a majority of the Senate at the opening of a new Congress can vote to limit debate.

The Senate procedure went like this:

The pending business before the Senate at the start of last week was a motion to take up the bi-partisan resolution (S. Res. 11) that would change Rule XXII so that instead of needing the votes of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting (67 if all 100 are there) to limit debate, only three-fifths would be needed (60 out of 100).

It was clear that the foes of change were going to filibuster this motion, so on Tuesday, January 14, Senator Frank Church (D., Idaho) filed a petition invoking cloture, a limit on debate.

Under the rules of the Senate, the petition that he and 24 other Democratic and Republican Senators filed, had to be voted on one hour after the Senate convened on Thursday, January 16. Their petition was supported by a vote of 51 to 47. Mr. Humphrey then ruled, as he had previously said he would, that since a majority of the Senate had voted to

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
BISHOP'S COMMITTEE FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN JURISDICTION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

end debate, that was enough, at the opening of the 91st Congress, to limit further discussion on the motion to take up S. Res. 11.

Senator Spessard Holland (D., Fla.) then appealed Mr. Humphrey's ruling to the whole body. That appeal, Mr. Humphrey said, was undebateable. He put the appeal to an immediate vote and then the Senate refused to sustain him. It voted against his ruling, 53 to 45, since some of the Senators ready to vote to end debate were not ready to agree that a majority could do so. (Both votes mentioned are enclosed with this MEMO.)

Back to Another Cloture Vote

That left the situation where it was before: the motion to take up S. Res. 11 is still before the Senate. It remains the pending business even though Spiro T. Agnew succeeds Mr. Humphrey to the chair.

The Senators who feel the present Rule XXII is a grave obstruction to getting the work of the Senate done, are not giving up. Present plans call for the filing of another cloture petition on Friday, January 24. The vote on that would come Tuesday, January 28, one hour after the Senate convenes, probably at 1 P. M. At that time, however, old Rule XXII will be in operation and two-thirds of the Senators present will have to agree to limit debate if a filibuster is to be ended.

What Leadership Conference Groups Can Do

Last week's vote on Senator Holland's appeal shows that there are 51 votes for ending debate. Another 16 votes are needed.

You can help at this point by thanking the Senators who supported cloture all the way last week and urging those who didn't to close debate.

We urge the heads and representatives of participating organizations who will be in Washington next week for our annual Board meeting to plan to cone early. Spend the morning of the 28th visiting Senators and urge them to vote cloture so that the Senate can express its will on Rule XXII. Those who can't come should write and wire Senators urging the same course. Remember it took 10 years to pass the law backing the Supreme Court's 1954 school decision. Filibuster Rule XXII was the main obstacle.

Help change it by acting at once.

- 30 -

ENCLOSURE: VOTES ON CLOTURE AND HUMPHREY RULING

NYT Times 1/17/61

Senate Roll-Calls On Debate Curb

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16 (AP) —Following are two Senate roll-call votes today in the battle to revise the rule of closure so as to permit debate to be cut off by two-thirds of the Senators present and voting.

One vote was on a motion for closure of the debate about whether the Senate should take up the proposal for the rules change.

The other was on a motion to uphold Vice President Humphrey's ruling that, although the vote on closure lacked the two-thirds majority, it had been carried because a simple majority was sufficient to change the Senate rules at the start of a new Congress.

On Closure

FOR THE MOTION—51

Democrats—34

Anderson (N.M.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Church (Idaho)	Montoya (N.M.)
Cranston (Calif.)	Moss (Utah)
Dodd (Conn.)	Muskie (Me.)
Eagleton (Mo.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Harris (Okla.)	Pell (R.I.)
Hart (Mich.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Hughes (Iowa)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Symington (Mo.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Tydings (Md.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Williams (N.J.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
McGovern (S.D.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans—17

Aiken (Vt.)	Mathias (Md.)
Boggs (Del.)	Packwood (Ore.)
Brooke (Mass.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Case (N.J.)	Percy (Ill.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Saxbe (Ohio)
Goodell (N.Y.)	Schweiker (Pa.)
Griffin (Mich.)	Scott (Pa.)
Hatfield (Ore.)	Smith (Me.)
Javits (N.Y.)	

AGAINST THE MOTION —47

Democrats—21

Allen (Ala.)	Inouye (Hawaii)
Bible (Nev.)	Jordan (N.C.)
Byrd (Va.)	Long (La.)
Byrd (W.Va.	McClellan (Ark.)
Eastland (Miss.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Spong (Va.)
Gravel (Alaska)	Stennis (Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Hollings (S.C.)	

Republicans—26

Allott (Colo.)	Gurney (Fla.)
Baker (Tenn.)	Hansen (Wyo.)
Bellmon (Okla.)	Hruska (Neb.)
Bennett (Utah)	Jordan (Idaho)
Cook (Ky.)	Miller (Iowa)
Cooper (Ky.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Stevens (Alaska)
Dole (Kan.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Tower (Tex.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Williams (Del.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Young (N.D.)

Not voting but announced as for closure: Democrats—Magnuson.

Not voting but announced as against closure: Democrats—Cannon (Nev.).

On Humphrey Ruling

FOR THE MOTION—45

Democrats—32

Anderson (N.M.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Montoya (N.M.)
Church (Idaho)	Moss (Utah)
Cranston (Calif.)	Muskie (Me.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Eagleton (Mo.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Harris (Okla.)	Pell (R.I.)
Hart (Mich.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Hughes (Iowa)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Symington (Mo.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Tydings (Md.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Williams (N.J.)
McGovern (S.D.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
McIntyre (N.H.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans—13

Brooke (Mass.)	Packwood (Ore.)
Case (N.J.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Percy (Ill.)
Goodell (N.Y.)	Saxbe (Ohio)
Hatfield (Ore.)	Schweiker (Pa.)
Javits (N.Y.)	Scott (Pa.)
Mathias (Md.)	

Against the Motion—53

Democrats—23

Allen (Ala.)	Inouye (Hawaii)
Bible (Nev.)	Jordan (N.C.)
Byrd (Va.)	Long (La.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Mansfield (Mont.)
Eastland (Mass.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Ellender (La.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Russell (Ga.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Spong (Va.)
Gravel (Alaska)	Stennis)Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Hollings (S.C.)	

Republicans—30

Aiken (Vt.)	Griffin (Mich.)
Allott (Colo.)	Gurney (Fla.)
Baker (Tenn.)	Hansen (Wyo.)
Bellmon (Okla.)	Hruska (Neb.)
Bennett (Utah)	Jordan (Idaho)
Boggs (Del.)	Miller (Iowa)
Cook (Ky.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Smith (Me.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Stevens (Alaska)
Dole (Kan.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Tower (Tex.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Williams (Del.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Young (N.D.)

Not voting but announced as paired for the motion (pairs are used to denote the opposing positions of Senators when one or both are absent): Democrats — Magnuson (Wash.).

Not voting but announced as paired against the motion: Democrats—Cannon (Nev.).

REPRINTED from PLAYBOY MAGAZINE, January, 1969 Current Issue
© 1968, HMH Publishing Co. Inc.

PLAYBOY

A TESTAMENT OF HOPE

in his final published statement, the fallen civil rights leader points the way out of america's racial turmoil into the promised land of true equality

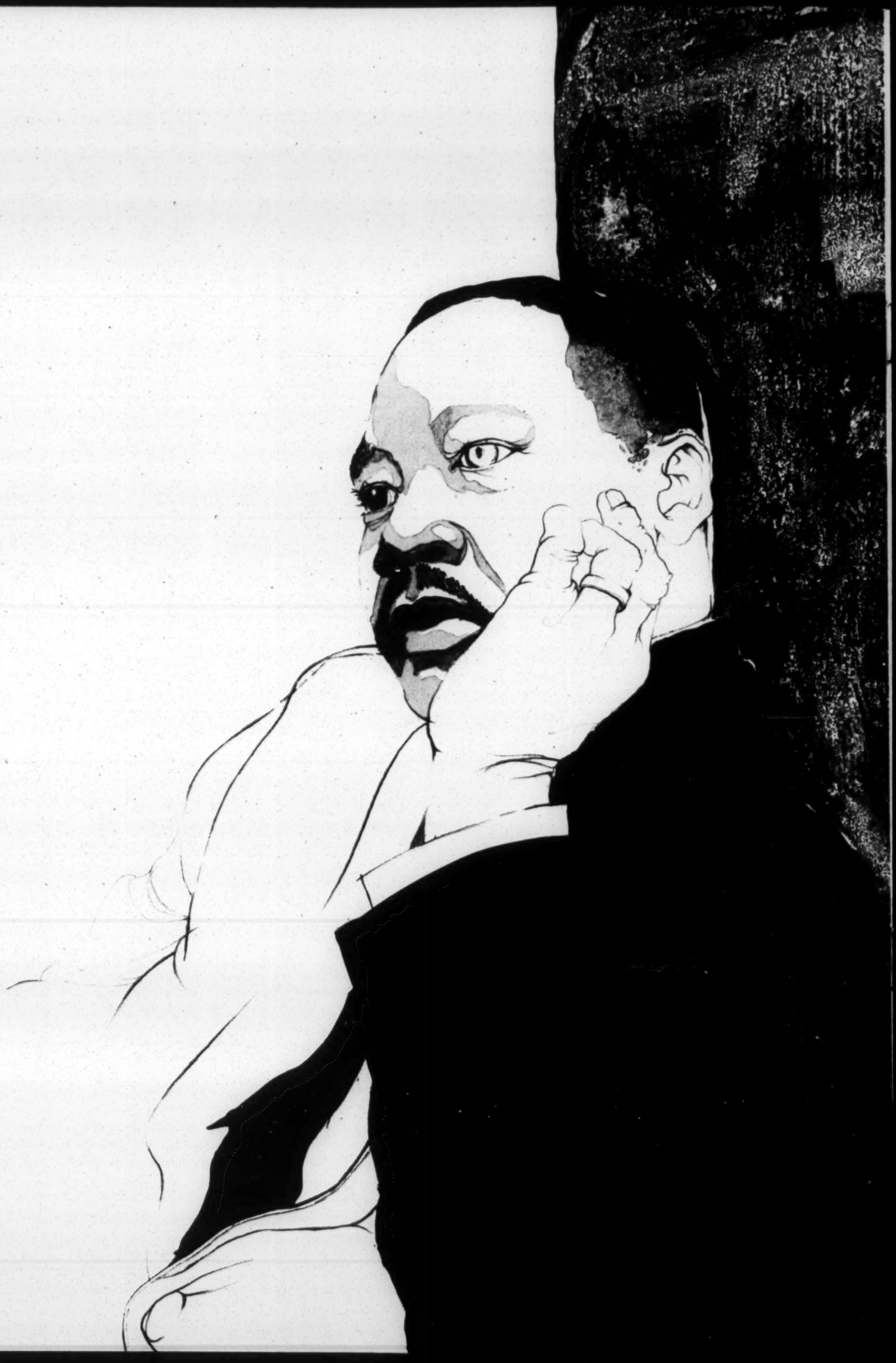
BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

WHENEVER I AM ASKED my opinion of the current state of the civil rights movement, I am forced to pause; it is not easy to describe a crisis so profound that it has caused the most powerful nation in the world to stagger in confusion and bewilderment. Today's problems are so acute because the tragic evasions and defaults of several centuries have accumulated to disaster proportions. The luxury of a leisurely approach to urgent solutions—the ease of gradualism—was forfeited by ignoring the issues for too long. The nation waited until the black man was explosive with fury before stirring itself even to partial concern. Confronted now with the interrelated problems of war, inflation, urban decay, white backlash and a climate of violence, it is now *forced* to address itself to race relations and poverty, and it is tragically unprepared. What might once have been a series of separate problems now merge into a social crisis of almost stupefying complexity.

I am not sad that black Americans are rebelling; this was not only inevitable but eminently desirable. Without this magnificent ferment among Negroes, the old evasions and procrastinations would have continued indefinitely. Black men have slammed the door shut on a past of deadening passivity. Except for the Reconstruction years, they have never in their long history on American soil struggled with such creativity and courage for their freedom. These are our bright years of emergence; though they are painful ones, they cannot be avoided.

Yet despite the widening of our stride, history is racing forward so rapidly that the Negro's inherited and imposed disadvantages slow him down to an infuriating crawl. Lack of education, the dislocations of recent urbanization and the hardening of white resistance loom as such tormenting roadblocks that the goal sometimes appears not as a fixed point in the future but as a receding point never to be reached. Still, when doubts emerge, we can remember that only yesterday Negroes were not only grossly exploited but negated as human beings. They were invisible in their misery. But the sullen and silent slave of 110 years ago, an object of scorn at worst or of pity at best, is today's angry man. He is vibrantly on the move; he is forcing change, rather than waiting for it in pathetic futility. In less than two decades, he has roared out of slumber to change so many of his life's conditions that he may yet find the means to accelerate his march forward and overtake the racing locomotive of history.

These words may have an unexpectedly optimistic ring at a time when pessimism is the prevailing mood. People are often surprised to learn that I am an optimist. They know how often I have been jailed, how frequently the days and nights have been filled with frustration and sorrow, how bitter and dangerous are my adversaries. They expect these experiences to harden me into a grim and desperate man. They fail, however, to perceive the sense of affirmation generated by the challenge of embracing struggle and surmounting obstacles. They have no comprehension of the strength that comes from faith in God and man. It is possible for me to falter, but I am profoundly secure in my knowledge that God loves us; He has not worked out a design for our failure. Man has the capacity to do right as well as wrong, and his history is a path upward, not downward. The past is strewn with the ruins of the empires of tyranny, and each is a monument not merely to man's blunders but to his capacity to overcome them. While it is a bitter fact that in America in 1968, I am denied equality solely because I am black, yet I am not a chattel slave. Millions of people have fought thousands of battles to enlarge my freedom; restricted as it still is, progress has been made. This is why I remain an optimist, though I am also a realist, about the barriers before us. Why is the issue of equality still so far from solution



in America, a nation that professes itself to be democratic, inventive, hospitable to new ideas, rich, productive and awesomely powerful? The problem is so tenacious because, despite its virtues and attributes, America is deeply racist and its democracy is flawed both economically and socially. All too many Americans believe justice will unfold painlessly or that its absence for black people will be tolerated tranquilly.

Justice for black people will not flow into society merely from court decisions nor from fountains of political oratory. Nor will a few token changes quell all the tempestuous yearnings of millions of disadvantaged black people. White America must recognize that justice for black people cannot be achieved without radical changes in the structure of our society. The comfortable, the entrenched, the privileged cannot continue to tremble at the prospect of change in the *status quo*.

Stephen Vincent Benét had a message for both white and black Americans in the title of a story, *Freedom Is a Hard Bought Thing*. When millions of people have been cheated for centuries, restitution is a costly process. Inferior education, poor housing, unemployment, inadequate health care—each is a bitter component of the oppression that has been our heritage. Each will require billions of dollars to correct. Justice so long deferred has accumulated interest and its cost for this society will be substantial in financial as well as human terms. This fact has not been fully grasped, because most of the gains of the past decade were obtained at bargain rates. The desegregation of public facilities cost nothing; neither did the election and appointment of a few black public officials.

The price of progress would have been high enough at the best of times, but we are in an agonizing national crisis because a complex of profound problems has intersected in an explosive mixture. The black surge toward freedom has raised justifiable demands for racial justice in our major cities at a time when all the problems of city life have simultaneously erupted. Schools, transportation, water supply, traffic and crime would have been municipal agonies whether or not Negroes lived in our cities. The anarchy of unplanned city growth was destined to confound our confidence. What is unique to this period is our inability to arrange an order of priorities that promises solutions that are decent and just.

Millions of Americans are coming to see that we are fighting an immoral war that costs nearly 30 billion dollars a year, that we are perpetuating racism, that we are tolerating almost 40,000,000 poor during an overflowing material abundance. Yet they remain helpless to end the war, to feed the hungry, to make brotherhood a reality; this has to shake our faith in ourselves. If we look honestly at the realities of our national life, it is clear that we are not marching forward; we are groping and stumbling; we are divided and confused. Our moral values and our spiritual confidence sink, even as our material wealth ascends. In these trying circumstances, the black revolution is much more than a struggle for the rights of Negroes. It is forcing America to face all its interrelated flaws—racism, poverty, militarism and materialism. It is exposing evils that are rooted deeply in the whole structure of our society. It reveals systemic rather than superficial flaws and suggests that radical reconstruction of society itself is the real issue to be faced.

It is time that we stopped our blithe lip service to the guarantees of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. These fine sentiments are embodied in the Declaration of Independence, but that document was always a declaration of intent rather than of reality. There were slaves when it was written; there were still slaves when it was adopted; and to this day, black Americans have not life, liberty nor the privilege of pursuing happiness, and millions of poor white Americans are in economic bondage that is scarcely less oppressive. Americans who genuinely treasure our national ideals, who know they are still elusive dreams for all too many, should welcome the stirring of Negro demands. They are shattering the complacency that allowed a multitude of social evils to accumulate. Negro agitation is requiring America to re-examine its comforting myths and may yet catalyze the drastic reforms that will save us from social catastrophe.

In indicting white America for its ingrained and tenacious racism, I am using the term "white" to describe the majority, not *all* who are white. We have found that there are many white people who clearly perceive the justice of the Negro struggle for human dignity. Many of them joined our struggle and displayed heroism no less inspiring than that of black people. More than a few died by our side; their memories are cherished and are undimmed by time.

Yet the largest part of white America is still poisoned by racism, which is as native to our soil as pine trees, sagebrush and buffalo grass. Equally native to us is the concept that gross exploitation of the Negro is acceptable, if not commendable. Many whites who concede that Negroes should have equal access to public facilities and the untrammeled right to vote cannot understand that we do not intend to remain in the basement of the economic structure; they cannot understand why a porter or a housemaid would dare dream of a day when his work will be more useful, more remunerative and a pathway to rising opportunity. This incomprehension is a heavy burden in our efforts to win white allies for the long struggle.

But the American Negro has in his nature the spiritual and worldly fortitude to eventually win his struggle for justice and freedom. It is a moral fortitude that has been forged by centuries of oppression. In their sorrow and their hardship, Negroes have become almost instinctively cohesive. We band together readily; and against white hostility, we have an intense and wholesome loyalty to one another. But we cannot win our struggle for justice all alone, nor do I think that most Negroes want to exclude well-intentioned whites from participation in the black revolution. I believe there is an important place in our struggle for white liberals and I hope that their present estrangement from our movement is only temporary. But many white people in the past joined our movement with a kind of messianic faith that they were going to save the Negro and solve all of his problems very quickly. They tended, in some instances, to be rather aggressive and insensitive to the opinions and abilities of the black people with whom they were working; this has been especially true of students. In many cases, they simply did not know how to work in a supporting, secondary role. I think this problem became most evident when young men and women from elite Northern universities came down to Mississippi to work with the black students at Tougaloo and Rust colleges, who were not quite as articulate, didn't type quite as fast and were not as sophisticated. Inevitably, feeling of white paternalism and black inferiority became exaggerated. The Negroes who rebelled against white liberals were trying to assert their own equality and to cast off the mantle of paternalism.

Fortunately, we haven't had this problem in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Most of the white people who were working with us in 1962 and 1963 are still with us. We have always enjoyed a relationship of mutual respect. But I think a great many white liberals outside S. C. L. C. also have learned this basic lesson in human relations, thanks largely to Jimmy Baldwin and others who have articulated some of the problems of being black in a multiracial society. And I am happy to report that relationships between whites and Negroes in the human rights movement are now on a much healthier basis.

In society at large, abrasion between the races is far more evident—but the hostility was always there. Relations to-

day are different only in the sense that Negroes are expressing the feelings that were so long muted. The constructive achievements of the decade 1955 to 1965 deceived us. Everyone underestimated the amount of violence and rage Negroes were suppressing and the vast amount of bigotry the white majority was disguising. All-black organizations are a reflection of that alienation—but they are only a contemporary way station on the road to freedom. They are a product of this period of identity crisis and directionless confusion. As the human rights movement becomes more confident and aggressive, more nonviolently active, many of these emotional and intellectual problems will be resolved in the heat of battle, and we will not ask what is our neighbor's color but whether he is a brother in the pursuit of racial justice. For much of the fervent idealism of the white liberals has been supplemented recently by a dispassionate recognition of some of the cold realities of the struggle for that justice.

One of the most basic of these realities was pointed out by the President's Riot Commission, which observed that the nature of the American economy in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries made it possible for the European immigrants of that time to escape from poverty. It was an economy that had room for—even a great need for—unskilled manual labor. Jobs were available for willing workers, even those with the educational and language liabilities they had brought with them. But the American economy today is radically different. There are fewer and fewer jobs for the culturally and educationally deprived; thus does present-day poverty feed upon and perpetuate itself. The Negro today cannot escape from his ghetto in the way that Irish, Italian, Jewish and Polish immigrants escaped from their ghettos 50 years ago. New methods of escape must be found. And one of these roads to escape will be a more equitable sharing of political power between Negroes and whites. Integration is meaningless without the sharing of power. When I speak of integration, I don't mean a romantic mixing of colors, I mean a real sharing of power and responsibility. We will eventually achieve this, but it is going to be much more difficult for us than for any other minority. After all, no other minority has been so constantly, brutally and deliberately exploited. But because of this very exploitation, Negroes bring a special spiritual and moral contribution to American life—a contribution without which America could not survive.

The implications of true racial integration are more than just national in scope. I don't believe we can have world peace until America has an "integrated" foreign policy. Our disastrous experiences in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic have been, in one sense, a result of racist decision making. Men of the white West, whether or not they like it, have grown up in a racist culture, and their thinking is colored by that fact. They have been fed on a false mythology and tradition that blinds them to the aspirations and talents of other men. They don't really respect anyone who is not white. But we simply cannot have peace in the world without mutual respect. I honestly feel that a man without racial blinders—or, even better, a man with personal experience of racial discrimination—would be in a much better position to make policy decisions and to conduct negotiations with the underprivileged and emerging nations of the world (or even with Castro, for that matter) than would an Eisenhower or a Dulles.

The American Marines might not even have been needed in Santo Domingo, had the American ambassador there been a man who was sensitive to the color dynamics that pervade the national life of the Dominican Republic. Black men in positions of power in the business world would not be so unconscionable as to trade or traffic with the Union of South Africa, nor would they be so insensitive to the problems and needs of Latin America that they would continue the patterns of American exploitation that now prevail there. When we replace the rabidly segregationist chairman of the Armed Services Committee with a man of good will, when our ambassadors reflect a creative and wholesome interracial background, rather than a cultural heritage that is a conglomeration of Texas and Georgia politics, then we will be able to bring about a qualitative difference in the nature of American foreign policy. This is what we mean when we talk about redeeming the soul of America. Let me make it clear that I don't think white men have a monopoly on sin or greed. But I think there has been a kind of collective experience—a kind of shared misery in the black community—that makes it a little harder for us to exploit other people.

I have come to hope that American Negroes can be a bridge between white civilization and the nonwhite nations of the world, because we have roots in both. Spiritually, Negroes identify understandably with Africa, an identification that is rooted largely in our color; but all of us are a part of the white-American world, too. Our education has been Western and our language, our attitudes—though we sometimes tend to deny it—are very much influenced by Western civilization. Even our emotional life has been disciplined and sometimes stifled and inhibited by an essentially European upbringing. So, although in one sense we are neither, in another sense we are both Americans and Africans. Our very bloodlines are a mixture. I hope and feel that out of the universality of our experience, we can help make peace and harmony in this world more possible.

Although American Negroes could, if they were in decision-making positions, give aid and encouragement to the underprivileged and disenfranchised people in other lands, I don't think it can work the other way around. I don't think the nonwhites in other parts of the world can really be of any concrete help to us, given their own problems of development and self-determination. In fact, American Negroes have greater collective buying power than Canada, greater than all four of the Scandinavian countries combined. American Negroes have greater economic potential than most of the nations—perhaps even more than *all* of the nations—of Africa. We don't *need* to look for help from some power outside the boundaries of our country, except in the sense of sympathy and identification. Our challenge, rather, is to organize the power we already have in our midst. The Newark riots, for example, could certainly have been prevented by a more aggressive political involvement on the part of that city's Negroes. There is utterly no reason Addonizio should be the mayor of Newark, with the Negro majority that exists in that city. Gary, Indiana, is another tinderbox city; but its black mayor, Richard Hatcher, has given Negroes a new faith in the effectiveness of the political process.

One of the most basic weapons in the fight for social justice will be the cumulative political power of the Negro. I can foresee the Negro vote becoming consistently the decisive vote in national elections. It is already decisive in states that have large numbers of electoral votes. Even today, the Negroes in New York City strongly influence how New York State will go in national elections, and the Negroes of Chicago have a similar leverage in Illinois. Negroes are even the decisive balance of power in the elections in Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. So the party and the candidate that get the support of the Negro voter in national elections have a very definite edge, and we intend to use this fact to win advances in the struggle for human rights. I have every confidence that the black vote will ultimately help unseat the diehard opponents of equal rights in Congress—who are, incidentally, reactionary on all issues. But the Negro com-

munity cannot win this victory alone; indeed, it would be an empty victory even if the Negroes *could* win it alone. Intelligent men of good will everywhere must see this as their task and contribute to its support.

The election of Negro mayors, such as Hatcher, in some of the nation's larger cities has also had a tremendous psychological impact upon the Negro. It has shown him that he has the potential to participate in the determination of his own destiny—and that of society. We will see more Negro mayors in major cities in the next ten years, but this is not the ultimate answer. Mayors are relatively impotent figures in the scheme of national politics. Even a white mayor such as John Lindsay of New York simply does not have the money and resources to deal with the problems of his city. The necessary money to deal with urban problems must come from the Federal Government, and this money is ultimately controlled by the Congress of the United States. The success of these enlightened mayors is entirely dependent upon the financial support made available by Washington.

The past record of the Federal Government, however, has not been encouraging. No President has really done very much for the American Negro, though the past two Presidents have received much undeserved credit for helping us. This credit has accrued to Lyndon Johnson and John Kennedy only because it was during their Administrations that Negroes began doing more for themselves. Kennedy didn't voluntarily submit a civil rights bill, nor did Lyndon Johnson. In fact, both told us at one time that such legislation was impossible. President Johnson did respond realistically to the signs of the times and used his skills as a legislator to get bills through Congress that other men might not have gotten through. I must point out, in all honesty, however, that President Johnson has not been nearly so diligent in *implementing* the bills he has helped shepherd through Congress.

Of the ten titles of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, probably only the one concerning public accommodations—the most bitterly contested section—has been meaningfully enforced and implemented. Most of the other sections have been deliberately ignored. The same is true of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which provides for Federal referees to monitor the registration of voters in counties where Negroes have systematically been denied the right to vote. Yet of the some 900 counties that are eligible for Federal referees, only 58 counties to date have had them. The 842 other counties remain essentially just as they were before the march on Selma. Look at the pattern of Federal referees in Mississippi, for example. They are dispersed in a manner that gives the appearance of change without any real prospect of actually shifting political power or giving Negroes a genuine opportunity to be represented in the government of their state. There is a similar pattern in Alabama, even though that state is currently at odds with the Democratic Administration in Washington because of George Wallace. Georgia, until just recently, had no Federal referees at all, not even in the hard-core black-belt counties. I think it is significant that there are no Federal referees at all in the home districts of the most powerful Southern Senators—particularly Senators Russell, Eastland and Talmadge. The power and moral corruption of these Senators remain unchallenged, despite the weapon for change the legislation promised to be. Reform was thwarted when the legislation was inadequately enforced.

But not all is bad in the South, by any means. Though the fruits of our struggle have sometimes been nothing more than bitter despair, I must admit there have been some hopeful signs, some meaningful successes. One of the most hopeful of these changes is the attitude of the Southern Negro himself. Benign acceptance of second-class citizenship has been displaced by vigorous demands for full citizenship rights and opportunities. In fact, most of our concrete accomplishments have been limited largely to the South. We have put an end to racial segregation in the South; we have brought about the beginnings of reform in the political system; and, as incongruous as it may seem, a Negro is probably safer in most Southern cities than he is in the cities of the North. We have confronted the racist policemen of the South and demanded reforms in the police departments. We have confronted the Southern racist power structure and we have elected Negro and liberal white candidates through much of the South in the past ten years. George Wallace is certainly an exception, and Lester Maddox is a sociological fossil. But despite these anachronisms, at the city and county level, there is a new respect for black votes and black citizenship that just did not exist ten years ago. Though school integration has moved at a depressingly slow rate in the South, it *has* moved. Of far more significance is the fact that we have learned that the integration of schools does not necessarily solve the inadequacy of schools. White schools are often just about as bad as black schools, and integrated schools sometimes tend to merge the problems of the two without solving either of them.

There *is* progress in the South, however—progress expressed by the presence of Negroes in the Georgia House of Representatives, in the election of a Negro to the Mississippi House of Representatives, in the election of a black sheriff in Tuskegee, Alabama, and, most especially, in the integration of police forces throughout the Southern states. There are now even Negro deputy sheriffs in such black-belt areas as Dallas County, Alabama. Just three years ago, a Negro could be beaten for going into the county courthouse in Dallas County; now Negroes share in running it. So there *are* some changes. But the changes are basically in the social and political areas; the problems we now face—providing jobs, better housing and better education for the poor throughout the country—will require money for their solution, a fact that makes those solutions all the more difficult.

The need for solutions, meanwhile, becomes more urgent every day, because these problems are far more serious now than they were just a few years ago. Before 1964, things were getting better economically for the Negro; but after that year, things began to take a turn for the worse. In particular, automation began to cut into our jobs very badly, and this snuffed out the few sparks of hope the black people had begun to nurture. As long as there was some measurable and steady economic progress, Negroes were willing and able to press harder and work harder and hope for something better. But when the door began to close on the few avenues of progress, then hopeless despair began to set in.

The fact that most white people do not comprehend this situation—which prevails in the North as well as in the South—is due largely to the press, which molds the opinions of the white community. Many whites hasten to congratulate themselves on what little progress we Negroes have made. I'm sure that most whites felt that with the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, all race problems were automatically solved. Because most white people are so far removed from the life of the average Negro, there has been little to challenge this assumption. Yet Negroes continue to live with racism every day. It doesn't matter where we are individually in the scheme of things, how near we may be either to the top or to the bottom of society; the cold facts of racism slap each one of us in the face. A friend of mine is a lawyer, one of the most brilliant young men I know. Were he a white lawyer, I have no doubt that he would be in a $100,000 job with a major corporation or heading his own independent firm. As it is, he makes a mere $20,000 a year. This may seem like a lot of money and, to most of us, it is; but the point is that this young man's background and abilities would, if his skin color were different, entitle him to an income many times that amount.

I don't think there is a single major insurance company that hires Negro lawyers. Even within the agencies of the

Federal Government, most Negro employees are in the lower echelons; only a handful of Negroes in Federal employment are in upper-income brackets. This is a situation that cuts across this country's economic spectrum. The Chicago Urban League recently conducted a research project in the Kenwood community on the South Side. They discovered that the average educational grade level of Negroes in that community was 10.6 years and the median income was about $4200 a year. In nearby Gage Park, the median educational grade level of the whites was 8.6 years, but the median income was $9600 per year. In fact, the average white high school dropout makes as much as, if not more than, the average Negro college graduate.

Solutions for these problems, urgent as they are, must be constructive and rational. Rioting and violence provide no solutions for economic problems. Much of the justification for rioting has come from the thesis—originally set forth by Franz Fanon—that violence has a certain cleansing effect. Perhaps, in a special psychological sense, he may have had a point. But we have seen a better and more constructive cleansing process in our nonviolent demonstrations. Another theory to justify violent revolution is that rioting enables Negroes to overcome their fear of the white man. But they are just as afraid of the power structure after a riot as before. I remember that was true when our staff went into Rochester, New York, after the riot of 1964. When we discussed the possibility of going down to talk with the police, the people who had been most aggressive in the violence were afraid to talk. They still had a sense of inferiority; and not until they were bolstered by the presence of our staff and given reassurance of their political power and the rightness of their cause and the justness of their grievances were they able and willing to sit down and talk to the police chief and the city manager about the conditions that had produced the riot.

As a matter of fact, I think the aura of paramilitarism among the black militant groups speaks much more of fear than it does of confidence. I know, in my own experience, that I was much more afraid in Montgomery when I had a gun in my house. When I decided that, as a teacher of the philosophy of nonviolence, I couldn't keep a gun, I came face to face with the question of death and I dealt with it. And from that point on, I no longer needed a gun nor have I been afraid. Ultimately, one's sense of manhood must come from within him.

The riots in Negro ghettos have been, in one sense, merely another expression of the growing climate of violence in America. When a culture begins to feel threatened by its own inadequacies, the majority of men tend to prop themselves up by artificial means, rather than dig down deep into their spiritual and cultural wellsprings. America seems to have reached this point. Americans as a whole feel threatened by communism on one hand and, on the other, by the rising tide of aspirations among the undeveloped nations. I think most Americans know in their hearts that their country has been terribly wrong in its dealings with other peoples around the world. When Rome began to disintegrate from within, it turned to a strengthening of the military establishment, rather than to a correction of the corruption within the society. We are doing the same thing in this country and the result will probably be the same—unless, and here I admit to a bit of chauvinism, the black man in America can provide a new soul force for all Americans, a new expression of the American dream that need not be realized at the expense of other men around the world, but a dream of opportunity and life that can be shared with the rest of the world.

It seems glaringly obvious to me that the development of a humanitarian means of dealing with some of the social problems of the world—and the correlative revolution in American values that this will entail—is a much better way of protecting ourselves against the threat of violence than the military means we have chosen. On these grounds, I must indict the Johnson Administration. It has seemed amazingly devoid of statesmanship; and when creative statesmanship wanes, irrational militarism increases. In this sense, President Kennedy was far more of a statesman than President Johnson. He was a man who was big enough to admit when he was wrong—as he did after the Bay of Pigs incident. But Lyndon Johnson seems to be unable to make this kind of statesmanlike gesture in connection with Vietnam. And I think that this has led, as Senator Fulbright has said, to such a strengthening of the military-industrial complex of this country that the President now finds himself almost totally trapped by it. Even at this point, when he can readily summon popular support to end the bombing in Vietnam, he persists. Yet bombs in Vietnam also explode at home; they destroy the hopes and possibilities for a decent America.

In our efforts to dispel this atmosphere of violence in this country, we cannot afford to overlook the root cause of the riots. The President's Riot Commission concluded that most violence-prone Negroes are teenagers or young adults who, almost invariably, are underemployed ("underemployed" means working every day but earning an income below the poverty level) or who are employed in menial jobs. And according to a recent Department of Labor statistical report, 24.8 percent of Negro youth are currently unemployed, a statistic that does not include the drifters who avoid the census takers. Actually, it's my guess that the statistics are very, very conservative in this area. The Bureau of the Census has admitted a ten-percent error in this age group, and the unemployment statistics are based on those who are actually applying for jobs.

But it isn't just a lack of work; it's also a lack of *meaningful* work. In Cleveland, 58 percent of the young men between the ages of 16 and 25 were estimated to be either unemployed or underemployed. This appalling situation is probably 90 percent of the root cause of the Negro riots. A Negro who has finished high school often watches his white classmates go out into the job market and earn $100 a week, while he, because he is black, is expected to work for $40 a week. Hence, there is a tremendous hostility and resentment that only a difference in race keeps him out of an adequate job. This situation is social dynamite. When you add the lack of recreational facilities and adequate job counseling, and the continuation of an aggressively hostile police environment, you have a truly explosive situation. Any night on any street corner in any Negro ghetto of the country, a nervous policeman can start a riot simply by being impolite or by expressing racial prejudice. And white people are sadly unaware how routinely and frequently this occurs.

It hardly needs to be said that solutions to these critical problems are overwhelmingly urgent. The President's Riot Commission recommended that funds for summer programs aimed at young Negroes should be increased. New York is already spending more on its special summer programs than on its year-round poverty efforts, but these are only tentative and emergency steps toward a truly meaningful and permanent solution. And the negative thinking in this area voiced by many whites does not help the situation. Unfortunately, many white people think that we merely "reward" a rioter by taking positive action to better his situation. What these white people do not realize is that the Negroes who riot have given up on America. When nothing is done to alleviate their plight, this merely confirms the Negroes' conviction that America is a hopelessly decadent society. When something positive is done, however, when constructive action follows a riot, a rioter's despair is allayed and he is forced to re-evaluate America and to consider whether some good might eventually come from our society after all.

But, I repeat, the recent curative steps that have been taken are, at best, inadequate. The summer poverty programs,

like most other Government projects, function well in some places and are totally ineffective in others. The difference, in large measure, is one of citizen participation; that is the key to success or failure. In cases such as the Farmers' Marketing Cooperative Association in the black belt of Alabama and the Child Development Group in Mississippi, where the people were really involved in the planning and action of the program, it was one of the best experiences in self-help and grass-roots initiative. But in places like Chicago, where poverty programs are used strictly as a tool of the political machinery and for dispensing party patronage, the very concept of helping the poor is defiled and the poverty program becomes just another form of enslavement. I still wouldn't want to do away with it, though, even in Chicago. We must simply fight at both the local and the national levels to gain as much community control as possible over the poverty program.

But there is no single answer to the plight of the American Negro. Conditions and needs vary greatly in different sections of the country. I think that the place to start, however, is in the area of human relations, and especially in the area of community-police relations. This is a sensitive and touchy problem that has rarely been adequately emphasized. Virtually every riot has begun from some police action. If you try to tell the people in most Negro communities that the police are their friends, they just laugh at you. Obviously, something desperately needs to be done to correct this. I have been particularly impressed by the fact that even in the state of Mississippi, where the FBI did a significant training job with the Mississippi police, the police are much more courteous to Negroes than they are in Chicago or New York. Our police forces simply must develop an attitude of courtesy and respect for the ordinary citizen. If we can just stop policemen from using profanity in their encounters with black people, we will have accomplished a lot. In the larger sense, police must cease being occupation troops in the ghetto and start protecting its residents. Yet very few cities have really faced up to this problem and tried to do something about it. It is the most abrasive element in Negro-white relations, but it is the last to be scientifically and objectively appraised.

When you go beyond a relatively simple though serious problem such as police racism, however, you begin to get into all the complexities of the modern American economy. Urban transit systems in most American cities, for example, have become a genuine civil rights issue—and a valid one—because the layout of rapid-transit systems determines the accessibility of jobs to the black community. If transportation systems in American cities could be laid out so as to provide an opportunity for poor people to get meaningful employment, then they could begin to move into the mainstream of American life. A good example of this problem is my home city of Atlanta, where the rapid-transit system has been laid out for the convenience of the white upper-middle-class suburbanites who commute to their jobs downtown. The system has virtually no consideration for connecting the poor people with their jobs. There is only one possible explanation for this situation, and that is the racist blindness of city planners.

The same problems are to be found in the areas of rent supplement and low-income housing. The relevance of these issues to human relations and human rights cannot be overemphasized. The kind of house a man lives in, along with the quality of his employment, determines, to a large degree, the quality of his family life. I have known too many people in my own parish in Atlanta who, because they were living in overcrowded apartments, were constantly bickering with other members of their families—a situation that produced many kinds of severe dysfunctions in family relations. And yet I have seen these same families achieve harmony when they were able to afford a house allowing for a little personal privacy and freedom of movement.

All these human-relations problems are complex and related, and it's very difficult to assign priorities—especially as long as the Vietnam war continues. The Great Society has become a victim of the war. I think there was a sincere desire in this country four or five years ago to move toward a genuinely great society, and I have little doubt that there would have been a gradual increase in Federal expenditures in this direction, rather than the gradual decline that has occurred, if the war in Vietnam had been avoided.

One of the incongruities of this situation is the fact that such a large number of the soldiers in the Armed Forces in Vietnam—especially the front-line soldiers who are actually doing the fighting—are Negroes. Negroes have always held the hope that if they really demonstrate that they are great soldiers and if they really fight for America and help save American democracy, then when they come back home, America will treat them better. This has not been the case. Negro soldiers returning from World War One were met with race riots, job discrimination and continuation of the bigotry that they had experienced before. After World War Two, the GI Bill did offer some hope for a better life to those who had the educational background to take advantage of it, and there was proportionately less turmoil. But for the Negro GI, military service still represents a means of escape from the oppressive ghettos of the rural South and the urban North. He often sees the Army as an avenue for educational opportunities and job training. He sees in the military uniform a symbol of dignity that has long been denied him by society. The tragedy in this is that military service is probably the only possible escape for most young Negro men. Many of them go into the Army, risking death, in order that they might have a few of the human possibilities of life. They know that life in the city ghetto or life in the rural South almost certainly means jail or death or humiliation. And so, by comparison, military service is really the lesser risk.

One young man on our staff, Hosea Williams, returned from the foxholes of Germany a 60-percent-disabled veteran. After 13 months in a veterans' hospital, he went back to his home town of Attapulgus, Georgia. On his way home, he went into a bus station at Americus, Georgia, to get a drink of water while waiting for his next bus. And while he stood there on his crutches, drinking from the fountain, he was beaten savagely by white hoodlums. This pathetic incident is all too typical of the treatment received by Negroes in this country—not only physical brutality but brutal discrimination when a Negro tries to buy a house, and brutal violence against the Negro's soul when he finds himself denied a job that he knows he is qualified for.

There is also the violence of having to live in a community and pay higher consumer prices for goods or higher rent for equivalent housing than are charged in the white areas of the city. Do you know that a can of beans almost always costs a few cents more in grocery chain stores located in the Negro ghetto than in a store of that same chain located in the upper-middle-class suburbs, where the median income is five times as high? The Negro knows it, because he works in the white man's house as a cook or a gardener. And what do you think this knowledge does to his soul? How do you think it affects his view of the society he lives in? How can you expect anything but disillusionment and bitterness? The question that now faces us is whether we can turn the Negro's disillusionment and bitterness into hope and faith in the essential goodness of the American system. If we don't, our society will crumble.

It is a paradox that those Negroes who have given up on America are doing more to improve it than are its professional patriots. They are stirring the mass of smug, somnolent citizens, who are neither evil nor good, to an awareness of crisis. The confrontation involves not only their morality but their self-interest, and that combination

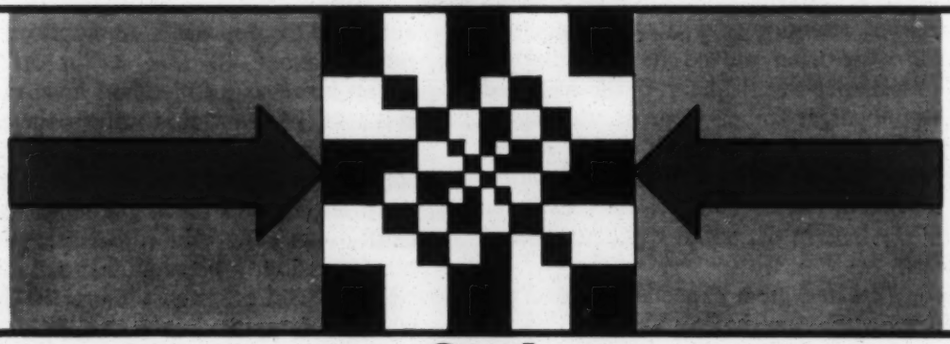
promises to evoke positive action. This is not a nation of venal people. It is a land of individuals who, in the majority, have not cared, who have been heartless about their black neighbors because their ears are blocked and their eyes blinded by the tragic myth that Negroes endure abuse without pain or complaint. Even when protest flared and denied the myth, they were fed new doctrines of inhumanity that argued that Negroes were arrogant, lawless and ungrateful. Habitual white discrimination was transformed into white backlash. But for some, the lies had lost their grip and an internal disquiet grew. Poverty and discrimination were undeniably real; they scarred the nation; they dirtied our honor and diminished our pride. An insistent question defied evasion: Was security for some being purchased at the price of degradation for others? Everything in our traditions said this kind of injustice was the system of the past or of other nations. And yet there it was, abroad in our own land.

Thus was born—particularly in the young generation—a spirit of dissent that ranged from superficial disavowal of the old values to total commitment to wholesale, drastic and immediate social reform. Yet all of it was dissent. Their voice is still a minority; but united with millions of black protesting voices, it has become a sound of distant thunder increasing in volume with the gathering of storm clouds. This dissent is America's hope. It shines in the long tradition of American ideals that began with courageous minutemen in New England, that continued in the Abolitionist movement, that re-emerged in the Populist revolt and, decades later, that burst forth to elect Franklin Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy. Today's dissenters tell the complacent majority that the time has come when further evasion of social responsibility in a turbulent world will court disaster and death. America has not yet changed because so many think it need not change, but this is the illusion of the damned. America must change because 23,000,000 black citizens will no longer live supinely in a wretched past. They have left the valley of despair; they have found strength in struggle; and whether they live or die, they shall never crawl nor retreat again. Joined by white allies, they will shake the prison walls until they fall. America must change.

A voice out of Bethlehem 2000 years ago said that all men are equal. It said right would triumph. Jesus of Nazareth wrote no books; he owned no property to endow him with influence. He had no friends in the courts of the powerful. But he changed the course of mankind with only the poor and the despised. Naïve and unsophisticated though we may be, the poor and despised of the 20th Century will revolutionize this era. In our "arrogance, lawlessness and ingratitude," we will fight for human justice, brotherhood, secure peace and abundance for all. When we have won these—in a spirit of unshakable nonviolence—then, in luminous splendor, the Christian era will truly begin.

JAN 1969
Current Issues

Towards Integration as a Goal



by Bayard Rustin

The proposition that separation may be the best solution of America's racial problems has been recurrent in American Negro history. Let us look at the syndrome that has given rise to it.

Separation, in one form or another, has been proposed and widely discussed among American Negroes in three different periods. Each time, it was put forward in response to an identical combination of economic and social factors that induced despair among Negroes. The syndrome consists of three elements: great expectations, followed by dashed hopes, followed by despair and discussion of separation.

The first serious suggestion that Negroes should separate came in the aftermath of the Civil War. During that war many Negroes had not only been strongly in favor of freedom but had fought for the Union. It was a period of tremendous expectations. Great numbers of Negroes left the farms and followed the Union Army as General Sherman marched across Georgia to the sea; they believed that when he got to the sea they would be not only free but also given land—"forty acres and a mule." However, the compromise of 1876 and the withdrawal of the Union Army from the South dashed those expectations. Instead of forty acres and a mule, all they got was a new form of slavery.

Out of the ruins of those hopes emerged Booker T. Washington, saying in essence to Negroes: "There is no hope in your attempting to vote, no hope in attempting to play any part in the political or social processes of the nation. Separate yourself from all that and give your attention to your innards: that you are men, that you maintain dignity, that you drop your buckets where they are, that you become excellent of character."

Of course, it did not work. It could not work. Because human beings have stomachs, as well as minds and hearts, and equate dignity, first of all, not with caste but with class. I preached the dignity of black skin color and wore my hair Afro style long before it became popular; I taught Negro history in the old Benjamin Franklin High School, where I first got my teaching experience, long before it became popular.

But in spite of all that, it is my conviction that there are three fundamental ways in which a group of people can maintain their dignity: one, by gradual advancement in the economic order; two, by being a participating element of the democratic process; and three, through the sense of dignity that emerges from their struggle. For instance, Negroes never had more dignity than when Martin Luther King won the boycott in Montgomery or at the bridge in Selma.

This is not to say that all the values of self-image and identification are not important and should not be stimulated; but they should be given secondary or tertiary emphasis for, unless they rest on a sound economic and social base, they are likely only to create more frustration by raising expectations or hopes with no ability truly to follow through.

The second period of frustration and the call for separation came after World War I. During that war,

BAYARD RUSTIN is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a board member of the League for Industrial Democracy. This paper was Rustin's side of a dialogue on separation vs. integration with Prof. Robert Browne of Fairleigh Dickinson University. The discussion was sponsored by the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council and published as a booklet by the Randolph Educational Fund.

300,000 Negro troops went to France—not for the reason Mr. Wilson thought he was sending them, but because they felt that if they fought for their country they would be able to return and say: "We have fought and fought well. Now give us at home what we fought for abroad."

Again, this great expectation collapsed in total despair as a result of postwar developments: Lynchings in the United States reached their height in the early twenties; the Palmer raids did not affect Negroes directly but had such a terrifying effect on civil liberties that no one paid any attention to what was happening to Negroes; Ku Klux Klan moved its headquarters from Georgia to Indianapolis, the heart of the so-called North; and unemployment among Negroes was higher at that period than it had ever been before. It was at that time, too, that Negroes began their great migration to the North, not from choice but because they were being driven off the land in the South by changed economic conditions.

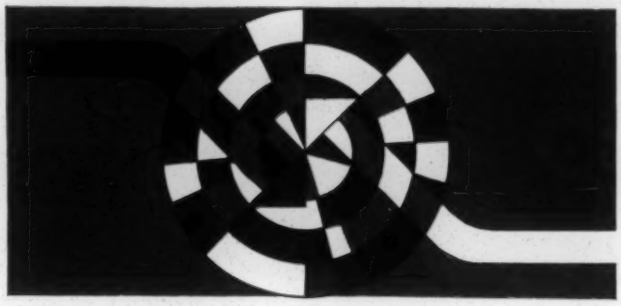
The war having created great expectations, and the conditions following the war having shattered them, a really great movement for separation ensued—a much more significant movement than the current one. Marcus Garvey organized over 2 million Negroes, four times the number the NAACP has ever organized, to pay dues to buy ships to return to Africa.

Today, we are experiencing the familiar syndrome again. The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 and the Supreme Court decisions all led people seriously to believe that progress was forthcoming, as they believed the day Martin Luther King said, "I have a dream." What made the March on Washington in 1963 great was the fact that it was the culmination of a period of great hope and anticipation.

But what has happened since? The ghettos are fuller than they have ever been, with 500,000 people moving into them each year and only some 40,000 moving out. They are the same old Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem, Detroit and Watts, only they are much bigger, with more rats, more roaches and more despair.

There are more Negro youngsters in segregated schoolrooms than there were in 1954—not all due to segregation or discrimination, perhaps, but a fact. The number of youngsters who have fallen back in their reading, writing and arithmetic since 1954 has increased, not decreased, and unemployment for Negro young women is up to 35, 40 and 50 percent in the ghettos. For young men in the ghettos, it is up to 20 percent and this is a conservative figure. For family men, the unemployment is twice that of whites. Having built up hopes, and suffered the despair which followed, we are again in a period where separation is being discussed.

I maintain that, in all three periods, the turn to separation has been a frustration reaction to objective political, social and economic circumstances. I believe that it is fully justified, for it would be the most egregious wishful thinking to suppose that people can be



subjected to deep frustration and yet not act in a frustrated manner.

But however justified and inevitable the frustration, it is totally unrealistic to divert the attention of young Negroes at this time either to the idea of a separate state in the United States, or to going back to Africa, or to setting up a black capitalism (as Mr. Nixon and CORE are now advocating), or to talk about any other possibility of economic separation, when those Negroes who are well off are the 2 million Negroes who are integrated into the trade union movement.

This is not to belittle in any way the desirability of fostering a sense of ethnic unity or racial pride among Negroes or relationships to other black people around the world. This is all to the good, but the ability to do this in a healthy rather than a frustrated way will depend upon the economic viability of the Negro community, the degree to which it can participate in the democratic process here rather than separate from it, and the degree to which it accepts methods of struggle that are productive.

I would not want to leave this subject without observing that, while social and economic conditions have precipitated thoughts of separation, it would be an oversimplification to attribute the present agitation of that idea exclusively to those causes. A good deal of the talk about separation today reflects a class problem within the Negro community .

I submit that it is not the lumpen-proletariat, the Negro working classes, the Negro working poor, who are proclaiming: "We want Negro principals, we want Negro supervisors, we want Negro teachers in our schools." It is the educated Negroes. If you name a leader of that movement, you will put your finger on a man with a Master's or a Ph.D. degree. Being blocked from moving up, he becomes not only interested in Negro children, but in getting those teaching jobs, supervisory jobs and principal jobs for his own economic interest. While this is understandable, it is not true that only teachers who are of the same color can teach pupils effectively. Two teachers had an effect upon me; one was black and the other was white, and it was the white teacher who had the most profound effect, not because she was white but because she was who she was.

Negroes have been taught that we are inferior and many Negroes believe that themselves and have believed it for a long time. That is to say, sociologically we were made children. What is now evident is that

the entire black community is rebelling against that concept in behalf of manhood and dignity. This process of rebellion will have as many ugly things in it as beautiful things.

Also, while rebelling there is rejection of those who used to be loved most. Every teenager has to go through hating mother and father, precisely because he loves them. Now he's got to make it on his own. Thus, Martin Luther King and A. Philip Randolph and Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin and all the people who marched in the streets are all "finks" now. And the liberals, and the Jews who have done most among the liberals, are also told to get the hell out of the way.

The mythology involved here can be very confusing. Jews may want now to tell their children that they lifted themselves in this society by their bootstraps. And when Negroes have made it, they will preach that ridiculous mythology, too. That kind of foolishness is only good after the fact. It is not a dynamism by which the struggle can take place.

But to return to separation and nationalism. We must distinguish within this movement that which is unsound from that which is sound, for ultimately no propaganda can work for social change which is not based in absolute psychological truth.

There is an aspect of the present thrust toward black nationalism that I call reverse-ism. This is dangerous. Black people now want to argue that their hair is beautiful. All right. It is truthful and useful. But, to the degree that the nationalist movement takes concepts of reaction and turns them upside down and paints them glorious for no other reason than that they are black, we're in trouble—morally and politically. The Ku Klux Klan used to say: "If you're white, you're right; if you're black, no matter who you are, you're no good." And there are those among us who are now saying the opposite of the Ku Klux Klan: "He's a whitey, he's no good."

The Ku Klux Klan said: "You know, we can't have black people teaching" and they put up a big fight when the first Negro was hired in a white school in North Carolina. Now, for all kinds of "glorious" reasons, we're turning that old idea upside down and saying: "Well, somehow or other, there's soul involved and only black teachers can teach black children." But it is not true. Good teachers can teach children.

The Ku Klux Klan said: "We don't want you in our community; get out." Now there are blacks saying: "We don't want any whites in our community for business or anything; get out." The Ku Klux Klan said: "We will be violent as a means of impressing our will on the situation." And now, in conference after conference, a small number of black people use violence and threats to attempt to obstruct the democratic process.

What is essential and what we must not lose sight of is that true self-respect and a true sense of image are the results of a social process and not merely a psychological state of mind.

It is utterly unrealistic to expect the Negro middle class to behave on the basis alone of color. They will behave, first of all, as middle-class people. The minute Jews got enough money to move off Allen Street, they went to West End Avenue. As soon as the Irish could get out of Hell's Kitchen, they beat it to what is now Harlem. Who thinks the Negro middle classes are going to stay in Harlem? I believe that the fundamental mistake of the nationalist movement is that it does not comprehend that class ultimately is a more driving force than color and that any effort to build a society for American Negroes that is based on color alone is doomed to failure.

Now, there are several possibilities. One possibility is that we can stay here and continue the struggle; sometimes things will be better, sometimes they will be worse. Another is to separate ourselves into our own state in America. But I reject that because I do not believe that the American government will ever accept it. Thirdly, there is a possibility of going back to Africa and that is out for me, because I've had enough experience with the Africans to know that they will not accept that.

There is a kind of in-between position—stay here and try to separate and yet not separate. I tend to believe that both have to go on simultaneously. That is to say, there has to be a move on the part of Negroes to develop black institutions and a black image, and all this has to go on while they are going downtown into integrated work situations, while they are trying to get into the suburbs if they can, while they are doing what all other Americans do in their economic and social grasshopping. That is precisely what the Jew has done. He has held on to that which is Jewish, and nobody has made a better effort at integrating out there and making sure that he's out there where the action is. It makes for tensions, but I don't believe there's any other viable reality.

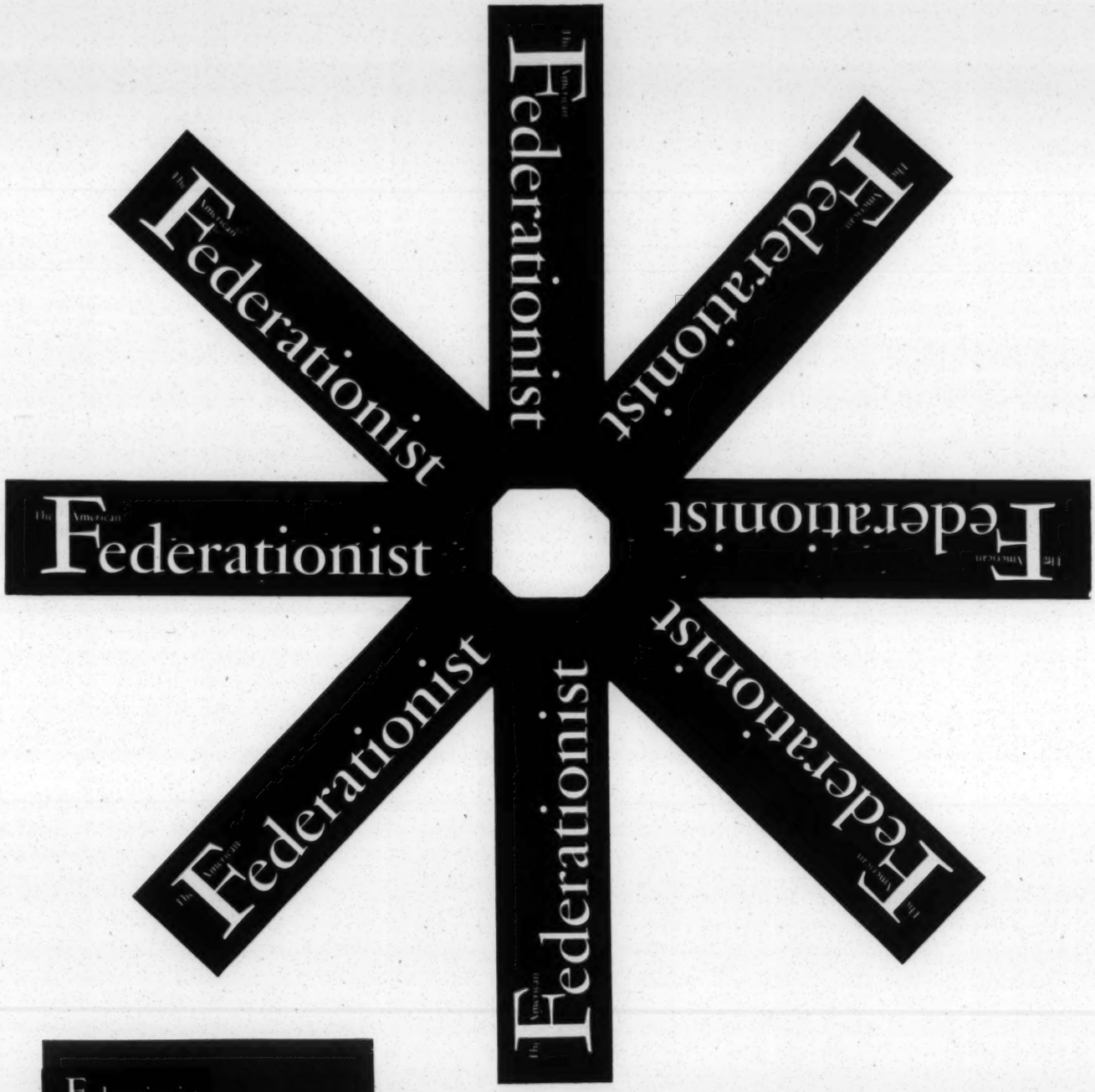
Furthermore, I believe that the most important thing for those of us in the trade union movement, in the religious communities and in the universities is not to be taken in by methods that appeal to people's viscera but do not in fact solve the problems that stimulated their viscera.

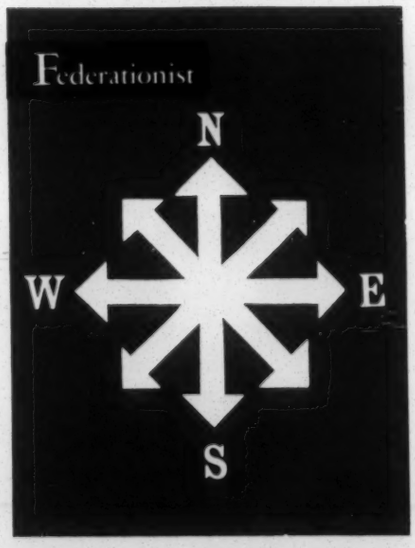
We must fight and work for a social and economic program which will lift America's poor, whereby the Negro who is most grievously poor will be lifted to that position where he will be able to have dignity.

Secondly, we must fight vigorously for Negroes to engage in the political process, since there is only one way to have maximum feasible participation—and that is not by silly little committees deciding what they're going to do with a half million dollars, but by getting out into the real world of politics and making their weight felt. The most important thing that we have to do is to restore a sense of dignity to the Negro people.

If that can happen, the intense frustration around the problem of separation will decrease as equal opportunities—economic, political and social—increase. And that is the choice before us.

Reprinted from January 1969
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST





LABOR'S JOURNAL OF OPINION

subscribe today to the labor movement's journal of opinion — an influential guide for trade union leadership

only $2.00 per year

Current Issues — JAN 1969 AMER. TEACHER

Teacher unionists are searching for clues to the new Administration's plans for education

NIXON AND THE SCHOOLS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A *New York Times* reporter, stationed at the first press conference of Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare-designate Robert H. Finch, observed Dec. 17 that he appeared "as cautious and nervous as an infantry scout picking his way through a mine field."

But the apparent disquietude of the man who will be in charge of President-elect Richard Nixon's educational programs was nothing compared to the apprehension of classroom teachers, union leaders, and educational organizations who have been looking for clues to what the new Administration has in store for the schools.

CONTRADICTIONS

What they've found, thus far, has been deeply contradictory. AFT Director of Legislation Carl Megel, researching Nixon's voting record, found, for example, that in 1960, when a House-passed aid-to-education bill was tied, 44-44, in the Senate, Nixon voted "no" and killed it. In last fall's campaign, the Republican Party called for "state, local, and private" teacher-training programs, pointedly omitting references to federal programs, an ominous sign when one remembers that all 60 educational programs enacted by the federal government during the last years are due to expire in 1970, 1971, or 1972. Finally, Finch has a reputation as a conservative.

However, those clue-searchers who have weighed these facts against more recent statements by Nixon and Finch are showing some guarded optimism. The apparent caution and moderation shown recently by Finch and his boss-to-be give them reason to believe that when the federal education programs come up for renewal, they may not be scuttled, as feared.

Finch, at his December press conference, for example, made none of the expected pledges of scrapping any of the social programs enacted during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, but talked instead of "bringing together the resources of every segment of our society, both governmental and nongovernmental, into a constructive and viable partnership."

"Our job," he also said, "is to rationalize and implement the legislation now on the books."

A possible clue to the new administration's approach may be found in the composition of Nixon's advisors on educational problems.

While Nixon has not yet announced his choice of Commissioner of Education (some pundits think it will be Carl Marburger, commissioner of education for the state of New Jersey), the names of members of a task force he has appointed to investigate short-term educational priorities for the nation have been reported. Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corporation, heads the team, and others include Dr. Clark Kerr, former president of the University of California, and Marburger. Pifer, according to *Education Daily* (Dec. 6), is known as a "strong advocate of federal aid to education, and his appointment is a possible indication that the federal government's role will not be deemphasized during the Nixon Administration." Concludes *ED:* "The general makeup of the study group . . . is one that indicates continuing federal support for education. Pifer is also known to favor effective action to improve education in slum areas and this may well be one of the priorities listed by the task force."

POWER-WIELDER

The clue-searchers aren't home free, however, because, in spite of the appearance of liberals on task forces like these, Finch will be the real power-wielder. He is, as the *Times* described him on Dec. 17, "closer to the President-elect than any other person in public life." Despite his recent "moderate" stances, he is essentially, as the labor news service *PAI* described him, "conservative but not as right wing as Gov. Reagan."

ROBERT H. FINCH, new Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The Secretary-designate's press conference was one of his few public appearances since being named to the Cabinet, and he has not spoken much with reporters. A *UPI* reporter gleaned these views on education from him in an interview published in the *Detroit News* on Christmas Day:

"The nation's elementary schools must modernize their curriculum to deal with switched-on youngsters who know about things like rockets from watching television and are bored with books about Jack and Jill.

"The end of the Vietnam war will free some money for the urban programs, but I don't think we should be unrealistic and assume that we could just shut it (the war) off like a faucet and then there would be a whole flood of dollars available for domestic problems."

ANTI-COMMUNITY CONTROL

Finch appears to take a strong stand against community control of schools. In the same interview, he said he agreed with the published views of Daniel P. Moynihan, designated as head of Nixon's Cabinet-level urban council, that some antipoverty programs failed because they placed too much stress on "community participation."

He said the government should "talk to and communicate with people to find out what their aspirations and motivations are." But he said it was not a "valid concept" to turn administration over to inexperienced community residents. He said, "I find that many of these so-called militants have a very narrow constituency. I hope that our programs can be geared to the responsible members of all these minority communities."

AFT Legislative Director Carl Megel points out that on the surface it would appear that, because the new Congress will remain under Democratic control, education legislation would continue to receive favorable priorities.

Such a conclusion, he says, fails to recognize:

(a.) the tremendous power of a new President; and

(b.) the philosophical ideology of the new Congress.

Megel says:

"A list of positions to be filled by the new President is illuminating. Not only does the President appoint his own Cabinet, but, in addition, he makes 390 appointments to high positions in the executive branch, including heads of major bureaus and members of commissions; 400 positions on the White House staff; 470 officials with non-career, executive assignments; 112 ambassadors; 17 vacant federal judgeships; 93 U.S. attorneys; all officials of the District of Columbia, including the mayor and city council members; the heads of the FBI and the CIA; all vacant and future vacancies for postmaster positions, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and all future vacancies on the Court."

In the U.S. Office of Education, alone, Nixon will make 250 to 300 appointments to high positions.

In addition to the jobs filled by the President, the new heads of depart-

(Continued on Page 12)

The new President on education

Quotations on educational policies from President-elect Richard M. Nixon, all made during last fall's campaign:

"Education . . . investment . . . is the last place for Americans to be miserly."

* * *

"The federal government has an immensely important role to play in advancing education . . ." but, ". . . the local government, local school board, and the state government have a primary responsibility and the primary right to dispense funds."

* * *

"Let us have a federal government program for education that will turn back to the states, without any strings, the money that the states can use to upgrade their educational standards at the local level."

* * *

". . . the men who spend tax dollars have an obligation to see to it that the education that is bought and paid for by property owners is relevant to our society."

* * *

"A National Skills Survey should be taken as a first order of national business, to pinpoint the skills that are likely to be in increasing demand in the years ahead."

* * *

"Young Americans have shown their idealism and their dedication in the Peace Corps and in VISTA. To these now should be added a National Student Teacher Corps of high-school and college students—carefully selected, paid volunteers who would work at the tutoring of core-city children."

* * *

"Compensatory education is the first step toward bringing quality education to slum schools. . . . I recommend inauguration of Extended Training Programs in core-city schools, in which classes in basic language and communication skills would be made available after regular school hours and during the summer months."

Meany views the new Administration

WASHINGTON, D.C. *(PAI)*

AFL-CIO President George Meany said the AFL-CIO "hopes to cooperate with the Nixon Administration and there is some indication that they want to cooperate with us."

His remarks were made during a press conference reporting on the meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council here.

When asked about how the labor movement would get along with the new Administration, Meany said, "We'll do all right. The American trade-union movement is in pretty good shape. We'll continue our collective bargaining. We'll work for legislation on the 'Hill.'"

Meany indicated no dissatisfaction with the appointment of George P. Shultz as Secretary of Labor. In response to a question, Meany declared that he did not think Shultz "would look upon with favor" the scuttling of the National Labor Relations Board sought by conservative business groups.

A reporter wanted to know whether Meany had anything to do with the Shultz appointment.

"I think I did in one way," he answered. "I told Nixon I would prefer a businessman to a man from the academic world. And that did it." Shultz is dean of the Graduate School of Business at the University of Chicago.

Unionists in Congress

WASHINGTON, D.C. *(PAI)*

The election of three newcomers with union membership or union background has brought the total number of union members in the 91st Congress to at least 23.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

THE CURRENT STATE OF TEACHER PAY

'. . . when we consider inflation and higher taxes, the beginning teacher is no better off today than the beginner a year ago.'

Salaries, fringe benefits, and other economic benefits paid teachers add up to an income that is lower, on the average, than the U.S. Dept. of Labor's recommended income for a "moderate but adequate" standard of living for a typical family of four.

That's one of the major conclusions of this year's **Survey of Teacher Salaries,** *just published by the American Federation of Teachers' Research Department.*

A summary of the new survey—which includes school districts with 6,000 or more students—follows.

You can get a copy of the complete survey (35 cents to AFT members; $1.50 to others) by writing to the AFT Order Dept., 1012 14th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, and asking for Publication No. 84.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A beginning teacher, fresh from college with his bachelor's degree, can go to work in some parts of the contiguous U.S. for a starting annual salary as high as $7,500. (In Fairbanks, Alaska, the starting salary is $8,150.)

But if his mobility is limited and his freedom of choice curtailed, he may end up working for a starting pay of only $4,400—just about $20 a week above the U.S. government's "poverty line" figures and more than $5,500 below what the U.S. government considers "moderate, but adequate" for a family of four.

This startling disparity in teachers' pay is one of the facts brought out in the 1968-69 survey of teachers' salaries, published this month by the American Federation of Teachers' research department. In preparation for the last few months, the survey analyzes teachers' salaries in more than 750 school districts—those with 6,000 or more students enrolled—throughout the U.S.

The low salaries (the $4,400 figure comes from Louisiana) are generally found in the Southeastern and Southwestern states, and scattered rural areas. Teachers in many such districts often reach the end of the line—a magnificent $5,292 in Anniston, Ala.—after 10 years of dedicated service.

The high salaries (the $7,500 figure is from Detroit) tend to come from urban areas—chiefly those where the AFT bargains for the teaching force. One of the survey's conclusions is that AFT-organized cities tend to pay substantially higher salaries than those in which the NEA is the recognized bargaining agent.

NATIONWIDE AVERAGES

Today's starting salary for a classroom teacher (with a bachelor's degree) averages roughly $5,870. The range of starting salaries goes from a low of $4,400 to a high of $7,500. In the school year 1967-68, the average beginning salary was approximately $5,525.

This year's increase, then, represents a 6.2-percent rise. This was 1 percent below the unusually high increase of 1967-68. Also, when we consider inflation and higher taxes, the beginning teacher is no better off today than the beginner a year ago.

Looking back over the decade, if we compare these percentage increases with the average annual increases of 3.0-3.5 percent over the five-year period of 1961-65, they may appear impressive. However, the differences are found in the absence of perceptible inflation (and even a tax reduction in 1964) during this latter period, as compared to rapid inflation and tax hikes (at all levels of government, particularly state and local) since January, 1966. These factors explain why college graduates going into teaching this year are, on the average, no better off than the beginning teacher of 1965.

The question may be raised whether the picture is much brighter for teachers in the larger school systems with 25,000 or more enrollment, and whether the low averages have been pulled down by the small school systems. If we look at the large school systems (25,000 or more) we find the average is still only about $6,025. Of course, most of the school systems paying their beginning teaching staffs below $6,000 are located in the Southeastern and Southwestern states.

AFT bargaining tops NEA again

The brighter revelations of the new AFT salary survey are reflected in the very distinct salary gains in areas where AFT locals are the collective-bargaining agents. In particular, the accompanying table shows that AFT locals have negotiated salary increases far ahead of the NEA affiliates.

A comparison of the seven largest AFT and NEA cities places the AFT ahead in every salary lane by $488 to $951. However, even this large gap is not the whole story. The comparison further reveals that it is approximately $487 cheaper to live and raise a family in the AFT cities than the NEA cities. This means that the average starting salary for a teacher with a bachelor's degree is worth (in purchasing power) more than $980, compared with the NEA average. In fact, a teacher with a master's degree plus 30 semester hours and 12 years experience would be making a salary worth more than $1,430, compared to the NEA teacher.

Another table, included in the survey, lists over 20 school districts in which the AFT has negotiated, with few exceptions, salary increases of 9 to 10 percent.

The main conclusions from the new analysis of teachers' salaries are: (1) In general, teachers have made unimpressive gains toward achieving goals of "Nationwide Educational Excellence." The intolerable gap between the financial reward for teaching in our public schools and other professions in business and industry has generally widened. Why should the teachers, with their low salaries, and the majority of the community, through regressive taxes,* continue to subsidize the large firms which profit from our school systems' "product"—skilled workers?; (2) Specifically, in selected school districts, mainly where there is a strong AFT bargaining unit, teachers have begun to close the gap. In more than 20 AFT cities, salaries have been pushed up at the annual rate of 9-10 percent and in some cities the increase has been as high as 11.2 percent (Chicago) and 19.2 percent (Washington, D.C.). Furthermore, salaries are only half the story. Economic fringe benefits—including school-board-paid life and health insurance—are being written into contracts by AFT affiliates throughout the country.

Achieving nationwide educational excellence is definitely going to be an uphill battle on many fronts. This crucial fight will have to be waged through unrelenting political pressure by the labor movement at all levels of government, and community organizing (PTA, etc.) around the issues of tax reform (the institution of progressive taxes**), and strike action where it becomes necessary.

* *Taxes which place the burden on those least able to pay.*

** *Taxes which place a higher effective rate on those who are able to pay.*

COMPARATIVE SALARIES AND COSTS OF LIVING IN SEVEN LARGEST AFT AND NEA CITIES

City	Bachelor's Degree Min.	St.	Max.	City Workers Family Budget	Master's Degree Min.	St.	Max.	Master's+30 Hours Min.	St.	Max.	Ph.D. Degree Min.	St.	Max.	Bachelor's Increments Av.	5Y	10Y	PT	Long.	Y1	Y2	Insurance H	L	D
AFT																							
New York, N. Y.	6,750	13	11,150	12,265	8,250	13	12,650	9,350	13	13,750	—			339	320	350	11	—	—	—	4	1	0
Chicago, Ill.	7,350	10	11,025	11,659	7,770	11	11,812	7,980	12	12,390	8,242	12	12,652	359	359	359	6	256	16	20	1	0	0
Detroit, Mich.	7,500	10	11,200	10,998	8,000	10	11,700	8,300	11	12,400	8,600	11	12,700	370	360	370	6	150	30	—	4	1	0
Philadelphia, Pa.	6,700	10	10,900	11,271	7,000	10	11,400	7,700	10	12,100	8,300	10	13,300	420	476	420	9	—	—	—	2	2	0
Baltimore, Md.	6,500	14	10,700	10,622	7,000	14	11,200	7,500	14	11,700	8,000	14	12,200	325	310	315	10	500	20	25	2	0	0
Washington, D. C.	7,000	12	10,850	11,474	7,700	12	11,550	8,050	12	11,900	8,400	12	12,250	321	250	315	10	605	15	18	4	4	0
Cleveland, Ohio	6,250	14	9,600	11,484	6,550	13	10,750	—			—			239	250	220	6	300	25	30	—		
AVERAGES	6,864	12	10,775	11,396	7,467	12	11,580	8,147	12	12,373	8,308	12	12,620	339	332	336	8	362	21	23	—		
NEA																							
Milwaukee, Wis.	6,800	12	10,810	12,021	7,072	12	11,326	7,344	12	11,844	7,616	12	12,358	334	340	340	6	200	20	—	3	2	0
Denver, Colo.	6,000	12	9,575	11,277	6,200	12	10,625	9,050	6	11,000	10,675	3	11,690	298	250	285	5	400	15	20	0	1	0
Cincinnati, Ohio	6,000	12	9,849	11,028	6,527	12	10,376	—			—			321	324	321	6	265	17	—	1	0	0
Newark, N. J.	6,700	11	11,100	12,625	7,100	11	11,500	7,500	11	11,900	—			400			6	—	—	—	3	0	0
Buffalo, N. Y.	6,800	12	10,400	11,942	7,405	13	11,305	7,610	13	11,510	8,310	13	12,210	300	300	300	7	300	15	20	3	0	0
Jersey City, N. J.	6,200	12	9,750	12,265	6,500	12	10,050	6,800	12	10,350	7,100	12	10,650	300	300	300	1	—	—	—	1	0	0
Madison, Wis.	6,100	14	10,525	12,021	6,600	14	11,525	7,000	14	11,925	—			316	245	305	6	—	—	—	4	0	0
AVERAGES	6,371	12	10,287	11,883	6,772	12	10,958	7,551	11	11,422	8,425	10	11,727	324	293	309	5	291	17	20	—		

Legend: St.-steps; City Workers Family Budget—as determined by the U.S. Dept. of Labor for a "moderate but adequate" standard of living for a family of four; 5Y and 10Y—average annual increments over five- and 10-year periods; PT—previous teaching experience credit; Long.-longevity; Y1—year of first longevity increase; Y2—year of second longevity increase; H—health; L—life; D—dental; 1—full board-payment for single-person coverage; 2—partial board-payment for single-person coverage; 3—full board-payment for family coverage; 4—partial board-payment for family coverage.

COMPARISONS OF STARTING SALARIES OF TEACHERS WITH OTHER OCCUPATIONS

How do teaching salaries compare to other professional occupations? The answer is that they continue to compare miserably.

First, if we look at family income and level of education, it is common knowledge that they are positively correlated, i.e., family income increases as the number of years of school completed increases. The median family income for those heads of families with four years or more of college was $11,697 as of March, 1967. The average salary paid the classroom teacher was $6,830 for the 1966-67 school year. This was $4,867 less than the median income of those heads of families who attained comparable levels of education.

In short, the college graduate is attracted to the higher salaries paid professional and clerical workers in the private sector, and not into the nation's most valuable growth-producing industry—education.

For example, the starting salaries that were offered in November, 1967, to men who graduate in June, 1968, (survey of 200 well-known business and industrial concerns), ranged from a high of $9,168 for engineers, or 36 percent higher than the beginning teacher, to a low of $7,332 for liberal arts majors, or 20 percent higher than the classroom teacher. The only category to fall below the average starting salary for teaching was secretarial work for women college graduates with a bachelor's degree. This category was lower by approximately 2 percent, or about $110.

Comparisons with production or nonsupervisory workers in mining and contract construction (whose average salaries are $7,500 and $8,950 respectively, if they are employed the full year), also reveal significant disparities outside the professional categories.

MEASURED AGAINST KEYSERLING YARDSTICK

If this year's gain is continued through 1977, then Leon H. Keyserling's salary goals for teachers ("A 10-Year Plan to Save the Schools," *Changing Education*, Summer-Fall, 1968) will not be achieved.

Keyserling projected that the average annual salary of the classroom teacher should reach $10,711 by 1977, or 57 percent above the nationwide average of $6,830 for 1967. Also, he added: "It should be stated most emphatically that the foregoing figures are designed only to indicate the minimum amount of progress that must be made in each region and state to bring them all to the level of educational services below which, in the view of this study, no region or state should fall." Thus, Keyserling is urging a necessary floor, but any region whose wealth and income permits can continue to lift its standards still higher.

The regional disparities continue to persist, with average differences as high as $750-800 for the starting salary (bachelor's degree) and $2,500-3,000 for teachers with a master's degree (maximum).

If we compare the latest average increase in starting salaries for teachers with pay prospects in other professions, the post-World War II lag will definitely continue. Increases in other professional categories were 7-8 percent for 1968, and preliminary estimates for 1969 graduates average 8-9 percent.

MEASURED AGAINST U.S. GOVERNMENT'S COST-OF-LIVING STATISTICS

Keyserling is careful to stress "one word of warning" when setting goals for teachers' salaries. He notes that his projected goals "are set forth in 1967 dollars to indicate the needed rates of real income progress." Thus, if present trends of rising prices continue, his figure of $8,139 as an average minimum salary would have to be raised to $9,000 in 1970 and to $14,700 in 1977.

This brings us to a comparison of the teacher's income with the U.S. Labor Department's "City Worker's Family Budget." The incorporation of this concept into our latest salary survey provides a measure of the adequacy of teachers' salaries. The budget reflects the annual cost of living for a metropolitan family of four, consisting of an employed man (34-54 years of age) and his wife (who is not employed outside the home), a boy, age 13, and a girl of 8.

After adjusting for increases in consumer prices, social security taxes, federal income taxes (surtax), and the standard of the budget, the "moderate budget" will be $11,478 (metropolitan) and $10,212 (nonmetropolitan) for the year ending September, 1969. The average teacher's pay for the school year 1968-69 is at least 45 to 50 percent below this "moderate" budget. For a family of three, the deficit is 30 to 40 percent. —J.O.

LIVING STANDARDS FALL

Teachers, all worse off

By JOHN OLIVER
Assistant Director of Research, AFT

For the last few years, we have listened to government officials and economic analysts tell of our "entering into the 89th consecutive month of sustained prosperity," or "the American citizen is better off today than at any other time" and "personal income has risen at unprecedented rates." More recently, *Business Week's* Nov. 16 "Measure of Personal Income" shows that "wallets were nearly $5-billion fatter last August than they were in the same month the year before."

From big-business spokesmen, we continue to hear the charge that inflation in consumer prices is the result of trade unions' "excessive" wage demands, or "wage-push" inflation, as economists say.

Also, headlines earlier in the year carried these typical themes: "The Coming Rash of Teachers Strikes" and, "There is a master plan behind a wave of teachers' strikes about to sweep the country" (*U.S. News & World Report*, Sept. 2, 1968). Many of these predicted strikes did occur. The reason thousands of teachers refused to work in the first few months of the school year was because, as **Look** editor Jack Star said, "The teachers are angry and getting angrier by the minute" (Sept. 3, 1968).

The anger of teachers stems from a multiplicity of factors that have accumulated over the last few decades. Primarily, these factors include lagging financial reward, large classes, dilapidated facilities, and obdurate administrations. While most of the mass media carried stories that declared the public was getting "fed up" with public employees striking, particularly teachers, a recent Harris poll showed that 59 percent of the public considers strikes by teachers "justifiable."

Also, in the last few years the continued declarations of "unprecedented prosperity" and the "striking teacher" image have left the impression that teachers have gotten a big share of the "increase" in the total "pie."

Let us consider some recent studies which expose these claims and charges as myth and/or distortion.

First, since December, 1965, the "purchasing power" of the average worker's take-home pay has declined almost every consecutive month.

The gross average weekly earnings of production or nonsupervisory workers, who represent 83 percent of nonagricultural and nongovernmental workers and 61 percent of all employment, was $101.99, or $2.67 per hour. This provides an annual income (assuming the worker does not experience the hardship of unemployment during the year) of $5,304. Since more married women are second "breadwinners" than ever before, this tends to boost average family income. In fact, last year 35 percent of all married women were employed, and in homes with earnings of $10,000, 45 percent of the wives are working (*Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 3, 1968, p. 1). Today, approximately 28 percent of the nation's 48.5 million families earn $10,000 or more annually.

Because $10,000 may seem to be a very high income, and it is considerably above the incomes of more than 70 percent of American families, we need only look at the United States Department of Labor's "Annual Costs of the City Worker's Family Budget" to see that, today, even this kind of income does not go far enough. In mid-1966, the department's "moderate" standard-of-living budget for a family of four averaged $9,376 in metropolitan areas and $8,506 in smaller cities.

But, after adjusting for increases in consumer prices, social security taxes, federal income taxes (surtax), and "real" national product for the three-year period ending mid-1969, the cost

(Continued on Page 10)

Teachers, other workers suffer while profits rise

(Continued from Page 9)

of the "moderate" budget will have increased to $11,478 and $10,212, respectively. Presently, more than 75 percent of American families live below this "moderate" budget.

What about the average classroom teacher's standard of living? The answer was capsulized in a recent U.S. Labor Department release: "In real terms, from 1939 to 1967, the average mean salary of public school teachers in our 10 largest cities increased only 39.4 percent . . . compared with 56.8 percent for federal classified employees . . . 101.1 percent for manufacturing production workers . . . and 114.2 percent for U.S. per-capita income."

Over half of the men teachers moonlight (work after school on another job) to make ends meet. Even with this extra income, they cannot earn enough to close the 40-to-50-percent gap between other professions (with comparable years of higher education) and the U.S. government's measure of a "City Worker's Family Budget." (See summary article of conclusions from our latest salary survey, p. 8.)

If the average American family has been undergoing a pocketbook pinch during these times of "unprecedented prosperity," the obvious question is, whose prosperity? This question was answered by Nathaniel Goldfinger, organized labor's top economist, when he charged that the situation today "clearly pictures a lack of balance 'in the economy,' with 'skyrocketing profits'—up 84 percent since 1960—and 'soaring dividends'—up 73 percent since 1960—while workers' earnings rose only 27 percent and buying power only 10 percent." This decade has produced at least one distinct characteristic aside from the $100-billion-plus Vietnam war and the accompanying increase in internal dissent and protest—the decade of "surging profits."

PROFIT-PUSH INFLATION

In a recent *Wall Street Journal* article (Aug. 5), Alfred L. Malabre Jr. suggested that the available evidence shows that "any attempt to fix the blame for today's inflation shouldn't be limited simply to a consideration of labor costs . . . a major culprit may be corporate profits." To substantiate this claim, an examination of postwar price movements reveals three distinct periods in which factory prices climbed significantly over a prolonged interval, with the following relationships:

"In each instance, labor costs per unit of factory output were declining when the price climb began, and these costs continued to decline for a considerable period after the price rise was underway.

"In each case, corporate profits began to increase sharply well before the price climb started.

"Such facts, at least to some economists, bear an obvious message. 'The pattern is clear enough,' says Peter L. Bernstein, president of Bernstein-Macaulay, Inc., a New York investment counseling service. 'Instead of labor costs pushing prices up, what we see instead is a sort of profit-push. Profits are already well on their way up before prices begin to rise, and prices are well on their way up before wages begin to rise faster than output.'

"Indeed, some analysts say that the postwar economic record suggests a chain of events that runs something like this: Profits begin to climb, first through the impact of better machinery and work methods on unit labor costs, and then through higher prices; the rising profits finally prompt labor to attempt to 'catch up' by seeking sharply higher pay; ultimately, unit labor costs begin to rise, too, giving inflation a further push."

In short, key factors in the "pocketbook pinch," along with the war-tax, are profiteering, in terms of price increases; sharp increases in dividend payments to stockholders (about two-tenths of one percent of stockholding families own about 70 percent of publicly held industrial stock); and sharp increases in the compensation of executives.

How can the giant companies do this? The near monopoly position of most of the major companies in key industries (where price increases have repercussions throughout the economy) provides them with enough pricing power to offset any wage increase they are forced to give their employees. But, in most instances, they go even further and use the wage increase to justify a much greater price hike, i.e. charge as much as the traffic will bear.

The increasing monopoly power of a few giant corporations which dominate key industries has become a permanent feature of the postwar U.S. economy. However, the 1960s have produced the greatest number and the biggest corporate consolidations in mining, manufacturing, and banking than any past period in our history *(Business Week,* May 25, 1968).

A recent study shows that, during 1967 alone, 23 huge (assets of $100-million-plus) mergers took place, as many as in the entire 1952-through-1962 period. One-third of the $100-million-plus acquisitions for the last 20 years took place in 1967, and 12 of these mergers involved companies worth more than $250 million *(Business Week,* May 25, 1968). Only about 370 industrial corporations have assets above $100 million *(The Fortune Directory,* June 15, 1967). It is estimated the total number of corporate mergers this year (1968) will be 3,400, compared to 2,975 (1967), 2,377 (1966), and 2,215 (1965) *(U.S. News & World Report,* July 29, 1968).

SUMMARY

The net result of increasing concentration and control of corporate wealth has been profit inflation, paralleled with the decline of the average wage earner's "real" income for the past three years. In addition to their policy of offsetting the workers' wage increases by raising prices, the corporations have shifted most of the recent surtax to their customers.

A *Wall Street Journal* columnist wrote: "Regardless of how emphatically you say no, it's quite possible that individuals will help shoulder the extra tax load imposed on some of the country's mightiest corporations" (July 29, 1968, p. 1).

The rapid boost in prices in the last few months, particularly in October, reflects the shift of the burden to the workers. Commenting on price increases for October, Arnold Chase, assistant commissioner of labor statistics, noted that the outstanding feature of the 0.6 percent jump in retail prices last month was its "pervasiveness." In other words, the increase didn't appear to be a one-month aberration in a few selected services (medical care, etc.) *(Washington Post,* Nov. 28, 1968). Instead, the whole spectrum of over 400 goods and services showed marked price increases.

(Next Month. Tax Loopholes: How *the tax structure, federal, state, and local, provides the very rich with government subsidies of $20-25 billion each year.)*

Hope V. Carey, immediate past president and a charter member of the Pawtucket (R.I.) Teachers Alliance, AFT Local 930, was honored recently at the union's 12th annual dinner. With Miss Carey above are AFT President David Selden, left, who spoke about AFT-NEA merger at the banquet, and Gregory W. Coughlin, Local 930 president. Miss Carey, a school librarian who led the local on strike several times, was presented with a television set and a copy of the Carey family coat of arms.

Steelworkers backed

CORTLAND, N.Y.

The executive committee of AFT Local 1655 at Cortland State University College here has voted complete support of striking steelworkers at the Wickwire plant, deploring management threats to hire replacements for the 240 striking members of the steelworkers' union, and urging Wickwire to bargain in good faith with its employees. Dr. Donald E. Leon, president of Local 1655, released the union's statement to the press.

AFT molds its 1969 legislative program

(Continued from Page 3)

termine whether or not he is reelected. Early returns reported his defeat, and, on Dec. 30, Morse conceded that Robert Packwood, his Republican opponent, had, indeed, won. Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D-Texas) will succeed him in the Labor and Education Subcommittee chairmanship.

During the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations, 60 pieces of educational legislation were enacted and signed by the President. Every community and every school district in the nation has been aided in some phase by these federal education innovations.

Included in the legislation are the following:

A. Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides for:

1. **financial assistance for education of children of low-income families;**
2. **school library resources;**
3. **educational centers and services;**
4. **grants to strengthen state departments of education; and**
5. **education of the handicapped, etc.**

B. Other major education laws cover: vocational education amendments; adult education; school construction; extension of the National Defense Education Act; bilingual education; etc.

C. The Higher Education Act provides for:

1. **continuing education programs;**
2. **student assistance, student loans, graduate fellowships;**
3. **undergraduate instructional equipment;**
4. **Networks for Knowledge;**
5. **improvement of graduate programs;**
6. **guidance, counseling, and testing; and**
7. **language training.**

All of these programs will expire by the end of fiscal 1972. Many expire in fiscal 1970 and others in 1971. Just to keep these programs going with complete funding will constitute a major project.

TAX CREDITS

During the campaign and since the election, President-elect Nixon has indicated his support for tax credits to industrial institutions which set up training programs and employment centers, especially in disadvantaged areas. The AFT is on record as opposing tax credits in any form. The report of the National Commission on Urban Problems, which was chaired by former Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, states its emphatic opposition to tax credits and points out that their effect on eradicating poverty in the disadvantaged areas will be negligible.

TAX REFORM

The AFT will support the position of the AFL-CIO on tax reform, particularly on oil depletion allowances and other income tax inequities. A resolution by the 1968 AFT convention supports this position.

HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS

The AFT is on record in support of ratification of the nine human rights conventions, of which the U.S. has ratified only the convention on slavery. The AFT 1968 convention also supported this position with a resolution.

The nine conventions cover genocide, freedom of association, slavery, political rights of women, forced labor, employment discrimination, equal remuneration, discrimination in education, and racial discrimination.

Of the 109 nations represented at the United Nations, only the Philippines has approved all nine conventions. The Soviet Union has approved all except the ones on forced labor and racial discrimination.

IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY

President-elect Nixon campaigned for improvements in social security, including raising amounts an annuitant can earn. Vice President Humphrey campaigned on a program to provide federal contributions to increase social security benefits. The AFT will support a 50-percent increase in social security benefits.

We also will give consideration to another important factor. Only individuals covered by social security as of July 1, 1968, are eligible for Medicare. At this time, 13 states enrolling more than 700,000 teachers are not under social security, and, therefore, are not eligible for Medicare.

The above items, upon recommendation of the legislative committee, were approved for action by the AFT executive council. We will be expanding and amending the proposals and objectives as the direction of the new Administration begins to evolve.

We will need your help more definitely than ever before. As an aid, we have published a new booklet, entitled *The Teacher's Guide to Legislative Action,* which not only provides suggestions but also gives information vital to teachers who are working on legislative matters. The booklet is also valuable to teachers of civics, government, or American history, since it provides a complete outline of "How a Bill Becomes a Law." Copies are available through the national office at 25¢ each. Please ask for item L-1. The booklet also contains reproductions of all collective-bargaining laws which pertain to public employees, including teachers, now on the statute books in the various states.

We must all work together to insure the continuation of education as our major legislative priority.

Chicago teacher strike forecast

(Continued from Page 3)

Unless the legislature comes to the rescue, says Supt. James Redmond, the belt-tightening program in the city will include such drastic steps backward as: layoff of 6,000 teachers; cutbacks in the number of teacher aides and in civil service personnel; loss of vacation pay and personal business days for teachers; a sharp slicing of the recreation fund for the schools; curtailed employment of substitutes; and no expansion of the program to remove socially maladjusted children from regular classrooms.

Among the most serious areas to be affected should no additional money be forthcoming would be class size, which would jump from 35 to 45, and the inner-city schools, which would receive no additional assistance.

The current Chicago union-board contract, the second negotiated since the city teachers voted overwhelmingly for Local 1 as their bargaining agent, expired Dec. 31.

Current Issues—1969

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
BAYARD RUSTIN, Chairman Executive Committee
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 phone **667-1780** • New York address: 20 West 40th St., New York 10018, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: No. 3-69
February 3, 1969

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

AN HEW DECISION THAT MAY HURT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

In what must be counted as an inauspicious beginning, the Nixon Administration has taken an action that could adversely affect Federal efforts to carry out the mandate of Congress and the courts to desegregate the nation's schools.

In his first ruling since taking office, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Robert H. Finch, let a scheduled cut-off of Federal funds to five Southern school districts go into effect, but amended the order so that the districts still have 60 days in which to try and get the money back.

This equivocal ruling may encourage those in the South who have been fighting HEW's desegregation guidelines and seek to perpetuate segregation. Senator Strom Thurmond (R., S. C.) said he was "encouraged" by the Secretary's action, reviving the fears stirred by President Nixon's campaign statement that he thought HEW was "going too far" when it withheld funds from school districts that fail or refuse to desegregate.

HEW Must Cut Off Funds

Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, HEW has no choice. It must cut off funds from districts that do not comply with the law. The five districts in North and South Carolina and Mississippi have all had long histories of resistance. HEW has investigated, negotiated and conferred with them for more than a year. Not till it failed to get compliance did it order the cut-off.

When Finch Hesitates, the South Hopes

To Mr. Finch's credit he did let the cut-off go through. In an accompanying statement he said, "When all of the alternatives have been exhausted as they have been in these instances, the law must be enforced." But then he went on to offer the five districts still another alternative.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
BISHOP'S COMMITTEE FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN JURISDICTION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

The funds they were denied are being put in trust with state school officials for 60 days. Negotiating teams are being sent down to help the districts develop workable plans. If they succeed, the districts will get their money in the end.

It is this element of retroactivity that is new. It may well be the most dangerous aspect of Mr. Finch's ruling. Till now, when a district lost its money that was that. It could not get it back again. It could try and come into compliance with the law and seek new Federal funds for the next school year. But the cut-off funds were lost.

Mr. Finch denies he is setting a precedent. But when he treats stubborn districts with a new leniency, others who want to resist the law are sure to have their hopes raised. If those five why not others?

"A Costly...Retreat"

That the South is already reading Mr. Finch's decision in this way is evident from the approval he evoked from Thurmond and from the dismay he aroused among those in the region who want to see the law obeyed.

In an editorial entitled "A Costly Nixon Retreat" the Atlanta Journal for January 30, said of Mr. Finch, "He strengthens the forces of defiance, threatens the political futures of those who have tried to do the right thing and offers subtle promise that the law really is not the law."

The Threat of New Violations

In a statement issued for the Leadership Conference, Roy Wilkins, Chairman, warned that the decision "is bound to stimulate new violations of a law overwhelmingly passed by Congress." We enclose that statement with this MEMO.

We urge our organizations to consider this matter carefully. Secretary Finch can be commended for withholding funds, but he needs to be warned against giving any sign of weakness and urged to refuse funds to districts not in full compliance with Title VI.

In his wish to be fair, there is a danger that Mr. Finch may substitute "a continuing dialogue between all parties" for strict enforcement of the law. The parents and students of the South who have been denied their rights for years are sick of dialogue. They want the government to act.

A CLOTURE DEFEAT THAT RAISES HOPES OF VICTORY

Although the Senate last week failed in its second attempt to make it easier to end a filibuster, it did so under circumstances that hold forth the hope it may succeed next time.

On Tuesday, January 28, a Senate majority voted 50 to 42 to stop debate and let the body take up a resolution that would have changed Rule XXII so that three-fifths instead of two-thirds of those present and voting would be needed to end a filibuster. But that was 12 votes short of the two-thirds needed under the rule the Senators were trying to change.

Still it was a stronger showing than those who want to change Rule XXII were able to make at the start of the last Congress. On January 16, 45 Senators voted to sustain former Vice President Humphrey's ruling that at the start of a new session a majority can change the rules (see MEMO No. 2-69). That was 5 short of the votes needed. In 1967, at the start of the 90th Congress, only 37 Senators were ready to sustain a rules change by a majority. There would appear to be an increase of 8 in favor of change.

The Senate grows younger. Eight of the 15 newcomers, including 5 Republicans, voted for cloture. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, who supported the three-fifths change, may yet prove prophetic when he declared during the debate preceding last Tuesday's vote, "The winds of change are blowing. We will face up to this fact, recognize it or be blown away by it."

THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE CELEBRATES ITS 20TH ANNIVERSARY

On January 28th, the day the Senate voted on cloture, the Leadership Conference held its annual board meeting and in the evening, celebrated its 20th Anniversary. It did so by honoring two champions: Hubert H. Humphrey for his long struggle in support of civil rights and the Conference chairman, Roy Wilkins.

About 1200 persons were on hand for the occasion and heard Bayard Rustin, Whitney Young, Walter Reuther, Andrew Biemiller, Miss Dorothy Height and Clarence Mitchell, as well as the guest of honor, reaffirm the continuing efforts of the coalition of labor, civil rights and religious forces that have worked so untiringly together for new laws and for strong enforcement. Of the Leadership Conference, Mr. Humphrey said, "this is a strong and militant group. We need to keep that militancy for good purpose." The goal of full equality in a plural integrated society never seemed closer than it did that night.

HELP KEEP YOUR MEMO COMING

As readers of the Leadership Conference MEMO know, there is no subscription fee. However, we ask each reader to contribute at least $5 a year to pay for mailing costs.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____

SENATE CLOTURE VOTE
January 28, 1969

Senate Vote On Debates

Associated Press

Here is the 50 to 42 roll-call vote by which the Senate refused [redacted] to cut off debate in the fight over its anti-filibuster rule. A two-thirds majority was required.

Democrats For: 29

Anderson (N.M.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Montoya (N.M.)
Church (Idaho)	Moss (Utah)
Cranston (Calif.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Eagleton (Mo.)	Pell (R.I.)
Harris (Okla.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Hart (Mich.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Hughes (Iowa)	Symington (Mo.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Tydings (Md.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Williams (N.J.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
McGovern (S.D.)	Young (Ohio)
Metcalf (Mont.)	

Republicans for: 21

Aiken (Vt.)	Hatfield (Ore.)
Allott (Colo.)	Javits (N.Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Mathias (Md.)
Brooke (Mass.)	Packwood (Ore.)
Case (N.J.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cook (Ky.)	Percy (Ill.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Saxbe (Ohio)
Dominick (Colo.)	Schweiker (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Scott (Pa.)
Goodell (N.Y.)	Smith (Maine)
Griffin (Mich.)	

Democrats against: 21

Allen (Ala.)	Hollings (S.C.)
Bible (Nev.)	Inouye (Hawaii)
Byrd (Va.)	Jordan (N.C.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Long (La.)
Cannon (Nev.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Eastland (Miss.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Spong (Va.)
Holland (Fla.)	Stennis (Miss.)
	Talmadge (Ga.)

Republicans against: 21

Bellmon (Okla.)	Jordan (Idaho)
Bennett (Utah)	Miller (Iowa)
Cotton (N.H.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Dole (Kan.)	Stevens (Alaska)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Tower (Tex.)
Gurney (Fla.)	Williams (Del.)
Hansen (Wyo.)	Young (S.D.)
Hruska (Neb.)	

Not voting but announced as paired. Pairs are used to denote the opposing position of Senators when one or both are absent. In this case two for was required to offset one against, since a two-thirds majority was necessary:

Bayh (D-Ind.), and McIntyre (D-N.H.), for: Baker (R-Tenn.), against.

Mansfield (D-Mont.) and Muskie (D-Maine), for, and Gravel (D-Alaska), against.

STATEMENT BY ROY WILKINS, CHAIRMAN, LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS ON THE ANNOUNCED HOLD-UP OF FUNDS TO FIVE SCHOOL DISTRICTS - JANUARY 31, 1969

The administration's decision, Wednesday, to virtually set up a trust fund for five Southern school districts that have refused to desegregate their schools is bound to stimulate new violations of a law overwhelmingly passed by Congress.

HEW has investigated and conferred with these districts for more than a year. When it was plain that they had no intention of desegregating their schools, HEW, as it must under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, notified them it was cutting off all Federal funds. Under normal and lawful procedure that should have been the end of it. The obligation is then upon the districts to show their good faith by developing a genuine plan of desegregation and soliciting reinstatement by HEW.

Instead, the administration is ready to coddle them. An administration that has promised us an era of law and order and has avowed its intention to be hard on criminals, is ready, now, to deal leniently with school officials who have criminally denied constitutional rights to their students.

Instead of cutting off funds, HEW is going to let state school officials hold them in trust for 60 days while it give still another chance to violators who have had abundant opportunity to comply with the law.

Secretary Finch's decision to send negotiation teams into these districts "to fairly and fully establish the facts" is wasteful and unnecessary. The facts in these cases are already fully established. HEW would not dare advocate a termination of funds unless this were so. What more can new investigators find? What more, under the law, does HEW have to know" How can we be sure these negotiators will not use easier standards than those already established in order to reach an accommodation with recalcitrant districts? During the presidential campaign, Senator Strom Thurmond advised Southern school districts to drag their feet, to disregard the law. The suspicion arises that he is now being paid off.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has had long experience with civil rights enforcement. It has been our experience that where the government administers the law fairly and firmly, people comply. Where it yields and deals and tries to coax them into compliance, they don't.

Mr. Finch says no precedent will be set by this action. We hope he is correct. We fear, however, that his act will encourage disregard for the school desegregation laws, embitter students and parents who have seen those laws bring little in the way of improved or integrated education and strengthen Southern school officials in their resolve to keep segregation.

It is a terrible decision and a miserable way to start four years of working for the health, education and welfare of American citizens.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1969

The Business of Business Is Still Business

By JOHN A. HAMILTON

The hard-core unemployed, those down-and-out minority group members without motivation, job skills or steady work records, very largely remain the hard-core unemployed.

The National Alliance of Businessmen which has reported putting more than 100,000 hard-core unemployed on business payrolls within the past year may disagree with this, but it was the conclusion of business leaders and economists attending a recent Harvard conference on "Programs to Employ the Disadvantaged." Their conclusion has profound implications for the Nixon Administration.

President Nixon stressed "volunteerism" during his election campaign and emphasized the limits of governmental power and the larger role private enterprise must play in easing urban tensions and bringing Americans together.

"Private enterprise, far more effectively than the Government, can provide the jobs, train the unemployed . . . offer the new opportunities which will produce progress," he said.

Those at the conference in Cambridge, officials of companies especially active in recruiting slum-area workers, described the efforts they have been making—and some of these efforts have been extensive, long-term and costly. They stressed the reverse of Mr. Nixon's campaign appeal. They outlined the limits of what private enterprise can be expected to do and in the process underscored the need for expanded governmental programs to meet some of the basic problems.

"What used to be called the high-school dropout is now called the hard-core," one said. "We've been hiring the hard-core for years."

Those involved in the slums identify not one but two hard-cores, the hard-core worker with motivation who is being hired and the hard-core worker without motivation who is not. There is a need for governmental programs that reach into the slums early in a disadvantaged child's life to reduce the number without motivation later on.

Business involvement in the slums, like the slums themselves, has developed a special argot. In hiring the one hard-core and rejecting the other, firms such as the automobile companies in Detroit and I.B.M. in the Bedford-Stuyvestant section of Brooklyn have been "creaming," taking only the best.

No New Jobs

In Detroit, where nearly 40,000 of the hard-core have been hired according to the National Alliance's statistics, the automobile industry has revised its hiring standards and recruited directly in the slums. But the revision in standards is slight, and those being hired today as hard-core are not much different from those hired in the past. Training programs have remained much the same. No new jobs have been created. The hard-core have been hired to do the jobs that need doing.

In Bedford-Stuyvesant, the new I.B.M. plant which began operations in July hired about 150 of its first 2,500 job applicants. A statistical study reveals that most of those hired were men who already had jobs. Some 78 per cent were employed, and their average base pay in their old jobs was $102 weekly.

The Goal Is Profit

Having shouldered extra costs and pioneered in bringing a major manufacturing operation into an inner-city slum, the I.B.M. management wanted to make certain it did not fail. So, in hiring, it also "creamed" the slum. The goal of the Bedford-Stuyvesant plant is the same as that of all I.B.M. plants—to make a product at a profit.

And, in the end, this must remain the goal of any business.

With this reality in mind, officials at I.B.M. and other firms active now in slum areas are troubled by a proposed law designed to revitalize slum enterprises. They worry about the impact of the Community Self-Determination bill, now pending in Congress, which would give a Federally chartered Community Development Corporation (C.D.C.) the power to acquire, create and manage businesses and to negotiate "turn-key" contracts with outside firms. These firms would have to agree to sell to the C.D.C. as soon as a community-based operation became profitable.

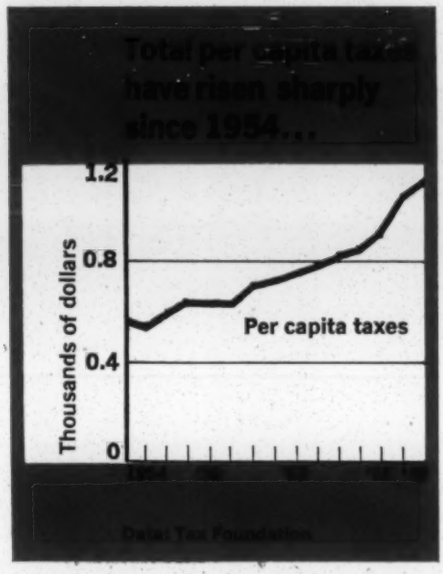
The product of a strange alliance between black power separatists and conservative Congressmen, this bill has supporters with ties to both camps. It provides tax and loan incentives for businesses willing to participate in slum enterprises under these conditions, but no one at the conference here showed such a willingness. Most felt that the bill would stifle business investment rather than stimulate it.

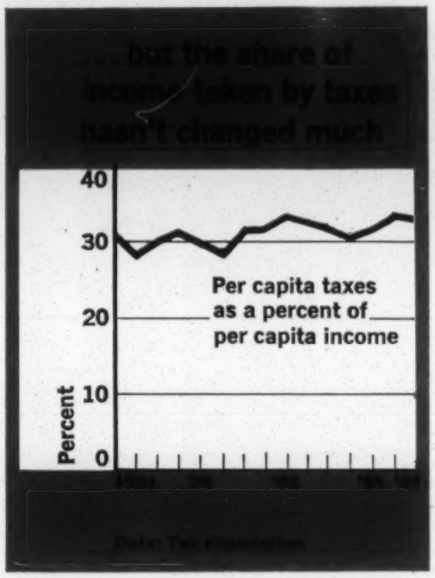
Business at the Harvard conference favored other approaches, such as increasing Federal reimbursement for job-training programs and making loan funds more available. They also urged that municipal governments make the establishment of slum operations far easier. Officials at I.B.M., for example, report running into excessive costs in setting up operations in Brooklyn and becoming inexcusably tangled in bureaucratic red tape.

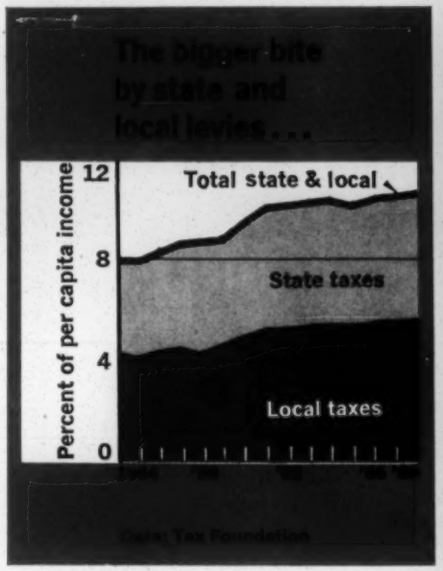
Business involvement in slum areas needs encouragement. An observer at the conference came away convinced of this. The limits of this involvement, however, need understanding. A business is not a social agency and cannot be expected to perform tasks that properly belong to Government and society. A business is, in the end, a business.

JOHN A. HAMILTON is a member of the editorial board of The Times.

Current Issues







TAXES

The basic issues of tax reform

As Congress and Administration start reviewing tax laws, first principles take on fresh meaning. One target will be changes in how the tax structure bites

Just before World War II ended, Randolph Paul, one of the great public finance experts of his day, wrote an impassioned plea for tax reform and called the resulting book, Taxes Without Tears.

It has taken 25 years. But both a Republican Administration and a Democratic-controlled Congress now sense a middle-class revolt against the existing tax structure. The effect is to increase greatly the chances that the U. S. will finally get at least some changes in its tax laws embodying the kind of reform that Paul, and the succeeding generation of public finance experts, have been urging for more than a quarter of a century.

Will these changes end the tears? The answer depends on what benefits the public expects to reap from the drive for reform.

Premises. The beginning of wisdom, say the reformers, is to understand that reform will not mean a tax cut for taxpayers viewed as a whole—or substantial reduction for the mass of individual taxpayers, for that matter.

The experts, in fact, go on to argue that if the revolt is against a rising burden of taxation, the wrong Bastille is being stormed.

To support their case, they cite evidence that the tax percentage bite on income has remained essentially unchanged since 1954, the last time the U. S. tax code underwent an item-by-item review. The burden of state and local taxation has increased from about 8% to about 10% of per capita income since that date, but the impact has been offset by a general downward drift in federal taxation.

The federal tax burden has come down a shade, of course, partly because state and local taxes can be claimed as a deduction on the federal return. In addition, the effect of the great 1964 tax cut hasn't been quite offset by the imposition of the surcharge last year.

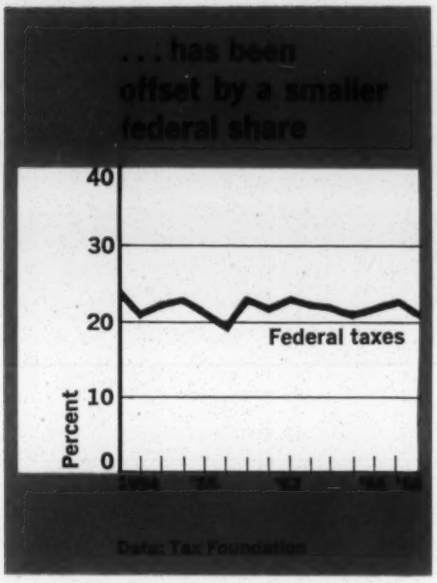
Escalator up. Yet the middle classes are unhappy. "The problem," says one noted tax expert, "is prosperity." Prosperity has made April a crueler month for many taxpayers. Because of the enormous rise in income since World War II, many families have moved into higher tax brackets. They are paying the high income tax rates that applied to relatively few taxpayers only 15 years ago.

The current 10% standard deduction applying to persons reporting a taxable income of $10,000 or less has also become obsolete. When it was first set up, it was used by more than 75% of taxpayers; now it is used by only about 50%.

As a result, the public is now more sharply aware of the kinds of problems that have worried tax experts since the days of Randolph Paul, and perhaps before him. Basically, the U. S. tax system has evolved since World War II when the income tax was changed from a levy on the classes to a levy on the masses. In so doing, it has moved farther and farther away from principles regarded as sound ever since Adam Smith.

Equal treatment. Sound principles of public finance require that people in equal circumstances be treated equally. For the tax man, equal income represents one critical test of equal circumstance. Yet, as the tables at right show, differing taxpayers in the same bracket often pay differing rates on their total income.

Differences in effective tax rates—



total federal taxes as a percent of total income—including things like capital gains that are not fully counted in taxable income and interest on state and local bonds which is not counted at all—already begin to show up in the $3,000 to $5,000 tax bracket. By the time the $10,000 to $15,000 bracket is reached, rates begin to vary substantially. Most taxpayers in this group pay an effective rate between 15% and 20%, but 6% pay effective rates of 10% to 15%, while 7% pay from 20% to 25%.

In higher brackets, discrepancies get bigger and bigger between effective rates on people in approximately the same income class. Rates for millionaires vary all over the shop. Almost 50% of all taxpayers reporting incomes over $1-million pay effective rates between 20% and 30% on total income. But 4% of all those in this class pay less than 5%, while another 7% are in the maximum bracket of 65% to 70%.

Power to pay. Sound principles of taxation also require that people in different circumstances be treated differently—or, put another way, that tax rates bear some reasonable relationship to ability to pay.

Indeed, the federal tax system does comply reasonably with this principle. Its effective rate goes up from an average of 15% for total incomes of less than $5,000 to 32% for those in the $50,000 to $100,000 bracket, and then stops rising.

But state and local governments rely heavily on sales taxes that tend to take a bigger bite from low-income families (also families that don't save much) than from high-income families.

Thus, the total tax structure is less progressive than that of the federal government alone. A Council of Economic Advisers study shows taxes take much the same percent of revenue from all taxpayers with incomes ranging all the way from $2,000 to $15,000 per year. The effective rate rises from that point.

Incentives. Finally, there are some principles that say taxes should not interfere with the way resources are allocated among various uses. Yet, under the current code, there are unquestionably tax advantages to deploying resources in agriculture, in timber, in minerals, and in some kinds of real estate operations.

All the deviations from ideal principles have a common cause: the exemptions, deductions, and exclusions that have been an important part of the tax structure ever since the 1930s. Since taxpayers in the same bracket can claim differing exemptions, deductions, and exclusions, there are big differences in the tax treatment meted out to them. Since many of the rich have sources of income that can claim special tax treatment, average rates don't vary as much with income as the tax table suggests. And since some kinds of enterprises get special tax treatment, the use of resources sometimes gets distorted.

The reformers. For all these reasons, the thrust of the current drive for tax reform is squarely aimed either at eliminating or reducing exemptions, deductions, and exclusions, or at least modifying their effects on the rates that taxpayers actually pay.

Proposals for reform have a common aim. But they come in all kinds of packages, from the radical to the bland.

At one end of the spectrum are tax reformers who would hack away ruthlessly at all exemptions, deductions, and exclusions. Their chief ammunition is an appealing piece of arithmetic, which might be labeled the law of one-third. The total tax loss from the special treatment of some kinds of income costs the Treasury about $44-billion a year, roughly one-third of total collections. Eliminate them, say the radical reformers, and basic tax rates could be cut one-third.

Minimum tax? The rich do get more out of special tax treatment than middle-class taxpayers. But cutting of various deductions won't mean a big reduction in the tax burden of the middle class.

This kind of calculation shows up clearly in the arithmetic underlying the proposals for a minimum income tax on the rich, contained in the proposals for tax reform that the

The average federal income tax rate varies with income—but not by as much as the federal tax table suggests

Taxpayers in this income class . . . [Thousands of dollars]	. . . pay this average effective rate [Percent]
$0 to 5	15.0%
5 to 10	16.2
10 to 20	17.8
20 to 50	22.8
50 to 100	32.6
100 to 200	37.8
200 to 500	37.9
500 to 1,000	35.8
1,000 and over	32.7

But within each income class, there are surprisingly big differences in the rates actually paid. Two examples:

In the $20,000-$50,000 bracket

This share of taxpayers . . . [Percent]	. . . pays this effective rate [Percent]
0.4%	0 to 5%
0.7	5 to 10
3.9	10 to 15
27.5	15 to 20
48.6	20 to 25
14.6	25 to 30
3.3	30 to 35
0.7	35 to 40
0.2	40 to 45

In the $1,000,000 and over bracket

This share of taxpayers . . . [Percent]	. . . pays this effective rate [Percent]
4.0%	0 to 5%
0.2	5 to 10
0.2	10 to 15
0.2	15 to 20
31.0	20 to 25
27.2	25 to 30
5.2	30 to 35
1.8	35 to 40
2.4	40 to 45
4.0	45 to 50
1.8	50 to 55
2.7	55 to 60
12.3	60 to 65
6.9	65 to 70

Data: Treasury Dept.

This is not an offer of these securities for sale. The offer is made only by the Prospectus.

February 5, 1969

Industrial Nucleonics Corporation / AccuRay

390,000 Shares

Industrial Nucleonics Corporation

Common Stock

(No Par Value)

Price $23 Per Share

Copies of the Prospectus may be obtained within any State from any Underwriter who may lawfully offer these securities within such State.

William Blair & Company

Blyth & Co., Inc. | The First Boston Corporation | Drexel Harriman Ripley Incorporated

Glore Forgan, Wm. R. Staats Inc. | Goldman, Sachs & Co.

Hornblower & Weeks-Hemphill, Noyes | Paine, Webber, Jackson & Curtis

Salomon Brothers & Hutzler | Smith, Barney & Co. Incorporated | White, Weld & Co.

Dean Witter & Co. Incorporated | Bache & Co. Incorporated | A. G. Becker & Co. Incorporated

Equitable Securities, Morton & Co. Incorporated | Hayden, Stone Incorporated | W. E. Hutton & Co.

F. S. Moseley & Co. | Shearson, Hammill & Co. Incorporated | G. H. Walker & Co. Incorporated

investech™

precisely what is it?

precisely those common stocks believed to be most undervalued among the hundreds we regularly monitor.

precisely selected with the aid of computer techniques using data supplied by our security analysts.

precisely employed in a portfolio management strategy designed to keep money optimally at work in undervalued stocks.

precisely oriented toward capital gains investing... toward the search for capital growth through eventual realization of fundamental values.

INVESTECH is a service of the investment counsel affiliates of:

THE BOSTON COMPANY, INC. 100 Franklin Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02106
Telephone (617) 542-9450

INVESTECH is intended for fundings of $240,000 or more.

For further information please direct your inquiry to Department W2

Johnson Administration passed on to the Treasury. This "Surrey Package"—named for former Assistant Treasury Secretary Stanley S. Surrey—estimated the revenue from this minimum tax at only about $1-billion, against total estimated tax receipts of $128-billion for fiscal 1969.

To get general rate reduction as a result of reform, Congress would have to do something radical like reducing those exemptions, deductions, and exclusions that are widely used by the mass of taxpayers as well as the rich—such things as interest on home mortgages, charitable contributions, and interest on consumer debt.

Although House Ways & Means Chairman Wilbur C. Mills has a record of caution on tax questions, he has been talking more and more like a radical reformer in recent weeks. In a television interview last weekend, he argued for "simplification"—the elimination of special treatment coupled with "lower basic rates." This resembles the position taken by the Senate's liberal Democrats, who, for their support of the 10% surcharge last year, extracted a pledge that the Treasury would submit tax reform proposals to Congress.

Opening moves. The Nixon Administration has taken a moderate position so far. Treasury Secretary David M. Kennedy has promised to begin sending proposals for reform to Congress soon, emphasizing the need for "equity." He placed particular stress on changing provisions that allow some of the rich to avoid almost all federal taxation.

Still, the Administration will have to resolve some problems in its own tax stance before it can make a convincing case for reform. During the campaign, President Nixon talked of massive tax credits as incentives to induce private enterprise to tackle ghetto problems.

Testifying before the Joint Economic Committee this week, Budget Director Robert Mayo was asked by Representative William S. Moorhead (D-Pa.) whether "the incentives of today become the loopholes of tomorrow?" Mayo's reply: "I think I understand the question you raise, and we will have to be watchful."

Sources close to Mills say that he is not overly happy with Administration statements to date. He told intimates that "what they mean by tax reform is not what I mean by tax reform."

Just how those differences are resolved will hold the key to the tax reform package that Congress will actually pass. **End**

Current Issues - 1969

Washington Window

By Press Associates, Inc.

THE WHITE HOUSE has announced that Pres. Nixon has sent 94 directives to various top officials of his Administration "calling for action and recommendations on a wide range of domestic concerns."

The subjects on which the President wants these recommendations range from tax reform and federal expenditures to health care and welfare programs. All of them, of course, are of importance to organized labor, but a number of them are in the field of direct labor legislation.

Because they indicate the issues that the President is thinking about, they are worth listing. Here are those referred to Labor Sec. George P. Shultz:

● **A report on the advisability of establishing a labor court to help deal with labor-management problems. The labor court is a favorite scheme of anti-union business groups which complain that the National Labor Relations Board is pro-union and that the only way management can get a break is to abolish the NLRB and set up special labor courts which, presumably, will be tough on labor. Sec. Shultz has said that he doesn't think much of the labor court idea.**

● Establishment of a national system of job vacancy statistics.

● Recommendations concerning a pilot government program designed to encourage the unemployed to move to locations where jobs exist.

● Draft legislation for a comprehensive manpower bill along with an appraisal of the expected costs and benefits of implementing such a program. This, of course, would open the way to implementation of the Nixon proposals to bring private enterprise into the job and training picture more than it now is, perhaps by giving tax breaks to corporations that involve themselves in the project.

● Recommendations concerning the proposed increase in the minimum wage and its impact on employment opportunities. Shultz already has made it clear that he currently has reservations about the $2 minimum for which organized labor is calling.

● A report on the advisability of placing farm workers under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. Organized labor has long called for this as the only way to assure farm workers of their right to organize. Shultz has been quoted in the press as having expressed doubt on the grounds that they are too scattered and that there is a question of calling strikes during harvest peaks.

● **Establishment of a special task force to develop a basic policy with regard to public employes' labor disputes. Public employe unions are deeply concerned that government management groups are reluctant to deal with their organized labor on a fair basis; the "right to strike" is still highly controversial, and the techniques of free collective bargaining are far from adequate.**

● A report on the deficiencies of the current system of unemployment compensation, and recommendations as to how these shortcomings can be corrected. Such matters include uniformity among the states on compensation, the rate at which benefits should be paid, and the question of unemployment benefits for strikers.

● An appraisal of the present supply of skilled construction workers and the membership practices of construction unions, together with recommendations concerning this issue.

● An evaluation and recommendations concerning the role which the Davis-Bacon Act may have played in increased construction costs. This is somewhat of a surprise issue. Davis-Bacon provides for prevailing wages on government construction and it is not quite clear why the government should want to pay less than prevailing wages even to save money.

● Recommendations concerning new occupational safety legislation. Organized labor has been fighting steadily for federal legislation to meet the shocking death and accident rate in American industry. Business has been fighting to keep safety legislation on the state level where it has been woefully weak.

AFL-CIO News 3/22/69

A Generation Unsure That It Has a Future

By George Wald

Current Issues 1969

ALL OF YOU know that in the last couple of years there has been student unrest breaking at times into violence in many parts of the world: in England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Mexico and, needless to say, in many parts of this country. There has been a great deal of discussion as to what it all means.

Perfectly clearly, it means something different in Mexico from what it does in France, and something different in France from what it does in Tokyo, and something different in Tokyo from what it does in this country. Yet unless we are to assume that students have gone crazy all over the world, or that they have just decided that it's the thing to do, there must be some common meaning.

I don't need to go so far afield to look for that meaning. I am a teacher, and at Harvard, I have a class of about 350 students—men and women—most of them freshmen and sophomores. Over these past few years I have felt increasingly that something is terribly wrong—and this year ever so much more than last. Something has gone sour, in teaching and in learning. It's almost as though there were a widespread feeling that education has become irrelevant.

A lecture is much more of a dialogue than many of you probably appreciate. As you lecture, you keep watching the faces, and information keeps coming back to you all the time. I began to feel, particularly this year, that I was missing much of what was coming back. I tried asking the students, but they didn't or couldn't help me very much.

But I think I know what's the matter, even a little better than they do. I think that this whole generation of students is beset with a profound uneasiness. I don't think that they have yet quite defined its source. I think I understand the reasons for their uneasiness even better than they do. What is more, I share their uneasiness.

An American Invention

WHAT'S BOTHERING those students? Some of them tell you it's the Vietnam war. I think the Vietnam war is the most shameful episode in the whole of American history.

The concept of war crimes is an American invention. We've committed many war crimes in Vietnam, but I'll tell you something interesting about that. We were committing war crimes in World War II, even before the Nuremburg trials were held and the principle of war crimes started. The saturation bombing of German cities was a war crime, and if we had lost the war, some of our leaders might have had to answer for it.

I've gone through all of that history lately, and I find that there's a gimmick in it. It isn't written out, but I think we established it by precedent. That gimmick is that if one can allege that one is repelling or retaliating for an aggression—after that, everything goes.

And you see, we are living in a world in which all wars are wars of defense. All War Departments are now Defense Departments. This is all part of the double talk of our time. The aggressor is always on the other side.

And I suppose this is why our ex-Secretary of State, Dean Rusk—a man in whom repetition takes the place of reason and stubbornness takes the place of character—went to such pains to insist, as he still insists, that in Vietnam we are repelling an aggression.

And if that's what we are doing—so runs the doctrine—anything goes.

If the concept of war crimes is ever to mean anything, they will have to be defined as categories of acts, regardless of provocation. But that isn't so now.

I think we've lost that war, as a lot of other people think, too. The Vietnamese have a secret weapon. It's their willingness to die beyond our willingness to kill. In effect, they've been saying, you can kill us, but you'll have to kill a lot of us, you may have to kill all of us. And thank heavens, we are not yet ready to do that.

Yet we have come a long way—far enough to sicken many Americans, far enough even to sicken our fighting men, far enough so that our national symbols have gone sour. How many of you can sing about "the rockets' red glare, bombs bursting in air" without thinking, those are our bombs and our rockets bursting over South Vietnamese villages?

When those words were written, we were a people struggling for freedom against oppression. Now we are supporting real or thinly disguised military dictatorships all over the world, helping them to control and repress peoples struggling for their freedom.

Postwar Aberrations

BUT THAT Vietnam war, shameful and terrible as it is, seems to me only an immediate incident in a much larger and more stubborn situation.

Part of my trouble with students is that almost all the students I teach were born since World War II. Just after World War II, a series of new and abnormal procedures came into American life. We regarded them at the time as temporary aberrations. We thought we would get back to normal American life some day.

But those procedures have stayed with us now for more than 20 years, and those students of mine have never known anything else. They think those things are normal. They think we've always had a Pentagon, that we have always had a big army and that we always had a draft. But those are all new things in American life, and I think that they are incompatible with what America meant before.

How many of you realize that just before World War II, the entire American army, including the Air Force, numbered 139,000 men? Then World War II started, but we weren't yet in it; and seeing that there was great trouble in the world, we doubled this army to 268,000 men. Then in World War II, it got to be eight million.

And then World War II came to an end, and we prepared to go back to a peacetime army somewhat as the American army had always been before. And indeed in 1950—you think about 1950, our international commitments, the cold war, the Truman Doctrine and all the rest of it—in 1950 we got down to 600,000 men.

Now we have 3.5 million men under arms: about 600,000 in Vietnam, about 300,000 more in "support areas" elsewhere in the Pacific, about 250,000 in Germany. And there are a lot at home. Some months ago we were told that 300,000 National Guardsmen and 200,000 reservists had been specially trained for riot duty in the cities.

I say the Vietnam war is just an immediate incident, because so long as we keep that big an army, it will always find things to do. If the Vietnam war stopped tomorrow, with that big a military establishment, the chances are that we would be in another such adventure abroad or at home before you knew it.

As for the draft: Don't reform the draft—get rid of it.

A peacetime draft is the most un-American thing I know. All the time I was growing up, I was told about oppressive Central European countries and Russia, where young men were forced into the army, and I was told what they did about it. They chopped off a finger, or shot off a couple of toes; or better still, if they could manage it, they came to this country. And we understood that, and sympathized, and were glad to welcome them.

Now, by present estimates, 4000 to 6000 Americans of draft age have left this country for Canada, another 2000 or 3000 have gone to Europe and it looks as though many more are preparing to emigrate.

A few months ago, I received a letter from the Harvard Alumni Bulletin posing a series of questions that students might ask a professor involving what to do about the draft. I was asked to write what I would tell those students. All I had to say to those students was this: If any of them had decided to evade the draft and asked my help, I would help him in any way I could.

I would feel as I suppose members of the underground railway felt in pre-Civil War days, helping runaway slaves to get to Canada. It wasn't altogether a popular position then, but what do you think of it now?

A bill to stop the draft was recently introduced in the Senate (S. 503), sponsored by a group of Senators that ran the gamut from McGovern and Hatfield to Barry Goldwater. I hope it goes through; but any time I find that Barry Goldwater and I are in agreement, that makes one take another look.

And indeed, there are choices in getting rid of the draft. I think that when we get rid of the draft, we must also cut back the size of the armed forces. It seems to me that in peacetime a total of one million men is surely enough. If there is an argument for American military forces of more than one million men in peacetime, I should like to hear that argument debated.

There is another thing being said closely connected with this: that to keep an adequate volunteer army, one would have to raise the pay considerably. That's said so positively and often that people believe it. I don't think it is true.

The great bulk of our present armed forces are genuine volunteers. Among first-term enlistments, 49 per cent are true volunteers. Another 30 per cent are so-called "reluctant volunteers," persons who volunteer under pressure of the draft. Only 21 per cent are draftees. All re-enlistments, of course, are true volunteers.

So the great majority of our present armed forces are true volunteers. Whole services are composed entirely of volunteers: the Air Force, for example, the submarine service, the Marines. That seems like proof to me that present pay rates are adequate.

One must add that an act of Congress in 1967 raised the base pay throughout the services in three installments, the third installment still to come, on April 1, 1969. So it is hard to understand why we are being told that to maintain adequate armed services on a volunteer basis will require large increases in pay; they will cost an extra $17 billion per year. It seems plain to me that we can get all the armed forces we need as volunteers, and at present rates of pay.

But there is something ever so much bigger and more important than the draft. The bigger thing, of course, is what ex-President Eisenhower warned us of, calling it the military-industrial complex. I am sad to say that we must begin to think of it now as the military-industrial-labor union complex.

What happened under the plea of the cold war was not alone that we built up the first big peacetime army in our history, but we institutionalized it. We built, I suppose, the biggest government building in our history to run it, and we institutionalized it.

I don't think we can live with the present military establishment and its $80-100 billion a year budget and keep America anything like we have known it in the past. It is corrupting the life of the whole country. It is buying up everything in sight: industries, banks, investors universities, and lately it seems also to have bought up the labor unions.

The Defense Department is always broke; but some of the things they do with that $80 billion a year would make Buck Rogers envious. For example: the Rocky Mountain Arsenal on the outskirts of Denver was manufacturing a deadly nerve poison on such a scale that there was a problem of waste disposal. Nothing daunted, they dug a tunnel two miles deep under Denver, into which they have injected so much poisoned water that beginning a couple of years ago Denver began to experience a series of earth tremors of increasing severity.

Now there is a grave fear of a major earthquake. An interesting debate is in progress as to whether Denver will be safer if that lake of poisoned water is removed or left in place. (New York Times, July 4, 1968; Science, Sept. 27, 1968).

Perhaps you have read also of those 6000 sheep that suddenly died in Skull Valley, Utah, killed by another nerve poison—a strange and, I believe, still unexplained accident, since the nearest testing seems to have been 30 miles away.

As for Vietnam, the expenditure of fire power has been frightening. Some of you may still remember Khesanh, a hamlet just south of the Demilitarized Zone, where a force of U.S. Marines was beleaguered for a time. During that period, we dropped on the perimeter of Khesanh more explosives than fell on Japan throughout World War II, and more than fell on the whole of Europe during the years 1942 and 1943.

One of the officers there was quoted as having said afterward, "It looks like the world caught smallpox and died." (New York Times, March 28, 1968).

The only point of government is to safeguard and foster life. Our Government has become preoccupied with death, with the business of killing and being killed. So-called defense now absorbs 60 per cent of the national budget, and about 12 per cent of the gross national product.

The Facts of Death

A LIVELY DEBATE is beginning again on whether or not we should deploy antiballistic missiles, the ABM. I don't have to talk about them; everyone else here is doing that. But I should like to mention a curious circumstance.

In September, 1967, or about 1½ years ago, we had a meeting of MIT and Harvard people, including experts on these matters, to talk about whether anything could be done to block the Sentinel system, the deployment of ABMs. Everyone present thought them undesirable, but a few of the most knowledgeable persons took what seemed to be the practical view, "Why fight about a dead issue? It has been decided, the funds have been appropriated. Let's go on from there."

Well, fortunately, it's not a dead issue.

An ABM is a nuclear weapon. It takes a nuclear weapon to stop a nuclear weapon. And our concern must be with the whole issue of nuclear weapons.

There is an entire semantics ready to deal with the sort of thing I am about to say. It involves such phrases as "those are the facts of life." No—these are the facts of death. I don't accept them, and I advise you not to accept them.

We are under repeated pressures to accept things that are presented to us as settled—decisions that have been made. Always there is the thought: Let's go on from there! But this time we don't see how to go on. We will have to stick with those issues.

We are told that the United States and Russia between them have by now stockpiles in nuclear weapons approximately the explosive power of 15 tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on earth. And now it is suggested that we must make more. All very regrettable, of course, but those are "the facts of life."

We really would like to disarm, but our new Secretary of Defense has made the ingenious proposal that one must be practical. Now is the time to greatly increase our nuclear armaments so that we can disarm from a position of strength.

I think all of you know there is no adequate defense against massive nuclear attack. It is both easier and cheaper to circumvent any known nuclear defense system than to provide it. It's all pretty crazy. At the very moment we talk of deploying ABMs, we are also building the MIRV, the weapon to circumvent ABMs.

The Doomed Survivors

SO FAR AS I know, with everything working as well as can be hoped and all foreseeable precautions taken, the most conservative estimates of Americans killed in a major nuclear attack run to about 50 million. We have become callous to gruesome statistics, and this seems at first to be only another gruesome statistic. You think, Bang!—and next morning, if you're still there, you read in the newspapers that 50 million people were killed.

But that isn't the way it happens. When we killed close to 200,000 people with those first little old-fashioned uranium bombs that we dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, about the same number of persons was maimed, blinded, burned, poisoned and otherwise doomed. A lot of them took a long time to die.

That's the way it would be. Not a bang, and a certain number of corpses to bury, but a nation filled with millions of helpless, maimed, tortured and doomed survivors huddled with their families in shelters, with guns ready to fight off their neighbors, trying to get some uncontaminated food and water.

A few months ago, Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia ended a speech in the Senate with the words: "If we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, I want them to be Americans, and I want them on this continent and not in Europe." That was a United States Senator holding a patriotic speech. Well, here is a Nobel laureate who thinks that those words are criminally insane. (Prolonged applause.)

How real is the threat of full-scale nuclear war? I have my own very inexpert idea, but realizing how little I know and fearful that I may be a little paranoid on this subject, I take every opportunity to ask reputed experts. I asked that question of a very distinguished professor of government at Harvard about a month ago.

I asked him what sort of odds he would lay on the possibility of full-scale nuclear war within the foreseeable future. "Oh," he said comfortably, "I think I can give you a pretty good answer to that question. I estimate the probability of full-scale nuclear war, provided that the situation remains about as it is now, at 2 per cent per year." Anybody can do the simple calculation that shows that 2 per cent per year means that the chance of having that full-scale nuclear war by 1990 is about one in three, and by 2000 it is about 50-50.

A Dubious Future

I THINK I know what is bothering the students. I think that what we are up against is a generation that is by no means sure that it has a future.

I am growing old, and my future, so to speak, is already behind me. But there are those students of mine who are in my mind always; there are my children, two of them now 7 and 9, whose future is infinitely more precious to me than my own. So it isn't just their generation; it's mine, too. We're all in it together.

Are we to have a chance to live? We don't ask for prosperity, or security; only for a reasonable chance to live, to work out our destiny in peace and decency, not to go down in history as the apocalyptic generation.

And it isn't only nuclear war. Another overwhelming threat is in the population explosion. That has not yet even begun to come under control.

There is every indication that the world population will double before the year 2000, and there is a widespread expectation of famine on an unprecedented scale in many parts of the world. The experts tend to differ only in their estimates of when those famines will begin. Some think by 1980; others think they can be staved off until 1990; very few expect that they will not occur by the year 2000.

That is the problem. Unless we can be surer than we now are that this generation has a future, nothing else matters. It's not good enough to give it tender, loving care, to supply it with breakfast foods, to buy it expensive educations. Those things don't mean anything unless this generation has a future. And we're not sure that it does.

I don't think that there are problems of youth, or student problems. All the real problems I know are grownup problems.

Perhaps you will think me altogether absurd, or "academic," or hopelessly innocent—that is, until you think of the alternatives—if I say as I do to you now: We have to get rid of those nuclear weapons. There is nothing worth having that can be obtained by nuclear war: nothing material or ideological, no tradition that it can defend. It is utterly self-defeating.

Those atom bombs represent an unusable weapon. The only use for an atom bomb is to keep somebody else from using it. It can give us no protection, but only the doubtful satisfaction of retaliation. Nuclear weapons offer us nothing but a balance of terror, and a balance of terror is still terror.

We have to get rid of those atomic weapons, here and everywhere. We cannot live with them.

All One Species

I THINK we've reached a point of great decision, not just for our Nation, not only for all humanity, but for life upon the Earth. I tell my students, with a feeling of pride that I hope they will share, that the carbon, nitrogen and oxygen that make up 99 per cent of our living substance were cooked in the deep interiors of earlier generations of dying stars.

Gathered up from the ends of the universe over billions of years, eventually they came to form in part the substance of our sun, its planets and ourselves. Three billion years ago, life arose upon the Earth. It seems to be the only life in the solar system. Many a star has since been born and died.

About two million years ago, man appeared. He has become the dominant species on the Earth. All other living things, animal and plant, live by his sufferance. He is the custodian of life on Earth. It's a big responsibility.

The thought that we're in competition with Russians or with Chinese is all a mistake, and trivial. Only mutual destruction lies that way. We are one species, with a world to win. There's life all over this universe, but we are the only men.

Our business is with life, not death. Our challenge is to give what account we can of what becomes of life in the solar system, this corner of the universe that is our home, and, most of all, what becomes of men—all men of all nations, colors and creeds.

It has become one world, a world for all men. It is only such a world that now can offer us life and the chance to go on.

Some 1200 scientists, students and others gathered in Kresge Auditorium of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology March 4 under the aegis of the "March 4 Movement" protesting the misuses of science. The participants "were disturbed," according to the Boston Globe, "at the lack of focus in the day's numerous panel discussions and speeches" until Dr. George Wald rose to speak.

Dr. Wald is professor of biology at Harvard and 1968 winner of the Nobel Prize for medicine. As in his lectures at Harvard, he "talked extemporaneously, his head back, his eyes almost closed," said the Globe. "His words had an electric effect. A hush fell over the audience, broken just once by sustained applause midway in the speech and climaxed by a prolonged standing ovation at its conclusion."

This is the speech.

United Press International

"Wonder why grownups always have enough money for killin' and never enough for livin'?"

"It's the American way of saving us."

Current Issues.

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Vol. 9, No. 13 March 31, 1969

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

The country is growing more impatient about the size of the defense budget and its social effects.

But we believe that Congress, as a whole, has not shown sufficient sensitivity to these issues and to the public's anxieties about them. Our role is to accelerate an awareness of the dangers inherent in the defense budget, the arms race, and the militarization of our society.

We meet here as committed public officials and as representatives of a troubled people. Our concerns are:

A country which continues to wage war when that war is discredited; the missiles and anti-missiles which proliferate—while citizens wonder what this generation of defense experts has in store; The hundred billion dollars alloted for defense in a single year, when teacher corps funds are reduced by half; The two-thirds of all tax receipts that are spent for defense, more than all federal, state and local outlays for social security, health, education, housing and agriculture; A military budget which rises each year, spurred by a seemingly self-generating mechanism, functioning with little or no attention to merit.

—Cong. Ben Rosenthal, March 28, 1969

"THANK THE LORD FOR SMALL FAVORS LIKE THE MODIFIED ABM"

Down the long lane of the history yet to be written America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect.

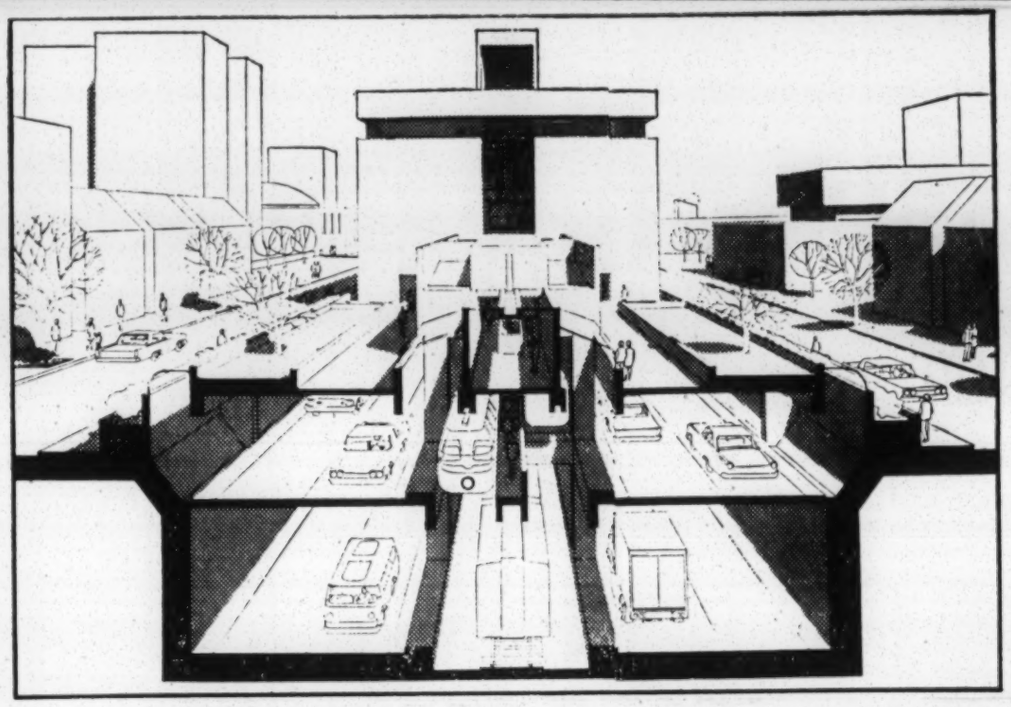
"Such a confederation must be one of equals. The weakest must come to the conference table with the same confidence as do we, protected as we are by our moral, economic, and military strength. That table, though scarred by many past frustrations, cannot be abandoned for the certain agony of the battlefield.

"Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative. Together we must learn how to compose differences, not with arms, but with intellect and decent purpose. Because this need is so sharp and apparent I confess that I lay down my official responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war—as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years—I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight.

"Happily, I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But, so much remains to be done. As a private citizen, I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road."

—From President Eisenhower's final message to the Nation, broadcast and televised from the White House Jan. 17, 1961.

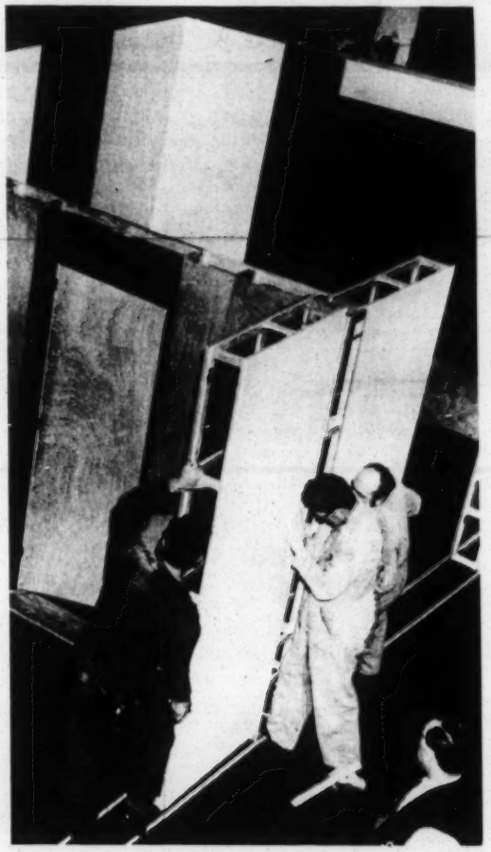
'Is nothing sacred any more?'



Community Research and Development Corp.

Cross-section drawing of a future multilevel linear city along a Brooklyn highway

OUR CITIES CAN BE FIT TO LIVE IN if we apply the same talent and resources we now apply to space and defense. The tunnelling of urban highways (left) will save many urban neighborhoods. Pre-fabricated housing with assembly line techniques (below) can help meet America's housing shortage, provide jobs, and make living better for city dwellers.



Americans are asking for leadership

The problems of crime, congestion, and pollution seem almost too much for most American cities.

Yet most Americans have not lost hope. Most Americans want leadership. Most Americans feel that most city problems can be straightened out.

New technology—using some of the same productive facilities, the same scientific talent, the same determination both private industry and government employ for space and defense—can be used to spruce up American cities and make them fit to live in again.

Highways now too frequently engineered to destroy the heart of a neighborhood can be tunnelled, as the sketch shown above demonstrates. New housing techniques (using factory-made parts like those shown here) can lower housing costs and fill the housing gap for millions of American families.

There are millions of job opportunities which await all if we begin to tackle the work which needs doing. The cost of remaking America is but a fraction of what we are now spending on our topheavy defense budget.

Many of the same people who build rockets, who build missiles, who build tanks, who build guns—many of the same people can find jobs building the things the nation needs to make our cities fit to live in.

The Lou Harris poll shown here was taken recently to show public attitudes for taking care of city problems. Sixty percent of the American people, the Harris poll shows, say they feel a sense of urgency about the plight of the cities and favor decisive action to solve both racial and housing problems in urban centers. Most think the federal government should shoulder more of the task to remake our cities. But the public shies away from taking on more taxation to pay for the job.

CITY PROBLEMS

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
Cities are center of business, communications, and arts and must be made better places to work and live in	92%	5%	3%
Slums in cities should be wiped out so people there can live decently	83	11	6
America cannot survive unless the problems of the cities are worked out	73	18	9
If we neglect the cities, we will have a racial explosion on our hands	68	19	13
Cities are full of crime and corruption and people who want a hand-out	61	32	7
Slum areas of cities should be torn down and new communities should be built for those people in the suburbs	50	38	12
It is just about impossible to control air pollution in the cities	39	47	14
Even if the poor are given clean, new homes, they will make them dirty	38	49	13
Big cities are unmanageable and money spent in them is wasted	28	63	9
Money spent on welfare in cities is just wasted and doesn't really help anyone	25	65	10
Giving money to cities is just another way of giving money to Negroes	18	74	8
During rush hours, cities should ban private automobiles	17	69	14

Remaining percentages on each line were "not sure."

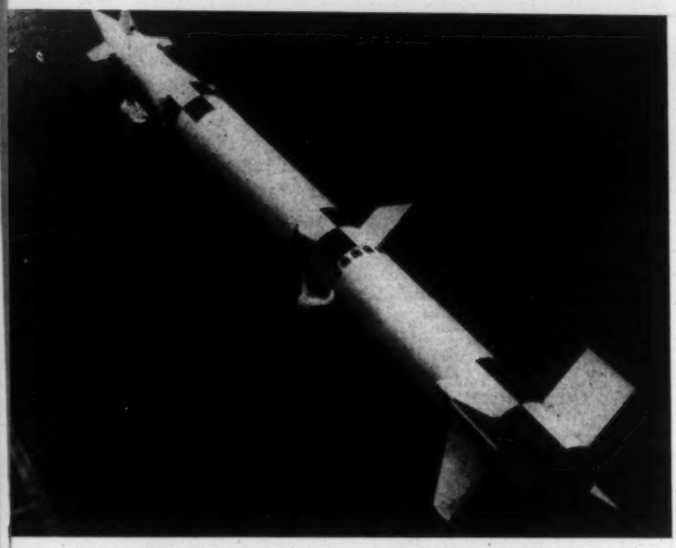
—from 1969 Lou Harris poll

THE

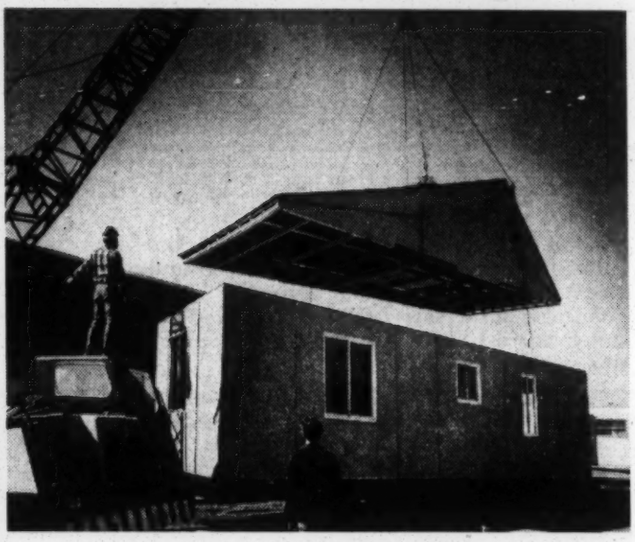
MILITARY

INDUSTRY

COMPLEX



The same technology



Rockets or houses— that's the big issue

By GUY HALVERSON

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Americans can remake their cities with cleaner air, better home, easier flow of traffic, less crime, more jobs, and a finer life for all—if the technology which makes guns is used to grapple with domestic problems which confront our whole nation today

The United States could aptly be called the world's largest "military-industrial complex."

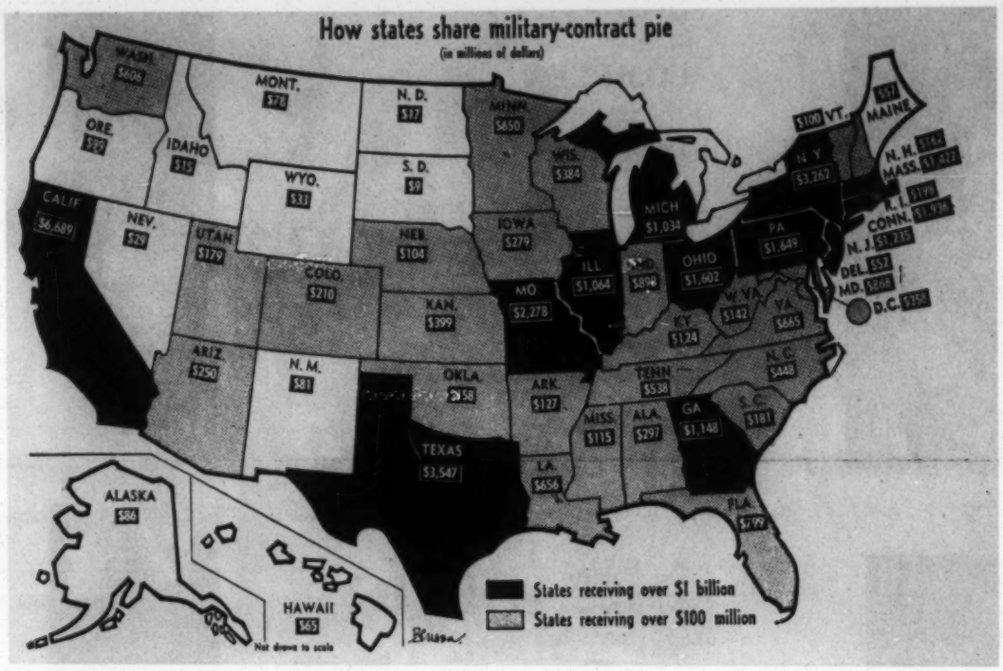
It boasts an armed force of 3.5 million. It has 6,000 military bases within its borders. Ten percent of its labor force is involved in either military or defense-related employment. Some 22,000 of its biggest manufacturers are prime military contractors, while more than 100,000 firms contribute some type of output to defense production.

Walk along its streets. You see no barbed wire, no guard posts. Its people are basically generous, outgoing, and friendly. Yet the United States is the world's largest exporter of munitions. And its total expenditure for welfare, education, and poverty programs is less than the amount spent on defense.

Few Americans would question the need for armed strength of sufficient size and excellent quality. Certainly, most would agree that if the past three decades have taught any lesson, it would be the folly of precipitous reduction in national defense while other nations were heavily arming.

Also, wherever defense industries develop, there is a consequent economic growth. For instance, President Nixon has announced that the first two Sentinel missile sites are to be located near Malmstrom Air Force Base in Montana and Grand Forks Air Force Base in North Dakota.

(Continued on page 4)



THIS MAP SHOWS how the billion dollar defense pie is cut throughout the 50 states. Many of the same plants which today turn out guns could turn out schools and homes for communities which are ridden with crime and despair. The 1967 defense expenditures come to over $100 billion for that fiscal year. A shift of expenditures to domestic needs would not disrupt employment, if proper planning is done now.

(Continued from page 3)

Officials of communities nearby say they welcome these sites because of the expected economic benefits they will bring. Residents in these communities are already accustomed to the proximity of missiles, since Minuteman missile wings are located at both bases.

Charles W. Bullard, chairman of the economic department at the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks, said the new construction "will mean a lot to the state, economically speaking."

"I estimate that for every dollar spent on the installation and maintenance, we will receive $3 worth of income," he said.

Yet, as the military power and defense establishment of the U.S. have grownits authorized army was less than 3,500 in 1805—so, too, have certain misgivings: about the social and political implications of a large military establishment on a democratic society; about economic overdependence on federal contracts for a community engaged in defense production; about the possibility that somehow in some undefinable way, basic American values and attitudes are being subtly perverted or destroyed.

On Jan. 17, 1961, President Eisenhower, himself a product of the American military heritage and a consistent advocate of necessary armaments for defense, startled Americans by forthrightly speaking out about the dangers of a "military-industrial complexx."

"This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in American experience," President Eisenhower said. Its **"total influence, economic, political, even spiritual, is felt in every city, statehouse, every office of the federal government."**

In December, 1968, Sen. George McGovern (D) of South Dakota reiterated this theme, calling the military-industrial complex **"the most serious internal threat facing the United States on the eve of the Nixon administration."**

Most industrialists and military officials challenge the contention that a military-industrial complex exists at all, or that corporate defense production endangers the nation.

"As long as we are an American corporation and the U.S. Government has a feeling that they need military equipment, we'd be remiss as a good corporate citizen" if we didn't supply that need, saws William S. Blakeslee, vice-president and group executive for the defense-space divisions of Chrysler Corporation.

Like General Motors, Ford, and such nonautomotive firms as the giant FMC Corporation in San Jose, Calif., Chrysler is active in military production. Chrysler defense and space sales reached some $269 million in 1968, or 3.6 percent of total company sales, compared with 3.4 percent in 1967.

Besides participating in the Apollo program of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Chrysler is a major producer of tanks and special wheeled vehicles and amphibians for the military.

"If all the major corporations in this nation were to get out of defense work it would be dangerous indeed," says Mr. Blakeslee. "The question is, who's to do the defense work? Private industry under congressional and Pentagon controls, or the federal government alone by itself?"

Talks with scores of private citizens and with scholars indicate that the possible dangers of the military-industrial complex—perhaps because of disillusionment with Vietnam—are receiving increased scrutiny. And as debate continues over the proposed Sentinel "thin line" antiballistic-missile system—which, at an estimated cost of between $5 and

(Continued on page 5)

Eisenhower warned of the danger of the military-industrial complex which eats up so much of the federal tax dollar today

(Continued from page 4)
$10 billion, would be among the most expensive defense programs ever undertaken in American history—these findings emerge:

- Many authorities believe the existence of a mighty defense complex may be preventing industrial diversification.
- The presence of the defense complex in a community may inhibit needed social reform.
- Slowly, imperceptibly, and unconsciously, the American people may well be becoming "conditioned" to the acceptance of regimentation, wiretapping, snooping, and "spying" by large internal, defense-related investigative agencies.
- The "character" of the American managerial system may be undergoing profound alteration because of large-scale defense needs.
- Every facet of public life, from politics to secondary-school education to what is shown on motion-picture screens may be influenced by the growing power of the Pentagon.

"What bothers me is that the [military-oriented] government agencies are taking over the decision-making processes of defense firms," says Murray L. Weidenbaum, head of the economics department at Washington University in St. Louis.

"Most Pentagon contracts are on a 'take it or leave it' basis," he says. "They have 'buy America' clauses and so deny firms the options of buying imported materials. Wages and overtime rates are set by contract. The companies must even follow the safety rules promulgated by the Army Corps of Engineers."

"It is this loss of entrepreneurship and risk bearing that is of concern. But the defense companies themselves are making tremendous profits. In a study, I found that the average return for a defense plant is about 18 percent of net worth, compared to about 11 percent for a similar firm catering to civilian needs. This was true throughout the 1950's, and it's true today," Professor Weidenbaum says.

"While I don't subscribe to the view held by many lawmakers that some kind of 'conspiracy' [between the military and industrial firms] exists," says Rep. Thomas M. Pelly (R) of Washington, "I think that there is certainly a basis of fact upon which the American people should be concerned. Recent revelations with regard to the Sentinel missile system indicate that the military has all along had a carefully thought out program to overcome opposition to its system."

"Boeing has expanded its nonmilitary production," he went on, "Until now it's the world's largest manufacturer of commercial aircraft," says Mr. Pelly, whose Seattle legislative district encompasses many of the workers at the giant Boeing plant. "But when a firm, unlike Boeing, does the bulk—say up to 90 percent or more—of its business with the federal government, maybe the public should be concerned."

As many authorities have noted during the past few years, the economic influence of key defense contractors has become widely pervasive in certain areas of the nation. In 1967 alone, the McDonnell Douglas Corporation (with key plants in St. Louis and the Santa Monica-Long Beach regions of California accounted for more than $2.1 billion

Ten percent of American labor is involved in either military or defense-related employment. That's why the lure of defense spending has become so powerful today. Yet the needs of America's cities for an end to crime, congestion, and pollution is tugging at Congress for help now—not next year or ten years from now

in defense contracts; General Dynamics (which in part manufactures nuclear-powered attack submarines at Groton, Conn., and the new, F-111 fighter-bomber aircraft at Fort Worth, Texas) accounted for more than $1.8 billion; Lockheed (which manufactures the C-5A and the C-141 Starlifter aircraft) accounted for $1.8 billion in defense contracts. Lockheed has plants in Marietta, Ga., Burbank, Calif., and Seattle.

In fact, in any region of the nation one can quickly spot the booming defense industries—the dozens of computer and electronics plants in New England; the aircraft facilities of New Ykro, Georgia, California, and Texas; aerospace firms and shipbuilding in the Pacific Northwest.

In the Atlanta area alone, some 26,000 employees earn more than $200 million annually in wages from the Lockheed programs.

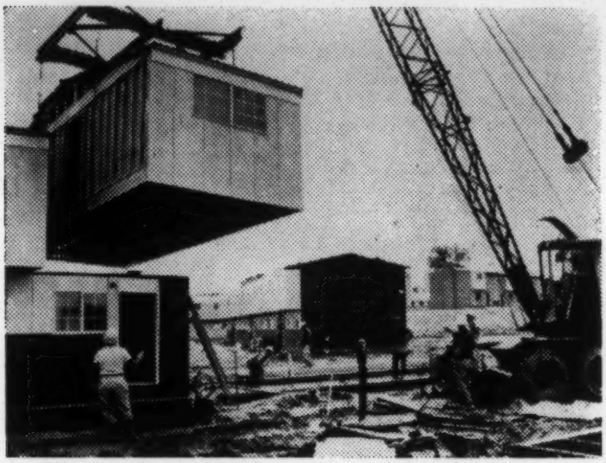
According to the Pentagon, for each defense worker participating in just the Lockheed C-141 program (not to mention the C-5A program), one would have to multiply

Americans are taking a new and harder look at defense spending, but there are powerful forces among the military that impede any cutbacks

by five to measure the actual number of persons affected. These five people would include butchers, bakers, the neighborhood clothing retailer—even the local schoolteacher.

What this pervasive economic influence means, say many authorities, is the establishment of powerful "coalitions of interest" to maintain specific government defense programs, whether those programs are needed or not. Thus, congressmen become allies of giant defense industries, while unions turn "hawkish" and universities establish "research ties" to specific plants. "Even our local ministers have become champions of our aviation industry," charges one disgruntled Fort Worth, Texas, clergyman.

Pets or people?
—we need to adjust our priorities



Here's an item from the business section of the New York Times telling of the big profits agencies are making in advertising cat foods. And here's an item in the Economist (London) quoting an American doctor at the Senate hunger hearings saying that 800 calories a day isn't enough to support a destitute child in the Delta and maybe not enough to support his worms.

Pets or people—it's a way of saying that poverty and the disparity of income in the United States is the nation's biggest problem, bar none. Something has to be done about it.

"We spend as much for chewing gum as for model cities," Howard J. Samuels, undersecretary of commerce under President Lyndon B. Johnson, once observed. **"We spend as much on hair dye as for grants to urban mass transport. We spend as much on tobacco as government at all levels spends on higher education. We spend more on pet food than on food stamps for the poor."**

America is not putting enough of its fabulous wealth where it should go; its priorities are confused. The economic problem is no longer how to create wealth; it's how to distribute it more reasonably.

Most other countries have some formal system of governmental income supplements and the United State is zigzagging in that direction too, and must ultimately come to it, but at present we still have a welfare hodge-podge based on charity. For example, one out of every five children in New York City currently receives public assistance. But wouldn't it be better to consolidate the system, as every other modern nation does, into a generalized children's allowance? The United States is alone in having no such system.

The trail-blazing Friends (Quakers) Committee on National Income declares "that a federal system of assuring income is morally right, necessary and economically desirable." Some other churches agree.

America's income is huge but it is dangerously unbalanced in distribution. The 5 per cent at the top get 20 per cent; the 20 per cent at the bottom get about 5 per cent. If you visualize it, it is something like an elongated diamond, wide in the middle but stretched out at either end to the richest and poorest.

We spend more for chewing gum than for model cities, more for hair dye than mass transit, more for tobacco than for higher education, more for pet food than food stamps for the poor

What will the Nixon administration do about poverty? The most steady, consistent theme in the Nixon candidacy last year was that of enlisting "individual initiative and private enterprise" to aid the cities. He spelled this out as a system of providing "tax credits" and "special tax incentives" to business.

Personally, we don't think it will work. It sounds jolly and romantic, of course, and we are all for private enterprise even if it has to be encouraged by federal subsidies to do its stuff.

After all, air and rail lines get income supplements, farmers get them to the tune of $1 billion a year, exporters get them in tariffs, the oil industry in the last 10 years got $30-050 billions from consumers through government-imposed import controls, Senate Anti-trust subcommittee chief economist John Blair testified.

Everybody gets income supplements so why not corporations who go into the ghettos to aid the poor. The only people who should not get income supplements, are the poor themselves. We draw the line there.

—TRB IN THE NEW REPUBLIC

BETTER HOUSES, built cheaper and faster is what American can have it we readjust our priorities.

There are revolutionary techniques waiting to be used, if we but make up our minds to do so.

The President's Committee on Urban Housing—on which UAW President Walter P. Reuther served—called for 26 million new and rehabilitated homes during the next 10 years. To reach this goal, the nation must tackle the housing needs of our people with the same tenacity we employ in space and defense.

The country can attain better housing, using these new methods of construction, if we set our sights high enough.

REPRINTS of this study of the military-industrial complex and its implications for American workers can be obtained from the UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Why students rampage

"I think I know what is bothering the students. I think that what we are up against is a generation that is by no means sure that it has a future.

"I am growing old, and my future, so to speak, is already behind me. But there are those students of mine, who are in my mind always; and there are my children, the youngest of them now seven and nine, whose future is infinitely more precious to me than my own. So it isn't just their generation; it's mine, too. We're all in it together."—*GEORGE WALD, Nobel Prize winning professor of biology, Harvard, speech on March 4, 1969.*

'The government ought to crack down on these young radicals who feel justified in destroying public property!'

"About two million years ago, man appeared. He has become the dominant species on the earth. All other living things, animal and plant, live by his sufferance. He is the custodian of life on earth, and in the solar system. It's a big responsibility.

"The thought that we're in competition with Russians and with Chinese is all a mistake, and trivial. We are one species, with a world to win. There's life all over this universe, but the only life in the solar system is on earth, and in the whole universe we are the only men.

"Our business is with life, not death. Our challenge is to give what account we can of what becomes of life in the solar system, this corner of the universe that is our home; and, most of all, what becomes of men—all men, of all nations, colors, and creeds. This has become one world, a world for all men. It is only such a world that can now offer us life; and the chance to go on."

—*GEORGE WALD*

"Nuclear weapons offer us nothing but a balance of terror, and a balance of terror is still terror."—***GEORGE WALD***

"As far as I know, the most conservative estimates of the number of Americans who would be killed in a major nuclear attack, with everything working as well as can be hoped and all forseeable precautions taken, run to about fifty million. We have become callous to gruesome statistics, and this seems at first to be only another gruesome statistic. You think, Bang!—and next morning, if you're still there, you read in the newspapers that fifty million people were killed.

"But that isn't the way it happens. When we killed close to two hundred thousand people with those first, little, old-fashioned uranium bombs that we dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, about the same number of persons were maimed, blinded, burned, poisoned, and otherwise doomed. A lot of them took a long time to die.

"That's the way it would be. Not a bang and a certain number of corpses to bury but a nation filled with millions of helpless, maimed, tortured, and doomed persons, and the survivors huddled with their families in shelters, with guns ready to fight off their neighbors trying to get some uncontaminated food and water.

"A few months ago, Senator Richard Russell, of Georgia, ended a speech in the Senate with the words, 'If we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, I want them to be Americans and I want them on this continent and not in Europe. That was a United States senator making a patriotic speech. Well, here is a Nobel laureate who thinks that those words are criminally insane."—*GEORGE WALD*

WEEKEND WRAPUP

The political pressures for an end to the shooting in Vietnam are today stronger than the pressures for more war. When Sen. William Fulbright told Defense Secretary Laird this will soon be called "Nixon's war" if we don't get out, the message was clear. Secretary of State Rogers last Thursday assured the Senate he's not for any deeper involvement. Rogers also made clear the Nixon administration knows much of the country has strong feelings against the ABM. . . . **One of the most sobering speeches** heard during this time of stock-taking came from a Harvard professor, George Wald, who expressed some of the skepticism which now abounds on Capital Hill and knows no political party. Some of Wald's comments appear on page 7 of this issue. The nub of what he said is: *"Our government has become preoccupied with death, with the business of killing and being killed. So-called defense now absorbs sixty per cent of the national budget, and about twelve per cent of the Gross National Product."* . . . **Last week, Cong. Paul Findley,** once a hardline conservative Republican from downstate Illinois, filled 120 pages of The Congressional Record with some 31,000 names of Americans killed in Vietnam. It was an eloquent statement which needed no rhetorical embroidery. Americans increasingly feel they have been taken in by the military, although the latest Gallup poll showed only 26 percent favored pulling out of South Vietnam lock, stock and barrel; while 32 percent favor greatly escalating the war, going all-out. As Mr. Gallup puts it: *"Discouragement over the recent hard fighting in Vietnam, as well as the unproductive Paris peace talks, have led many Americans to favor more extreme measures to end the conflict in Southeast Asia. Until recently the great mass of people in the United States preferred a middle course between all-out escalation on the one hand and immediate withdrawal on the other. But views lately have greatly polarized and the comments 'go all out' and 'get out' are heard with increasing frequency. A potentially explosive mood may be building up and the public today is perhaps closer than ever before the view that we ought to end the war as soon as possible and get out regardless of consequences. A significant political fact, however, is that up to this point the public has not blamed President Nixon for any lack of progress in the Vietnam situation. The views of a New Jersey housewife reflect the tone of many comments recorded by Gallup Poll interviewers in the latest national survey: 'Frankly, I don't care what happens in Vietnam anymore. I just want to get my son back."* . . . **The death of President Eisenhower** reminds us of his profound parting message to the American people when he left office January 17, 1968. It was a warning that we live in troublesome times with everpresent dangers to the general welfare. But his real message with this: *"We have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations. This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. . . . The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.'"* . . . **Sen. Dirksen** blew his cool last week and gave the civil rights movement a new lease on life. Dirksen complained that big business was being badgered by the Equal Employment Commission. Sen. Ted Kennedy came to the defense of the commission's head. Millions of defense budget dollars goes into the pockets of discrimination-guilty: Burlington Industries, J. P. Stevens, Cannon Mills, Cone Mills, Dan River Mills, and Deering-Milliken. . . . **That congressional conference on military budget and national priorities** may be blacked out in the press by national mourning for Eisenhouer—but it represents a new and insistent political mood in the country. It is historically ironic that the Eisenhower warning on American militarism made over 8 years ago should now come to the forefront dramatically on the very day Eisenhower died.

"Mr. Alexander, I just want to say I hope no one has been threatened in here this morning for trying to do his job. . . . I just wonder how many blacks, Mexican-Americans and Indians can take the time to come to Washington to tell about their discrimination, their harassment."—*SEN. TED KENNEDY, last week in reply to badgering of a witness by Sen. Dirksen, who claimed that big businessmen were spending lots of money to fight complaints of job discrimination. Many of the companies have gotten rich on government defense contracts while black Americans die in combat, yet the black men who return home cannot be hired in these same companies.*

Dwight David Eisenhower

The 34th President of the United States

1890-1969

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Walter P. Reuther, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

Rockets or houses?—the military-industrial complex may hold the answer

NEWSPAPER

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

W K 30303 WR000633 M4
LABOR PROGRAM WR
SOTHN REG COUNCIL ##
5 FORSYTH ST N W
ATLANTA GA 30303

MAR 1969

Current Issues

Urban schools: one year after the Kerner Commission report

Twelve months after the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders' bombshell shattered—temporarily—the nation's complacency, a new missile has begun to hover over the U.S.

Called by its sponsors "One Year Later," it is a report of the past year's reaction to the domestic crisis documented in the first report. Since its release Feb. 27, the new study has startled and grated many Americans who had filed away "Kerner Commission" into some dim storehouse of historical fact.

The new report not only reminds the country of what the Kerner Commission found a year ago. It concludes that:

- **"Poverty remains a pervasive fact of life . . . and the continuing disparity between this poverty and the general affluence remains a source of alienation and discontent."**
- **"Ghetto schools continue to fail. The small amount of progress that has been made has been counterbalanced by a growing atmosphere of hostility and conflict in many cities."**
- **"At present, there are no programs that seriously threaten the continued existence of the slums."**

The report reaffirms the Kerner Commission's conclusion that "education in the slums and ghettos is a failure." This indictment "is just as valid and even more familiar," the new study declares.

"One Year Later" is a joint undertaking of two nonprofit organizations, Urban America, Inc., and the Urban Coalition. A seven-member advisory panel including two members of the original Kerner Commission participated. Urban America, Inc., is headed by former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina, and the Urban Coalition is headed by former HEW Secretary John Gardner. Both are headquartered in Washington.

In a 13-page assessment of educational efforts during the last year (major excerpts of which are printed below), the study finds a "discernible shift to action . . . perhaps the beginnings of genuine change."

The decentralization-community control issue logically occupies much of this portion of the study. While these approaches may offer "a meaningful relinkage of parents and community with what goes on inside the schools," the study warns of dangers. "Will drawing new lines around communities, setting up local boards, reinforce the very segregation and isolation that the Commission warned against?" it asks.

Following are excerpts from "One Year Later:"

THE FIRST STUDY

Education in the slums and ghettos is a failure. The Commission backed this flat assertion with evidence that "in the critical skills—verbal and reading ability—Negro students fall farther behind whites with each year of school completed." In the metropolitan Northeast, Negro students start school with slightly lower scores than whites on standard achievement tests; by sixth grade they are 1.6 grades behind, and by 12th grade 3.3 grades behind. By 12th grade, many have left: In the metropolitan areas of the North and West, a Negro student is more than three times as likely as a white to drop out of school by the time he is 17. The Commission's typical participant in civil disorders was, among his other characteristics, a high-school dropout.

Most city schools are racially segregated because of patterns of residence. The Commission cited a 75-city survey by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission showing that 75 percent of Negro elementary school students attend schools 90 percent or more Negro, while 83 percent of white students are in schools that are 90 percent or more white; a companion sampling of 15 cities showed that 84 percent of the increase in Negro enrollment between 1960 and 1965 occurred in schools with Negro enrollments over 90 percent. The Commission draws from the 1966 Office of Education report "Equality of Educational Opportunity" (the source of the achievement and dropout figures above) the conclusion that racial and class segregation is harmful. Inevitably, all concerned—administrators, teachers, parents, and students—regard Negro schools in the slums and ghettos as inferior, the Commission says, and this helps insure that they are.

Therefore, they attract the least experienced, least qualified teachers: A 1963 study which ranked Chicago schools by the socio-economic status of their neighborhoods showed that in the 10 lowest ranking schools, only 63.2 percent of the teachers were fully certified; in the 10 highest the figure was 90.3 percent. Teachers assigned to schools in the slums and ghettos "often begin with negative attitudes toward the students," the Commission said. "These attitudes are aggravated by serious discipline problems, by the high crime rates in areas surrounding the schools, and by the greater difficulties of teaching students with disadvantaged backgrounds" Such backgrounds produce a disproportionate number of emotionally disturbed and "problem" children, for whom too few special aids are available. Negative attitudes are reinforced—and passed on to the students. "The teachers expect little from their students," the Commission observed; "the students fulfilled the expectation."

CLASS SIZE, OVERCROWDEDNESS

Sheer numbers can overwhelm the teacher in a disadvantaged school. Negro school enrollments have increased faster than total Negro central city population. The Commission described the cycle: "As white students withdraw from a public school, they are replaced by greater numbers of Negro students—reflecting the fact that the Negro population is relatively younger, has more children of school age, makes less use of private schools, and is more densely concentrated than the white population." The result, in the slums and ghettos, is acute and concentrated overcrowding of inadequate school facilities. Washington, D.C., had one predominantly white high school in 1967 operating at 92.3 percent capacity. Its predominantly Negro high schools were operating at 108.4 percent to 127.1 percent capacity.

"Inner-city schools are not only overcrowded, they also tend to be the oldest and most poorly equipped," reported the Commission. Teaching materials are scarce and "poorly adapted to the life-experiences of the students." Behind most of these deficiencies, the Commission said, is the fact that "our society spends less money educating ghetto children than children of suburban families." It cited a Civil Rights Commission study of state aid in 12 metropolitan areas in 1950 and 1964. In two the same amount per pupil went to central city and suburbs, and in six the suburbs got significantly more. Priorities were inverse to need.

The Commission found an atmosphere of increasing hostility around the schools of the slums and ghettos. They "often appear to be unresponsive to the community, communication has broken down, and parents are distrustful of education. . . . Since the needs and concerns of the ghetto community are rarely reflected in educational policy formulated on a citywide basis, the schools are often seen by ghetto youth as irrelevant." The sense of isolation from the making of school policy, the Commission said, "is adding to the polarization of the community."

ONE YEAR LATER

The indictment of failure passed on education in the slums and ghettos is just as valid and even more familiar. But the ferment stirred by the two earlier education reports and accelerated by the Commission report has increased to the point where it is rocking—in some instances, even toppling—the educational establishment. Unlike other drives for change in the schools, this one looks as if it will not end with talk: There is a discernible shift to action—clarification of strategies, heightened conflict, perhaps the beginnings of genuine change.

Not all of the turmoil is progress. Frustration has taken its toll, and any remedy that offers the glimmer of reaching the disadvantaged is seized upon. As in the larger society of which the schools are part, the dilemma is whether changes that accentuate, rather than mitigate, polarization are a necessary prelude to coming together on an equal footing—indeed, whether there is any choice.

At present the dilemma centers on community control of schools, raised by blacks in the slums and ghettos to an urgency well beyond the Commission's careful treatment of "decentralization." The major battleground, of course, was in New York City, where experiments in community control have unleashed a bitter power struggle and surfaced a nightmare of ethnic and racial hatreds. Despite the tragic public conflict, there were stories, perhaps premature in their optimism, that in the schools themselves a new atmosphere, with new methods and new teachers, was "turning on" previously alienated students. In Washington, a lesser-known experiment in community control resulted in an upturn in reading scores despite a chaotic first year, and the school has settled into an innovative but orderly second.

Elsewhere, decentralization of the schools was being widely talked about and only tentatively and less widely tried. In Chicago, an experimental four-school subdistrict was set up with a board representing the central board, the University of Chicago, and local community groups to make decisions about how federal funds are used. In 13 Los Angeles schools, a local board of parents, teachers, and students has "critical" authority over budgets and the use of materials and teachers. In Boston, several schools have in effect been pulled out of the city system and are run by a local board receiving funds from the state of Massachusetts.

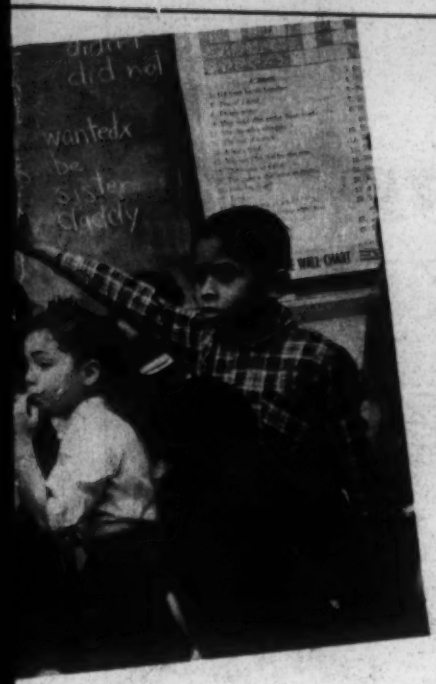
PLUSES AND MINUSES

Many questions remain. On the plus side, both decentralization and community control answer directly the problem of alienation by offering a meaningful relinkage of parents and community with what goes on inside the schools which, if the theory is correct, will both improve the education of the ghetto kids and renew the community in the fullest sense. It offers real change, responsibility, and accountability.

The dangers, however, are just as obvious. Will drawing new lines around communities, setting up local boards, reinforce the very segregation and isolation that the Commission warned against? What is the larger public interest and how is it expressed? When do confrontations become counterproductive, creating a dangerous new problem that once again turns us away from the children?

In a study of 13 cities prepared for the Urban Coalition, the authors found a wide variety of mechanisms by which parents have been involving themselves meaningfully in school decision-making, suggesting perhaps that the gradation of alternatives between a centralized board and total community control have not been fully examined. The authors say that the rhetoric of control is more widespread than its practice; few parents really want to "run" their schools. But they do want something called "accountability," where they can look at and assess what the schools are accomplishing.

Part of the rhetoric of community control is disdain for the goal of integration. Resisted by the white community, it now has few public friends among the vocal blacks. Swamped by the publicity for the separatist push, however, desegregation efforts have gone on, both at the federal level, and more importantly, in cities and towns across the nation where individuals and organizations have persisted in fighting for it. Mostly, these efforts, both federal and grass roots, are in smaller and moderate sized cities, where distance and numbers make for a more manageable game.



A number of communities adopted desegregation plans in the past year: Niagara Falls, New York; Evansville, Indiana; San Mateo, California; Providence, Rhode Island. The most dramatic, comprehensive integration plan was installed in 1968 in Berkeley, California, a city of 125,000 with an overall population 25 percent black and a school population 41 percent black. After a decade-long community struggle, led in most recent years by peripatetic school superintendent Neil V. Sullivan, the elementary program last year, moved 2,000 white children and 2,000 black out of a total of 5,000. Each of the 14 elementary schools reflects roughly the overall racial percentage. Reports out of Berkeley are optimistic: The added costs are less than 3 percent of the budget; predictions of teachers resigning and whites fleeing are not proving out; intensive community relations and teacher training programs are underway.

In most other cities, integration plans are more limited or voluntary; within city boundaries, there is bussing and rezoning often on the basis of equalizing crowding, which incidentally also reshuffles some black and white bodies. In Providence, a ghetto school was made into a special academically oriented school and is now 70-percent white with a long waiting list. More plans for moving inner-city children out to the suburbs have cropped up and existing ones have been expanded. Boston's groundbreaking operation now busses 850 children to 20 communities.

But progress is slow and resistance solidifying. At least 10 suburban school boards turned down cooperation with a Hartford experiment. Law suits are underway contesting the fully paid-for presence of the D.C. children in Bannockburn. A state-ordered plan in Mount Vernon, New York, similar to Berkeley's, is tangled in community dissension and court litigation.

COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS

If disillusionment plagues the goal of integration, it is no less the case with the Commission's parallel education strategy, the improvement of ghetto schools through compensatory programs. It has struck the supporters of such programs, who had overemphasized the possibilities of quick success; the economizers, who don't like spending all that money, and now a third group which says the programs won't work until students achieve a sense of destiny control in community-run schools.

The focus of this disillusionment in educational circles in 1967 was New York City's ambitious and expensive More Effective Schools program, which brought to bear a battery of the kind of innovations proposed by the Commission on selected disadvantaged schools at an average added cost of $470 per pupil. An evaluation damned the program for not closing the reading and mathematics gap, and it became something of a political (and professional) football. Late last year another evaluation decided MES was having an impact after all—but by then all eyes were on the titanic struggle over decentralization.

Also last year, the Office of Education published a compendium of 150 "outstanding" compensatory projects funded under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, running the gamut from work-study programs, health services, remedial reading and tutoring programs, teacher education, and summer sessions to free breakfasts. OE has a "Follow Through" program which attempts to sort out the approaches that work best for teaching young children. It touches on the Commission's major strategies, seeking comparative information about the benefits of curriculum change, lower pupil-teacher ratios, racial and socioeconomic mix, use of community aides, and community control. In 1968, Follow Through was expanded to include some 60 intentionally varied programs that will be evaluated for their impact on the children's achievement, self regard, and social competence.

A related OE effort is the focusing of multiple programs on the same child. After the Detroit riots, School Superintendent Norman Drachler, in consultation with OE officials, worked out a program to concentrate a variety of program funds for the disadvantaged—medical, dental, employment, Titles I and III (special aid for innovative programs) and so on. This became a model for OE's Central Cities project, announced in 1968, to give $13 million of Title III money to 125,000 students for a "broad span of educational activities" in specific schools and neighborhoods in 26 cities. Different strategies are being used, involving early childhood education, transition to work, teacher training, and community involvement.

Title I, which has been priming disadvantaged schools with about a billion dollars annually since 1965, itself came up for evaluation of its second year of operation. The report expressed cautious optimism about what was being accomplished. Achievement levels were moving up, but not nearly enough to wipe out the gap between poor and nonpoor students. Some used the report to pronounce compensatory education a failure; others protested that the experiment was damned before it had barely begun. OE Commissioner Harold Howe II insisted that after three years of operation, the Title I efforts were beginning to pay off in real change, not just "add-ons" to more of the same.

The Title I appropriation was spared the Congressional paring suffered by other education programs: Funding remained about the same billion dollars a year as previously. Although hailed as a victory, this was a substantial cut from the original authorization of $2.7 billion. A billion dollars a year sounds like a healthy sum, but it comes down to $108 per assisted pupil—not very much considering that it goes to schools that have been systematically underfunded and to children whose needs are overwhelming. The per-capita amount is actually declining, partly because the number of children benefiting has been going up, partly because the money is spread around to several million children that no one would call disadvantaged.

The law earmarked Title I money for school districts with "concentrations of children from low-income families." Congress, however, defined this to mean any district with at least 10 poor children—qualifying such wealthy suburbs as Montgomery County, Maryland; Scarsdale, New York; and Shaker Heights, Ohio. The funds, moreover, can be used for such schoolwide services as guidance programs and libraries, further diluting their impact on poor children. The most recent report of the National Advisory Commission on Disadvantaged Children made this judgment: "Title I funds—while spent for entirely worthy purposes—have simply failed to achieve the overall purpose of the legislation."

As recommended by the Civil Disorders Commission and others, Howe made a determined effort last year to get school districts to concentrate Title I money on fewer students so that more models of excellence could be developed. There is no clout behind the commissioner's revised "criteria," however, since the ultimate decisions about the expenditure of Title I money are made by the state and local school districts. The issue is steamy politically, since concentration in one area means withdrawal from another.

IT TAKES MONEY

Eventually, any realistic discussion turns back to funds. There can be no substantial difference in the quality or equality of education for a large number of children without institutional and process change—but it will also take lots of money for leverage. The federal contribution to education—now about 8 percent of the total—has leveled off. The trend is to block or broad grants passed through the state departments of education. Decisions on Title III grants for innovative programs were switched by Congress last year from OE to the states. Commissioner Howe took a parting shot at the states before he left office, warning that federal block grants for elementary and secondary schools should be for "national purposes which have national priorities." Said Howe, "Unless such funds find their purposes designated by Congress, they will not be used to make changes in schools in behalf of children . . . who are ill-served by the schools as they are."

There is, nevertheless, a rethinking underway of the legal and financial responsibility of states. If education is indeed so central to curing poverty, the quality of service—or at least dollar input—can no longer be a geographical accident, producing inequities not only between one region or state and others, but between city and suburb in the same metropolitan area. As the Commission data showed, state contributions based on outdated aid formulas often accentuate the disparities. City children end up with less per capita, even though it costs more to deliver the same educational services to them than to suburban children, and they need much more.

In a head-on attack on the system of state aid, six cases were filed last year —in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Antonio, Muskogee, Oklahoma, and Bath City, West Virginia—to define "equality of educational opportunity" and pin down the state's responsibility for providing it. Some of the suits argue for equal expenditure; others that equal protection of the laws requires unequal expenditures based on the city child's extra needs.

The Chicago suit was thrown out by the U.S. District Court in November which claimed that although the state aid formula was unequal, the remedy was in the legislation, not the courts. The plaintiffs—students and parents—intend to pursue their case in the Supreme Court. A particularly strong case is being built for an upcoming suit filed by the Detroit Board of Education against the State of Michigan [with the support of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 231 . . . ed.].

Perhaps no measure of the break in faith with the public school system is as telling as the proposals coming from all sorts of respectable people—conservative economist Milton Friedman, Henry Levin of Stanford University, Dean Theodore Sizer and Christopher Jencks of the Harvard Graduate School of Education—that parents of poor children be given public funds in the form of vouchers to "shop" for a better education in competing non-religious private schools.

This radical (and possibly illegal) idea is supported by the success of the educational programs that have sprung up outside of the "straight" school system —the street academies, the MIND program, black culture store-front schools. Although these reach only a fraction of the youngsters rejected by the schools, they demonstrate the simple truth that the same student who fails in one situation can succeed in another.

SOME IMPACT

The near despair surrounding education in the slums and ghettos has had an impact, although not in terms of producing a massive solution to sever the predictability that now exists between a child's race and family income and his schooling. No one has a remedy that he can prove works. Nevertheless, the percentage of Negroes aged 25 to 29 who are high school graduates has risen to 58 in 1968, up 8 percent from 1966. (The comparable 1968 figure for whites was 75 percent.) The schools have introduced many changes to cope with a failure that no one even talked about less than a decade ago.

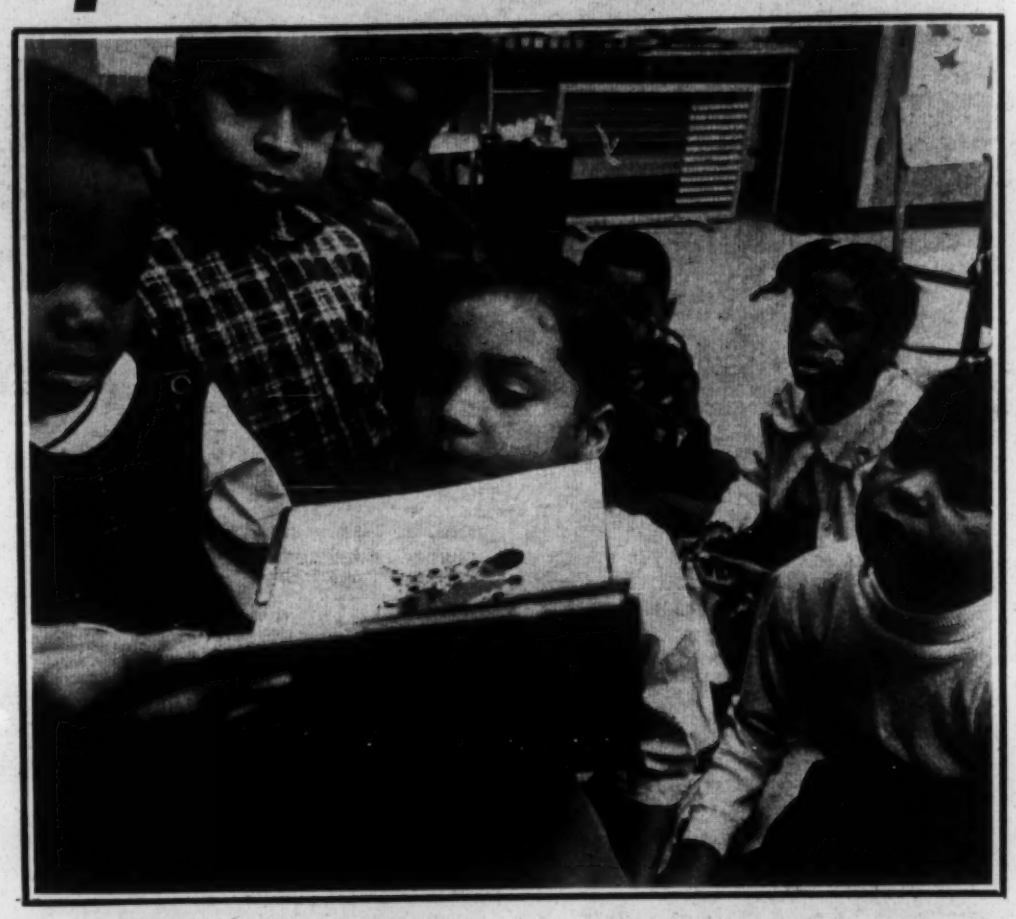
RESHAPING URBAN SCHOOLS:

Putting teacher power to work

The monumental task of reshaping urban education in the United States is being undertaken by, among others, classroom teachers. Teachers in the big cities, who for the most part are organized into the AFT, are using the weapon of collective bargaining to bring about educational change.

The problems identified in the Kerner Commission report and reviewed in "One Year Later" are AFT concerns, and AFT locals are making strides, in their contracts with school boards to solve problems. Perhaps the best known AFT-initiated program is "More Effective Schools," operating now in four cities and planned for three more soon. Other common collective-bargaining contract provisions include limitations on class size, relevant curriculum material, and the hiring of community personnel as teacher aides. All are recommended in the Kerner report.

Here is a report on the impact AFT is having in these areas:



THROUGH MES

"I don't want to be a Jeremiah," Simon Beagle, AFT educational consultant told the New York City Commission on Human Rights in a hearing Dec. 9, "but unless we seriously reconstruct our school to meet the increasing number of challenges created by our rapidly changing society and modes of production, our society will create its own gravedigger: a growing number of unemployables sufficiently alienated from such society as to be willing to destroy it."

Beagle, who has led the union's fight for More Effective Schools (MES) since 1965, was pleading for an expansion of the program in New York City. There are 21 such schools—the epitome of compensatory education programs—in New York City today. They limit class size to 22, there are four teachers for every three classes, and there are psychologists, reading teachers, and other specialists on every school staff. "They have become educational oases," Beagle said. The concept for them was initiated by the AFT's New York City local in 1965.

The schools are described as having an impact in meeting urban school problems, both in "One Year Later" and by the USOE, which has designated the MES program as one of 21 (out of 1,000) "outstanding" urban school projects. Since their establishment, periodic evaluations of reading and math scores have shown longitudinal improvements in achievement far above children in other schools in the same city. A new evaluation, to be released by the NYC school board next month, is expected to show even sharper differences between MES and non-MES students.

More Effective Schools were part of the contract demands last year in Baltimore, New Haven, and Detroit. In each case, the board of education agreed to the AFT's proposals and put MES into operation.

This year, AFT bargaining agents in Cleveland, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., asked for MES programs. They had little trouble in selling the idea to their school boards, and programs will start in these cities soon.

"Meanwhile, in other cities across the country, AFT locals, regardless of whether or not they are bargaining agents, are working for MES implementation, and thus doing their share in the educational revolution," Beagle said.

PARENT SUPPORT

Bringing parents into the classrooms as teacher aides is described in the Kerner Commission report and in "One Year Later" as a key factor in reducing community alienation. Again, most AFT contracts provide for such programs.

In Chicago, the new Chicago Teachers Union agreement provides for the hiring of 900 teacher aides in elementary schools, and another 900 in high schools. Paraprofessionals are working in Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, New York City, Detroit, and most other large cities because of AFT pressure to hire them.

In New York City, the United Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2, won the right to send Spanish-language reports to parents in the Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking communities. In Washington, D.C., the Washington Teachers' Union, AFT Local 6, has a provision in its new contract that new classrooms will be opened up in storefronts, apartment buildings, etc., to permit the schools and community to be "closer" to one another. In Detroit, the union has asked for citywide meetings of the school board to be televised, and has won time off from school for teachers to visit their students' homes.

At the national level, the AFT has adopted as an official policy, the encouragement of elected representation in the operation of schools in the black, Puerto Rican, and other minority communities. Many locals are working on decentralization proposals now, including the UFT, which is submitting proposals to the New York state legislature.

SMALLER CLASSES

Most educational authorities agree that the size of a class of students has a direct bearing on the quality of instruction. The Kerner Commission report and "One Year Later" comment on the negative influence of overcrowdedness in the schools.

One of the chief goals of every AFT local is, therefore, to reduce class size. The most recent victory to this end is in Baltimore, where the Baltimore Teachers Union, AFT Local 340, has won nearly 10 percent across-the-board reductions in class sizes for next fall. In grades K-1, the maximum will be 32, and in 2-12, 34. Next year, the sizes will be cut again.

OTHER CITIES

In Chicago, a class-size formula has been won by the Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1, which sets primary classes at a ceiling of 30 students, intermediate at 33, and upper grades, at 35. Limits of 25 to 28 are placed on high-school English classes, depending on their type.

Detroit enjoys a maximum of 30 pupils in grades 1-3 in 50 inner-city schools with greatest need; Taylor, Mich., has a limit of 33 in grades K-6 and 35 in 7-12, and New York sets the limits from 29-34, depending on the grade level and type of school.

LEARNING IT LIKE IT IS

The recent settlement at San Francisco State College, which provides for funding an ethnic studies program, shows the role that teacher power can play in making the curriculum more relevant. The SFSC local of the American Federation of Teachers struck for nearly two months, one of their demands being for a curriculum which would relate to the community. As part of the concession wrung out of the SFSC administration, S. I. Hayakawa, acting president, agreed to implement an ethnic-studies program in the fall, and money was found to fund it.

ELIMINATING RACIST TEXTS

In a recent contract settlement reached between the Washington (D.C.) Teachers' Union, AFT Local 6, and the school board, it was agreed that textbooks and other curriculum materials will be made available for each pupil in all subject classes in order to "cover in depth the contributions of Afro-Americans and other minority groups in each unit taught." A joint union-board committee was empowered to eliminate racist teaching materials and select replacement books, films, and other teaching aids.

Other examples:

"Multi-ethnic" classroom material will be used (Oak Park, Mich., Federation contract). Courses in Afro-American history will be instituted in senior high schools (Highland Park, Mich., Federation contract). More involvement of teachers in textbook selection and curriculum guide review is provided (Detroit, Mich., contract). Almost every state can match these kinds of provisions in the AFT contracts in effect in their cities.

'. . . well-balanced analysis'

"One Year Later" is a timely and well-balanced analysis of the state of the nation a year after the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission). A year and a half after the terrible riots in Newark, Detroit, and elsewhere, segments of the report may very well be accepted as AFT policy.

The underlying commitment of the Urban Coalition and the authors of "One Year Later" is still integrationist. While declaring the importance of local community participation in school policy as essential for reduction of school-community hostility and alienation, "One Year Later" is a moderate recommendation for American social policy. It may well serve during the coming year as a wise reassurance of our national purpose.

—DAVID SELDEN
AFT President

MAR 1969
Current Issues

The Economy, Taxes & Equal Opportunity

The National Economy

The economic outlook for 1969 is clouded by uncertainty about the degree of slow-down during the course of the year and the policies that the new Administration will pursue.

The pace of economic expansion is already slowing down and the government's brake on economic growth may be going too far. Moreover, its emphasis on slowing residential construction, while maintaining special tax subsidies for business investment, is misguided. Interest rates have soared to unprecedented heights. There is danger of rising unemployment.

Some slower economic pace was to be expected this year, after the 5 percent real expansion of 1968, the seventh consecutive year of economic growth. The temporary surtax, adopted in 1968, is withdrawing about $11 billion a year from consumers and business to pay for part of the increase in military spending. The hold-down on government expenditures, ordered by Congress last year, has placed a lid on the amount of additional funds the government can put into the economy's spending stream. The increase in social security taxes, effective January 1, is withdrawing about $1½ billion a year from employes and a similar amount from business to pay for improved social security benefits. In addition, the buying power of the average worker's weekly take-home pay increased only slightly last year, after accounting for taxes and the 4.2 percent rise in living costs.

On top of these dampening developments, new restrictive government measures have been imposed in the early weeks of 1969:

- The prime interest rate that the commercial banks charge their richest customers and best credit risks was raised to an unprecedented 7 percent—an effective prime rate of over 8 percent because of the banks' requirement that such borrowers maintain an interest-free deposit. This boost in the prime rate is raising interest rates all along the line—to medium-sized and small businesses, to home-buyers, farmers, consumers and the government. Some new federal securities have been floated in recent weeks at the highest interest rates in over 100 years. These high costs for borrowed money are being built into the price structure, from manufacturer to retailer and consumer—to the profit of the banks and other lenders. In addition, these high interest rates, accompanied by the Federal Reserve's squeeze on bank credit, threaten a sharp slow-down of economic activities.
- The government increased the interest rates on FHA and VA mortgages from the high 6¾ percent rate of early January to 7½ percent—an effective rate of 8 percent when insurance is included. This peak rate on government-backed mortgages, on top of the excessive rates for builders' loans, is boosting the cost of homes, which the home-buyer is required to pay for the entire term of the mortgage. These costs are narrowing the home-buying market. A slow-down of residential construction is threatened, instead of the vast home-building expansion that is needed.

Moreover, there have been statements by some officials of the new Administration—as well as by business spokesmen—that a substantial rise of unemployment may be required to achieve greater price stability.

The notion that there is an inevitable, mechanical trade-off between inflation and unemployment is economically false and loaded with social dynamite. Advocates of this neanderthal view have never explained how a million additional unemployed can possibly reduce such price pressures as physicians' fees, hospital charges, auto and property insurance rates, which have risen sharply in the past decade. Yet a rise in unemployment would hit the most vulnerable workers hardest—the most recently hired, the least skilled, particularly Negroes, other minorities and young workers.

Furthermore, relative price stability can—and must—be achieved without a growing army of unemployed. Expanded manpower training programs, an effective nationwide employment service and reduction of bottlenecks can help. But most essential to achievement of relative price stability is lower profit margins and reduced profit rates of return on investment.

Indeed, the inflation of recent years has been largely a profit inflation. Profits skyrocketed between 1960 and 1966 and, after a dip in 1967, they moved up again last year. Business Week (February 8) reports: "In 1968, U.S. corporations earned more money than they ever did before in a single year—thanks in good part to sharply rising prices."

Business profits have soared, far out of line with other major types of income. Between 1960 and 1968:

- After-tax profits skyrocketed 91 percent.
- Dividend payments to stockholders soared 84 percent.
- But the weekly, after-tax take-home pay of the average non-supervisory worker increased only 31 percent and, in terms of buying power, merely 11 percent.

These trends are creating economic and social imbalances. An increased share of the nation's income has been shifted to profits. And the profit-laden cor-

THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL adopted these statements at its February meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla.

porations are continuing to boost their investments in new and improved plants, machines and equipment—after a 100 percent rise between 1960 and 1968—although industry's operating rate is only about 84 percent of existing productive capacity. This situation, which has been contributing to inflationary pressures in recent years, threatens to create a future gap between the economy's rapidly growing capacity to produce and lagging demand for goods and services.

1. The AFL-CIO Executive Council insists that full employment must be the nation's primary economic goal. The government's tax, expenditure and monetary policies for an adequate rate of economic growth should be supplemented by manpower training measures and a federal program to create jobs for the remaining hardcore unemployed and underemployed in providing needed public services.

2. Residential construction must be sheltered from the ravages of the credit-squeeze and unprecedented interest rates.

The 7 percent investment tax credit should be repealed—to curb the flow of available funds into business investment and provide additional funds for home building.

The provision of double depreciation should be repealed on all new construction, except low- and moderate-rental housing.

The Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development should direct FNMA (Fannie Mae) to assist low- and moderate-income housing, at the lowest possible interest rate.

The development of the new form of government security, authorized by the Housing Act of 1968—government-backed mortgage bonds — should be speeded up to attract new investment funds into housing.

3. The government's monetary policy should be eased at the first signs of a general economic softening and rising trend of unemployment. Moreover, a thorough congressional review of monetary policy is needed—for the development of a policy that is in the best interest of the nation and the American people, rather than merely the banks and other lenders.

4. The trend of unemployment in the months ahead and the level of military expenditures should be key factors in deciding whether the temporary surtax should be terminated in mid-year, phased out or continued.

A rising trend of unemployment in the coming months would be a strong reason to terminate this temporary tax or to begin to phase it out. If the surtax is continued for another six months or a year—or if part of it is maintained—the surtax rate should be applied to income that is now excluded from federal taxation, as a result of the major loopholes for capital gains, oil and mineral depletion allowances and income from state and local bonds.

5. Reform of the tax structure is long overdue—to eliminate loopholes of special tax privileges for wealthy families and business, to establish a minimum tax that will end tax avoidance and to reduce the relative tax burden on low- and moderate-income families.

6. A substantial rise in the buying power of wages, salaries and fringe benefits is needed to provide wage and salary earners with a fair share of economic progress and to strengthen the consumer foundation of the national economy.

The lag of real wages and salaries must be ended. Rapidly rising productivity and great business profits make possible substantial improvements in workers' earnings, within the context of a relatively stable price level.

7. Rising business profits should be based on an expanding sales volume, rather than on swollen profit margins at the expense of consumers and workers—to curb pressures on the price level and to provide an improved economic balance between wages, profits, dividends and other forms of income.

8. We are disturbed by the accelerated rate of economic concentration in the past few years—including conglomerate mergers and one-bank holding companies—and the impact of this trend on the national economy. We urge the Congress and appropriate government agencies to make the facts fully known to the public and to curb the adverse impact of this trend.

Tax Reform

The basic inequities in the federal tax system can be simply stated:

1. Many of the wealthiest individuals in the United States pay not one single cent in federal income taxes, but

2. Many of the poorest individuals in the country, who live in what the government defines as poverty, are forced to pay federal income taxes.

In the opinion of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, this is a reprehensible situation which must be corrected. We can no longer tolerate a double standard of taxation, which heaps an unfairly great part of the burden of running the federal government on the shoulders of America's middle-income families, many of whom are trade unionists.

We insist America must achieve a standard of tax fairness and we are therefore pleased that the House Ways and Means Committee has announced its intention of conducting a full-fledged tax reform investigation.

Major reform of the federal tax structure has been talked about for many years. Yet on April 15, 1969, those who receive billions in capital gains from stock market and real estate transactions, from tax-free interest on state and local bonds, from oil and other unjustifiable mineral depletion allowances and from

other forms of unearned income, will still enjoy special tax shelters. Some will use their "foundations" and family trusts as tax-dodging schemes and tax loopholes will still be a major crop of many operators of large farm enterprises. The transfer of large sums by gift and at death will still be accomplished by evasions that make taxation based on ability to pay a sham. Fast depreciation will provide real estate operators with tax-free bonanzas, which are also major factors in the rise of land costs and rents. Some wealthy individuals will don the mantle of philanthropy, but they will use the unlimited charitable-deduction loophole and the federal government will honor their pledges.

In 1967, 21 individuals who reported incomes above $1 million and 155 who reported incomes of $200,000 or over, paid not a dollar of federal income tax.

In contrast, some 2.5 million persons whose incomes fell below the government's "poverty line" paid $100 million in federal income taxes.

These loopholes of special privilege for wealthy people and corporations take their toll of the public's confidence in the federal income-tax structure. They are also expensive in dollars.

Just three major loopholes—capital gains, exemption of state and local bond interest, and tax windfalls to oil, gas and other mineral operations—cost the Treasury approximately $7 billion in 1968.

The 7 percent tax credit for investment in machinery and equipment produces over $2 billion for corporations. Moreover, this special tax privilege contributes to difficulties in the money market and adds to upward pressures on interest rates.

Most of these loopholes have developed over a quarter century of horse-trading for special privileges, frequently under the guise of promoting or encouraging an activity in the national interest. Unfortunately, the cost of these special privileges in terms of dollars, inequity, wastefulness and taxpayer confidence have far outweighed any benefits.

Yet despite this sad record, it is becoming increasingly fashionable in some circles to advocate additional tax loopholes for wealthy people and corporations in the guise of panaceas for virtually every national ill that can be identified. There is talk of adding new tax gimmicks for real-estate operators, many of whom are now more accurately considered in the business of constructing tax shelters rather than shelters for people. And there are tax forgiveness proposals ranging from those which supposedly would provide incentives to industry for on-the-job training and inner-city industrial development to those which would encourage gold mining.

Those who make these proposals would further reward those who already more than adequately share in America's affluence and use as their excuse the plight of those who are today in trouble because they do not have their fair share.

We view such schemes as haphazard, costly and wasteful approaches to meeting the nation's goals. Tax forgiveness has the same impact on the federal budget as a direct expenditure. Yet, through such gimmicks, the federal government relinquishes budgetary control to the wealthy investors and businesses who reap most of the benefits. When a privileged few are provided shelters that enable them to avoid their fair tax share, others must reach deeper into their pockets.

We believe that the nation's interest cannot be served through tax forgiveness schemes or other forms of "no-strings" federal aid that are not subject to the congressional scrutiny of specific programs, whose funds must be used in line with national priorities, under federal performance.

The Congress and the new Administration must assign top legislative priority to substantial and thorough-going reformation of the federal income tax structure.

We call for:

1. Elimination of the loopholes of special tax privilege for wealthy families and corporations.
2. A minimum tax on all income over a total which would provide protection for legitimate small investors but which would require at least some tax payment from those whose huge incomes are now preferentially taxed or totally tax-exempt.
3. Removal of the impoverished from the federal income-tax rolls.
4. Reduction in the relative tax burden for low and moderate-income families.
5. Rejection of proposals for new tax loopholes, which would provide additional benefits for wealthy people and businesses and create even more inequities in the federal tax structure.
6. Unequivocal dismissal of all proposals for a federal retail sales tax. Whether such proposals are called "value-added" taxes or offered clearly as a tax on consumers, the effect is the same—those who can afford it least bear the brunt of the burden.
7. Repeal the provision of double depreciation on all new construction, except low- and moderate-rental housing and the 7 percent tax credit for business investment in machines and equipment.

Economic Progress of Minorities

The fact that large numbers of Negroes, Mexican-Americans and other minorities remain outside the mainstream of America's economic and social order is among this nation's most pressing domestic problems.

Despite the persistence of this problem, the significant advances of recent years are testimony to America's capacity for attaining a solution. Federal legislation assuring equal opportunity is now on the statute books. The nation's economic progress—built in part on the recent federal manpower, housing and anti-poverty programs, minimum wage legislation and the historic breakthrough of federal aid to education—has planted seeds whose results are yet to be fully realized.

As a result, unemployment among non-white adult

men declined from 11.7 percent in 1961 to 3.9 percent in 1968—solid and unmistakable progress. Despite this improvement, unemployment among adult non-whites is double the rate among whites and joblessness among Negro teenagers in 1968 was 25 percent, a disastrous level.

Recent improvements in employment, education and skills have brought increases in the family incomes of many Negroes and other minorities. By 1967, the median income of non-white families was up to 62 percent of the median of white families—an unsatisfactory situation, but a considerable improvement over the 50-55 percent ratios of most of the 1950s and early 1960s.

These beginnings need encouragement, support and expansion. There is yet a long and hard road ahead. But the achievements of recent years point the way toward the only rational means of achieving a sound solution of this problem.

For the vast majority of Negroes and other minorities, the route into America's mainstream is manpower skills, education and jobs at decent wages.

The essential underpinning is a national commitment to full employment. Federal expenditure, tax and monetary policies for maximum economic growth must be supplemented by a national public service employment program—to create jobs, linked with training and supportive services, for the unemployed and seriously underemployed in both rural and urban areas.

Federal manpower programs should be expanded and adequately financed—to provide the unemployed and underemployed with adequate skills that are needed in the job markets, as well as literacy training, counseling and medical assistance.

The forward momentum of federal aid for education, including vocational education, must be maintained. Adequate educational opportunities, to the maximum of the student's capacity, must be made available to all, regardless of race, creed, color or family finances.

Full funding, implementation and expansion of the housing and community facilities legislation of recent years is essential if America is to provide decent homes for all her citizens in the next ten years.

Effective enforcement of the civil rights legislation of recent years is a must.

Sound government and private efforts to assist Negroes and other disadvantaged minorities who wish to establish business enterprises should be provided. The critical need is capital formation and technical assistance. The government should establish machinery to provide long-term, low-interest loans and technical assistance to meet this need.

These varied policies and measures are essential to accelerate the upward mobility of members of minority groups into the nation's mainstream.

To do this, American's goal must be the rapid elimination of ghetto conditions and the ultimate elimination of the ghetto itself.

Some people, however, have urged that this route be abandoned for an emphasis on so-called black capitalism.

At its best, this policy is an illusion. In a society where 90 percent of those who are at work are wage and salary earners—on private and public payrolls—only a small number of people can move into the economy's mainstream through self-employment and small business. Thus sole or major emphasis on this policy would undermine or kill the jobs-skills-education-housing measures that are essential for the overwhelming majority of Negroes and other minorities.

At its worst, "black capitalism" is a dangerous, divisive delusion—offered as a panacea by extremists, both black and white, some businessmen who see a chance for profit and a few well-intentioned but misguided liberals.

Attempts to build separate economic enclaves, with substantial federal tax subsidies, within specific geographically limited ghetto areas, is apartheid, anti-democratic nonsense.

It is also unworkable, for the ghettos are in fact a part of the nation, their inhabitants are Americans and small pockets of urban or rural poverty cannot be made into viable, separate economic entities. The gross national product, produced by an interdependent national economy, should be shared fairly by all Americans.

Moreover, the "black capitalism" proposals to create huge, new tax loopholes for business to locate in ghetto areas is also bad tax policy. If enacted, these loopholes would attract small sweatshops or some marginal plants of big companies—with little additional employment at decent wages, but with considerable tax benefits to the companies.

Some legislative proposals for separate economic enclaves would create development corporations in each ghetto area, with authority to control the economic life of the area. Such control could be used by extremists to harass businessmen, black and white alike, within these geographically defined enclaves.

Separatist economic schemes offer no hope for the solid advance of the overwhelming majority of disadvantaged minorities into America's mainstream. But they do present a real threat of further division, additional conflict and bitter frustration.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council is unalterably opposed to separatist schemes. We reaffirm our consistent commitment to the principle of integration and the goal of full and equal opportunity for all Americans.

We will continue and redouble our efforts to enable Negroes and other disadvantaged minorities to move as rapidly as possible into the nation's mainstream.

The way to do it is to put massive federal money, manpower and muscle into the programs we have endorsed in this statement—within a framework of full and equal opportunity for all Americans.

America knows the route to solving its minority problems; it needs only the will to reach its goal.

Reprinted from March 1969
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Current Issues

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

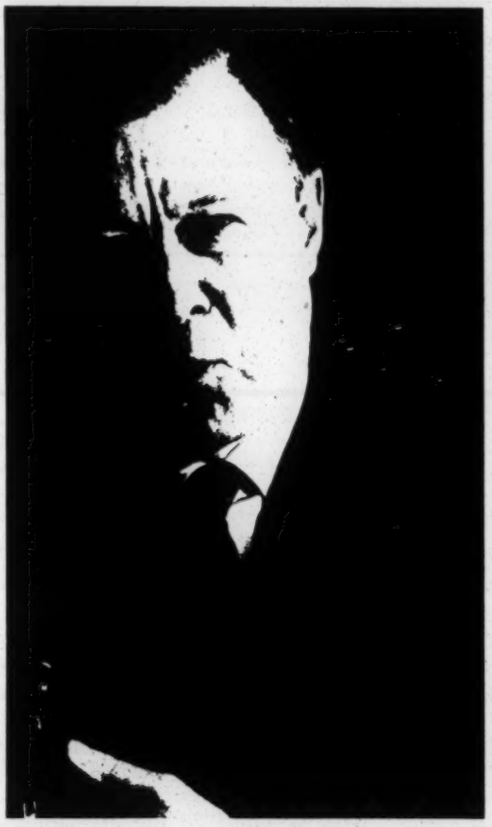
printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Vol. 9, No. 14 April 7, 1969

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

"The deep rumblings of a taxpayer's revolt are becoming more audible as the small and middle income homeowner is forced to carry a disproportionate share of the tax burden while the rich, by taking advantage of the many loopholes available to them, escape paying their fair share."

—WALTER P. REUTHER, testimony on tax reform before House Ways and Means Committee, April 3, 1969



Sweeping tax reform must tax rich harder, ease burdens on others

UAW President Walter P. Reuther last Thursday proposed sweeping reform of the nation's tax laws which now overburden the poor while permitting many of the wealthy to escape their fair share—or any share—of the tax load.

Reuther's recommendations were submitted to the House Ways and Means Committee.

He detailed three basic principles that should underlie any tax system in a free society:

1) the achievement of justice and equity based upon the principle of ability to pay,

2) non-interference with the natural processes of the economy except to the extent such interference is a matter of planned public policy to meet national goals, and

3) simplicity in tax filing and paying.

At the present time, he said, persons who live below the poverty line pay as much as 34 percent of their income in federal, state and local taxes while those receiving $25,000 or more in a year pay only 28 percent.

Figures for the last year available, 1966, show that 12,088 tax returns listing incomes in excess of $15,000 required "not one cent of income tax," Reuther pointed out.

Out of these non-taxable returns, he added, 367 reported incomes of more than $100,000 and 18 had incomes in excess of $1 million.

At the other end of the scale, Reuther said, "we are taxing many families who live in actual poverty, and taxing into poverty families who are on the verge.

"These inequities and the abuses which make them possible would be grossly unacceptable at any time.

"But they are absolutely indefensible and intolerable at a time when our country is at war, when our young men are being required to offer up their lives in that war, and when 99 percent of us at home are not only paying our regular taxes, but are paying a 10 percent surcharge in addition."

In these circumstances, he said, "it is indefensible that

(Continued on Page 2)

Here's what you can do about it: There are many things which you as a taxpayer can do to hasten tax reform. With April 15th fast approaching, make sure you get a letter off to your own Congressman at the same time you file your own tax return to the federal government. If Congress knows loud and clear that the American taxpayer is tired of letting the very rich have a free ride at your expense, you can be sure Congress will close the tax loopholes. But if you are silent, then the loopholes will stay and possibly get bigger. Letters should go care of House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

(Continued from Page 1)

whole classes of income, such as interest on state and municipal bonds, should be absolutely free of federal income tax.

"It is indefensible that while every cent of a working man's pay check is subject to the keen eyes of Internal Revenue, capital gains, acquired through speculation, totally unearned income, should be given treatment which permits them to be taxed at half rates or less.

"It is indefensible that donations to charity can be so arranged that the donor actually makes a profit on his gift . . .

—that some vastly wealthy corporations are enabled to escape a large proportion of the tax burden borne by other business enterprises . . .

—that wealthy 'gentleman farmers,' so called, should be permitted to write off fictitious tax 'losses' and not only escape their share of the tax burden but put the commercial farmer at a competitive disadvantage . . .

—(and) that rich men, by setting up trusts for the benefit of their families, should be able to escape a large part of the taxation . . ."

To avoid taxation of families living in poverty, Reuther proposes that exemptions be increased to $1,800 for the taxpayer and $900 for each dependent and that an annual adjustment be made to the exemptions to reflect movement in the consumer price index.

He recommended that employes not be taxed for Social Security on money earned which is below the poverty level, with the difference made up by the Federal Government from general revenues. And he urged broad liberalization of the standard deduction including an increase in the ceiling to $1,800.

To protect the elderly, Reuther endorsed a U.S. Treasury Dept. proposal which would increase exemptions to $2,500 for aged single persons and $4,200 for a couple.

He called on the committee to study a system of tax credits in place of the present exemption system so as to relieve the poor of their unfair tax burden and at the same time, eliminate the inequity which permits the wealthy greater tax advantage from exemptions than those with smaller incomes.

"We would hope that the extra revenues obtained by plugging loopholes would be sufficient that part of them might be used to meet the pressing social needs of our time—the problems of our cities and our rural slums, the health and housing needs of the people, the education of our children, the need to clean up the air and water around us.

"We in the UAW are sure," he said, "that we speak what is in the minds and hearts of the overwhelming majority of the American people when we urge you to bend every effort to achieve thorough-going reforms which will establish justice and equity based upon the principle of ability to pay."

TAX REFORM URGENT

Rich escape paying fair share while men die in Vietnam combat

Walter P. Reuther told Congress it is "absolutely indefensible and intolerable" for the wealthy to escape taxes while young men are dying in Vietnam.

The labor leader told the House Ways and Means Committee that Congress should quickly plug the major tax loopholes and help low income people as the priority items in its tax reform plans.

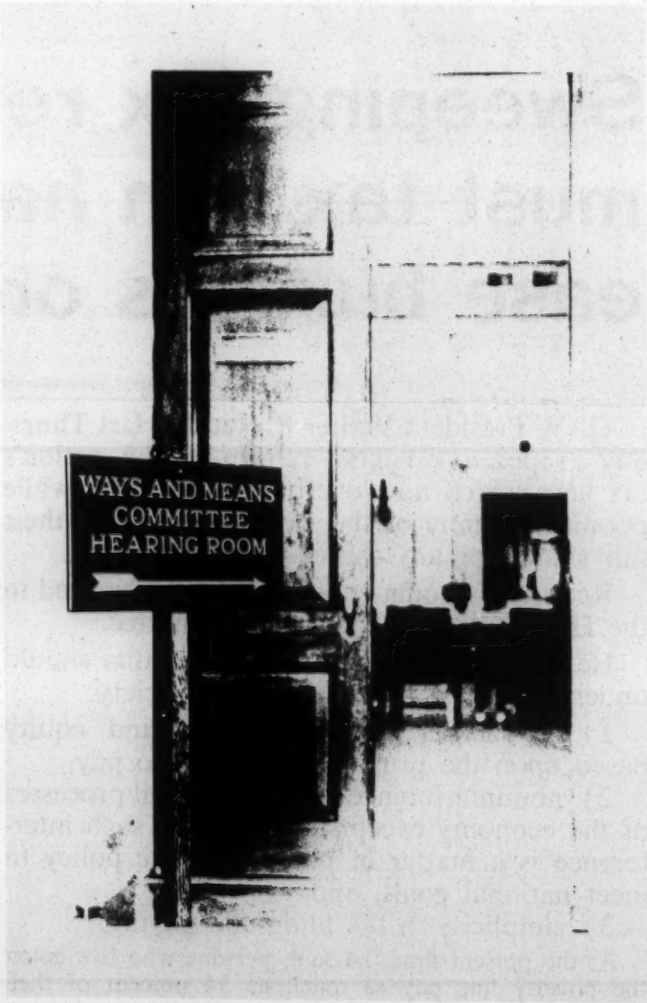
In prepared testimony, Reuther suggested reforms to stop high income taxpayers from avoiding taxes through capital gains, oil depletion allowances, tax-free municipal bonds and "fictitious" farm losses.

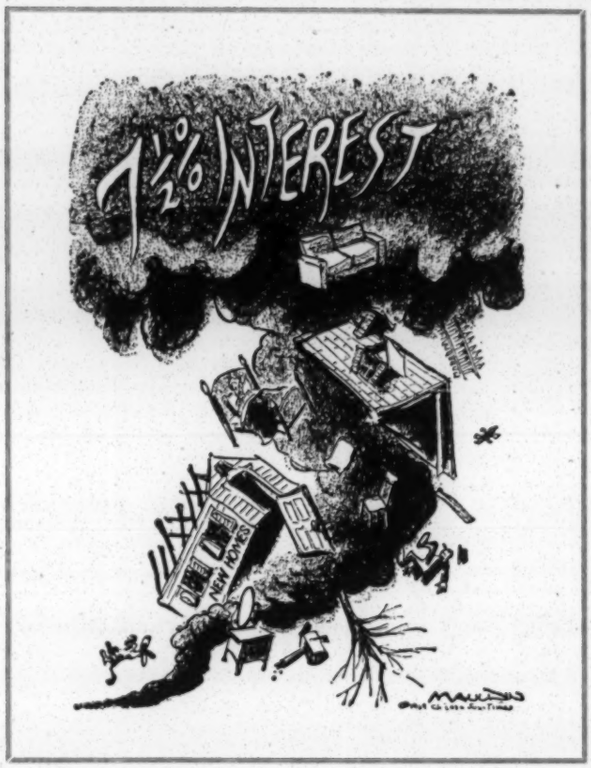
"The deep rumblings of a taxpayer's revolt are becoming more audible as the small and middle income homeowner is forced to carry a disproportionate share of the tax burden while the rich, by taking advantage of the many tax loopholes available to them, escape paying their fair share," Reuther said.

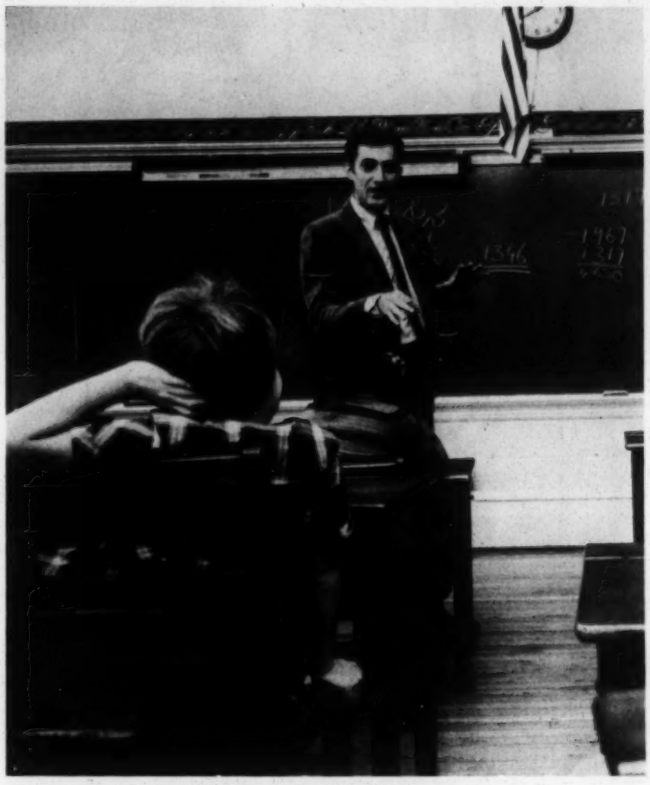
Reuther said tax inequities are "grossly unacceptable" at any time."

"They are absolutely indefensible and intolerable at a time when our country is at war, when our young men are being required to offer up their lives in that war, and when 99 percent of us at home are not only paying our regular taxes, fairly and in full, but are paying a 10 percent income tax surcharge in addition," Reuther said.

"In such circumstances, it is indefensible that whole classes of income, such as the interest on state and municipal bonds, should be absolutely free of federal income tax," Reuther said.







Tighter money or the Teacher Corps

Are Congress and the White House at loggerheads? What has been happening since the beginning of the year with a new President and pretty much the same Congress? Here's a report in depth which tells where the country stands on serious issues ranging from education to conservation, health to transportation.

A LOOK SO FAR

During the first three months of the Nixon Administration and the 91st Congress, not much has happened. The Democratic Study Group's analysis on the next five pages tells in detail what Congress has done and what the White House has done. It's not a happy picture. The country is drifting while enormous problems pile up. We have the highest interest rates in our history—7½ percent for prime bank loans—but the Teacher Corps, the symbol of a new determination to grapple with social unrest, is still plagued by fiscal malnutrition, true even while Democrats controlled the White House.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Congressional Action:

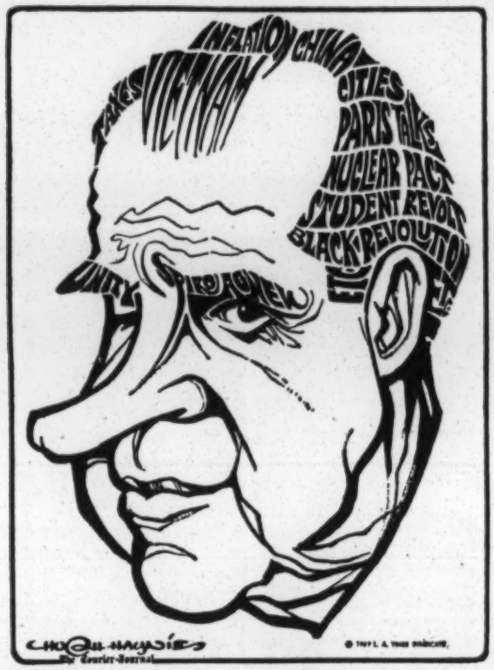
Two major bills have been introduced in the area of civil rights. One would extend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for an additional five-year period during which literacy and other tests would continue to be suspended and federal officials would be available to register voters.

The other measure would expand the jurisdictional scope of the Equal Employment Opportunity provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This would more effectively prevent discrimination in employment by including both industries in commerce employing at least eight persons and labor unions having at least eight members. Hearings on these measures have not been scheduled as yet.

A special subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee is presently investigating the civil rights enforcement policies of the Nixon Administration.

Administration Action:

The President has not sent any programs or messages to Congress regarding civil rights.



"Good morning, Mr. President! And what's on your mind today?"

CONSERVATION

Congressional Action:

A major bill, the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969 (H.R. 4148) has been reported out by the House Public Works Committee. The measure would authorize $343 million for programs and research in oil and other matters which pollute U.S. waters; place absolute liability on oil firms for pollution damage from off-shore drilling rigs beyond the three-mile limit; provide penalties for neglect by firms or individuals not taking proper action to clean up and control discharge; and strengthen the ability of the Secretary of the Interior and the Coast Guard to prevent such pollution. The Senate Public Works Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution has also held hearings on this bill.

Other pending bills which deal with pollution would authorize an incentive tax credit for a portion of the cost of construction or providing facilities for control of water or air pollution; and would prohibit spoil and other waste materials from being dumped into navigable U.S. waters. Several marine resources proposals have also been introduced.

Many other bills on conservation and public power have been introduced and referred to various committees. These include bills on mines and minerals; fish and wildlife; parks, wilderness and other wildlands recreation; reclamation; saline water conversion; atomic power facility licensing; electric power efficiency and reliability; and underground transmission of electric power.

Administration Action:

The President has sent no programs or messages to Congress regarding conservation.

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Congressional Action:

Several consumer protection proposals are under consideration in the House, including more than 800 bills to create a cabinet-level department of Consumer Affairs which would coordinate the administration of consumer services. The Senate Government Operations Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization held hearings on the bill.

Other pending consumer bills include proposals to protect consumers against erroneous and malicious credit information gathering agencies; prohibit disclosure of credit information by insured banks and institutions unless authorized by the person about whom information is sought; provide an independent federal agency in Lending Act of 1968 to require greater standards of care in the issuance of unsolicited credit cards; and provide federal funds to the states for the establishment of Consumer Protection offices.

Administration Action:

The President has not sent any messages or proposals to the Congress.

EDUCATION

Congressional Action:

The House Education and Labor Committee has reported the first major social welfare measure of 1969—a five-year extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Impacted Area Program. The measure will come before the House on April 16.

The other major education bills are awaiting hearings. The education titles of the Full Opportunity Act (H.R. 3338), would make grants available to local education agencies for planning and implementing programs for more effective schools in areas with large numbers of children from low-income families. It would also authorize long-term, low interest loans to students in post-secondary institutions.

The Higher Education Scholarship Act (S. 366) would provide scholarships of up to $1,000 per year to all undergraduate students to enable all students to complete at least two years of higher education.

Administration Action:

The President has not sent any programs or messages to Congress regarding education. However, HEW Secretary Finch, in testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee, recommended extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for two years rather than five as provided by the legislation under consideration.

ELECTORAL REFORM

Congressional Action:

Many proposals for Constitutional amendments reforming the electoral college have been introduced by members of both the House and the Senate. Most call for direct election of the President. Other proposals would (1) retain the present distribution of electoral votes, but eliminate the office of elector; (2) allocate electoral votes by congressional district or by state in accordance with the percentage of the popular vote received by each candidate in that state; or (3) combine a national preferential primary election to select the candidate with final election by popular vote. Hearings on these proposals have been held by both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees.

In another area of electoral reform, several plans for reducing the voting age to 18 or 19 have been introduced. No hearings have been held on these measures yet.

Administration Action:

The President has proposed that each state's electoral votes be apportioned by the percentage of the popular vote received by a candidate in that state, and that if no candidate receives more than 40% of the total electoral vote, the winner would be decided in a run-off election.

The President has not sent a message or proposal to Congress on lowering the voting age.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

Congressional Action:

The House Agriculture Committee has reported H.R. 5554, which would amend the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 to make the special milk program permanent and increase the annual authorization from $120 million to $125 million.

Several food stamp bills are before the House and Senate Agriculture Committees. Two in the House would increase appropriations for the food stamp program for fiscal 1970 from $340 million to $440 million and the six remaining months in calendar 1970 from $170 million to $220 million. Two bills on food stamps have also been introduced

CONGRESS IS MOVING while the Nixon administration is feeling its way cautiously, as this report shows. Much of America's problems cannot be swept under the rug by happy talk. Congress has begun to make some moves, but there is little which is coming from the White House in the way of initiatives or support.

in the Senate. One would authorize free food stamps when necessary to achieve adequate diets; the other would establish minimum nationwide eligibility standards for food stamp recipients and would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to operate programs in areas where the local governments do not cooperate.

The Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs has held extensive hearings on hunger this session. After testimony on hunger in South Carolina was presented, Secretary of Agriculture Hardin initiated a temporary program of free food stamp distribution to persons with incomes under $30 a month in Beaufort and Jasper counties in South Carolina.

The House Agriculture Committee has held hearings on amending the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 to provide an additional source of financing for the rural telephone program.

Other bills before the House Agriculture Committee would limit agricultural subsidy payments to $10,000 to any one producer in any one year and would provide for the orderly marketing of agricultural commodities through certain conditions such as collective bargaining. Hearings have not been scheduled yet.

Administration Action:

The President has not sent any messages or proposals to Congress regarding agriculture or hunger.

By this same time, Kennedy had provided outline of his administration, and Eisenhower had done the same. The nation still waits for Mr. Nixon to explain his intentions to the people.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE POLICY

Congressional Action:

The Senate on March 13 by a record vote of 83-15 consented to U.S. ratification of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

The House, on March 12, passed H.R. 33, to authorize a $480 million U.S. share of a $1.2 billion replenishment for the International Development Association, an affiliate of the World Bank. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will schedule hearings on the bill after the recess. It also authorized supplemental appropriations of $76 million for military aircraft improvements and modifications for fiscal 1969.

Congress is considering several authorization and appropriation bills requesting funds for the Antiballistic Missile System. The House Foreign Affairs Committee, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the House and Senate Armed Services Committees are conducted or have conducted hearings on the system. Hearings will continue after the recess.

Several Congressional committees are looking into military spending. A new Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee chaired by Senator Symington will look into military and industrial influence on foreign policy. The House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments has been reactivated and held hearings on the ABM. A House Government Operations subcommittee is investigating the charge that the Bureau of the Budget gives "kid-glove" treatment to Pentagon requests.

Administration Action:

The President requested passage of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

The President ordered deployment of a "modified" version of the ABM system which he says would cost $6-$7 billion.

HEALTH

Congressional Action:

Several bills on protecting the health and safety of coal miners have been introduced in Congress. The bills would set mandatory interim health and safety standards until research into the problem provides the Secretary of Interior with enough information to initiate permanent standards. The House Education and Labor General Subcommittee on Labor held hearings on these bills as did the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Labor.

These are also a number of bills requiring a more explicit warning statement on cigarette packages and a statement of the average tar and nicotine yield per cigarette. Hearings have not been scheduled.

Hearings are now underway in the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on the Hill-Burton Act extension and amendments. This bill (H.R. 6797) would amend the Public Health Service Act to extend the program of grants for construction and modernization of hospitals and other medical facilities.

The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1969 (H.R. 843, 3809, and 4294) is being reintroduced this session after failing to receive a rule last Congress. This bill is designed to assure safe and healthful working conditions for working men and women and would provide for research in the field of occupational safety and health.

The select Committee on Labor of the House Education and Labor Committee is now holding hearings on H.R. 3290, which would promote health and safety in the building trades and construction industry in all federal and federally-assisted construction projects.

A major bill on drugs (S. 950) would establish a national drug compendium of prescribing information designed to provide reliable and comprehensive drug information for practitioners and other interested persons. This measure was referred to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee; no hearings have been scheduled.

Administration Action:

The Administration has proposed comprehensive mine safety legislation which is being considered by House and Senate committees.

At hearings on the Hill-Burton Amendments, HEW Secretary Finch called for changes in the present program of federal grants for hospital construction and modernization in order to control rising medical costs. He proposed that federal aid to states expand outpatient clinics, neighborhood health centers and other non-hospital health facilities. He also proposed replacing present grant system with a $500 million loan program.

HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS

Congressional Action:

Among housing bills filed to date is S. 527, which would make available five percent of funds authorized for use in Rent Supplements and programs for rental and cooperative housing for lower-income families for a proposed housing allowance experimental program. It would also increase authorization for capital grants for urban renewal and supplemental grant funds for Model Cities. The bill was referred to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee; hearings have not yet been held.

Two other bills (S. 1 and H.R. 9280) would provide relocation assistance to persons displaced by federally conducted or federally-aided land acquisition programs. The Senate Government Operations Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee held hearings on S. 1; the House Banking and Currency Committee has not scheduled hearings on H.R. 9280 yet.

Administration Action:

The President has sent no messages or proposals to Congress regarding housing or urban affairs.

JOB OPPORTUNITY AND POVERTY

Congressional Action:

The House Committee on Education and Labor is now holding hearings on a five-year extension of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The Senate Labor and Public Works Committee is planning to hold hearings on the bill shortly.

Many members of Congress have introduced H.R. 112 (identical with H.R. 3049) which would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a tax credit for employers who employ members of the hard-core unemployed. The bill was referred to Ways and Means; no hearings have been scheduled.

Another bill, the Full Opportunity Act (H.R. 3338), would expand employment opportunities and establish a universal minimum wage of $2 an hour. It would also give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to pursue action against discriminatory practices. This bill was referred to the House Education and Labor Committee; no hearings have been scheduled.

Several bills have been referred to the House Select Subcommittee on Labor which would guarantee productive employment opportunities for those who are unemployed or underemployed. The bill would authorize $4 billion to permit the Secretary of Labor to make grants to government agencies or nonprofit organizations for employing up to one million eligible unemployed persons at any one time.

A bill to amend a section of the National Labor Relations Act (H.R. 100) would permit peaceful picketing at construction sites by unions in the construction and building trades. This bill will receive hearings before the House Education and Labor Committee shortly after the recess.

Other bills introduced in the Senate and the House would extend coverage under the National Labor Relations Act to agriculture workers. Hearings have not been scheduled yet.

Administration Action:

The President sent a message to Congress asking for a one-year extension of appropriations for the Office of Economic Opportunity which expires June 30, 1969.

UAW WORKERS GAIN when America decides to improve mass transit system. Here Philadelphia Budd workers put finishing touches on New York to Washington high-speed trains now going non-stop in 2½ hours time.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Congressional Action:

Over 75 bills have been introduced in Congress thus far on law enforcement (approximately 20 were referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, four to the Senate District Committee, 50 to the House Judiciary Committee and five to the House District Committee).

Several subcommittees have held hearings on proposals to amend the Bail Reform Act of 1966, including provisions to detain defendants viewed as likely to commit further offenses while awaiting trial, and measures to improve juvenile institutions and prisons and combat organized crime and crime in Washington, D.C. and its suburbs.

Other law enforcement proposals introduced in the House and Senate and awaiting hearings include: salary supplements and increased benefits for police and judicial officers; educational grants and salary incentives for police officers who pursue further education; grants for improving correctional institutions and rehabilitation programs; and measures to improve the D.C. court system.

Administration Action:

The President has not sent Congress any messages or proposals dealing with law enforcement. The only significant action to date was a public statement on January 31, in which the President made several suggestions for improving law enforcement in Washington, D.C. only.

TAXATION AND ECONOMIC POLICY

Congressional Action:

Several comprehensive tax reform bills have been introduced in the House. The Ways and Means Committee is currently holding hearings on limited tax reform. (The last major overhaul of the Internal Revenue Code took place in 1954.) The Committee has already heard witnesses on the subjects of tax-exempt foundations and tax treatment of state and municipal bonds. Additionally, the Committee will examine questions of charitable contributions, farm losses, capital gains provisions, accelerated depreciation allowances, the 7% investment tax credit, estate and gift taxes, and tax rules applying to stock-option plans. It will also examine the regular standard deduction, minimum and maximum taxes, the gasoline tax and the single persons' tax.

A bill increasing the public debt limit passed the House by a vote of 313-92 and the Senate by a vote of 67-18. The bill increased the permanent debt ceiling by $7 billion from $485 billion to $365 billion) and the temporary ceiling by $12 billion (from $365 billion to $377 billion). The new temporary ceiling would apply through June 30, 1970. The bill passed by Congress reflects a cut of $17 billion in the amount of new borrowing authority requested by President Nixon.

Administration Action:

The Administration has indicated it will not submit a tax reform proposal this year.

The President has, however, asked Congress to extend the 10% income tax surcharge for another year. He also asked that excise taxes be kept at their present level.

The President also asked Congress to increase the debt limit.

TRANSPORTATION

Congressional Action:

About 20 bills on highway transportation have been referred to the House Public Works Committee. One would permit a state to use funds from the Highway Trust Fund for purposes of urban mass transportation.

Two bills on airplane transportation have been referred to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. H.R. 3668 would provide additional federal assistance in connection with the construction, alteration or improvement of airports and related facilities. H.R. 15 would provide for the development and construction of a commercial supersonic transport airplane.

No hearings have been held on any of these measures to date.

Administration Action:

The President has sent no messages or proposals to Congress regarding transportation.

WELFARE

Congressional Action:

Many bills have been introduced to repeal the statutory provisions limiting the number of children to whom federal payments may be made under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. Also pending are related bills which would establish minimum national welfare eligibility standards.

Bills have also been introduced involving guaranteed income proposals for people who need public assistance. An income maintenance bill (H.R. 586) was referred to the Ways and Means Committee while family allowance proposals have been referred to the House Education and Labor Committee. Hearings have not been held on these measures.

Administration Action:

The President has not sent any programs or messages to Congress regarding welfare.

—Report prepared by the Democratic Study Group of the U.S. House of Representatives, April 1, 1969

WEEKEND WRAPUP

That DSG study on what Nixon and Congress haven't done tells a lot about Washington during the past three months. Nixon has moved extremely cautiously, almost as though he was afraid to do anything. As the liberal caucus of the House of Representative, the DSG (Democratic Study Group) now numbers some 100 members out of a total 244 Democrats. The DSG is providing more and more of the political ignition for Congress on the House side. Little seems to happen at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, where new programs, new ideas, new thrusts usually occur. So Congress with strong shoves from the DSG must take the bull by the horn. . . . **Take education,** for example. Here the Johnson administration really shined. And thanks to Chairman Carl Perkins of the House Education and Labor Committee, Congress is cranking up a $5 billion program five-year extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). The Nixon people are getting a bit jittery about the lack of any movement, so after Easter we can expect some signs of activity from the executive branch of government. Republican leaders want only a one-year extension on the education bill, but Democrats are going to demand five years without any serious tampering of the bill as it comes out of committee. Two Republican moderates—Bell of California and Reid of New York—support the bill scheduled for floor action soon. Federal billions for education keeps local property taxes down. . . . **The upset congressional election in Wisconsin** last week was a sign that congressional Republicans could be in deep trouble by 1970. Democrats put up a strong candidate, gave him enough money to run a strong campaign, and then buried the hatchet among themselves to carry the huge, predominately rural and small town district. David Obey, the 30 year old winner, ran against Republican mismanagement of state finances and against the multi-billion dollar ABM. Obey's victory is a blow to Nixon and to Defense Secretary Laird, whose seat he captured and whose defense policies the voters repudiated. . . . **Tom Bradley's huge vote in Los Angeles** was a refreshing sign that racial moderation is on the upswing on the West Coast in the race for LA mayor. With powerful labor and Democratic support, Bradley now has support from The Los Angeles Times and Congressman Alphonzo Bell, the moderate Republican who was eclipsed in the primary. . . . **Detroit's Congresswoman Martha Griffiths** is a key member of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, which writes the tax laws of this country. Mrs. Griffiths shook a lot of her colleagues last week when she called for the defeat of 25 or so congressmen if Congress fails to approve tax reform this year. Almost everybody is for tax reform these days—with one fascinating exception. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, bless their tax-deducting souls, is against tax reform. Their members love, not merely like, those loopholes and they don't want Congress to do anything. Oil depletion, capital gains, accelerated depreciation of real estate, interest on state and municipal bonds, hobby farm losses, and charitable contributions—the whole bit. The Chamber wants those loopholes to stay just the same. All you workers getting your paychecks clipped by Uncle Sam's payroll withholding every payday, don't you fret. What is good for the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber says, is good for the United States. . . . **The professional rightwingers** are in a constant state of apoplexy these days, never sure when Mr. Nixon will throw a bone or two to the Democrats. But one thing sure to send many Birchers and Liberty Lobby types into orbit is last week's 7 to 1 Supreme Court decision which puts the high court's approval on union production quotas. The real issue is the Court's recognition that a democratic union has the right to bargain for a contract, and when that contract is agreed upon, it must be lived up to. Union critics love to castigate union leaders for not calling off wildcat strikes and living up to a union contract. The same critics will probably howl because the Supreme Court last week ruled that a UAW contract calling for production quotas ought to be lived up to, too. . . . **The death and final memorials to President Eisenhower** put this man's life in some perspective of greatness. Eisenhower was a rare military man who thought like a civilian. Increasing numbers of Americans are today questioning military advice. This same skepticism ran through Ike. In many ways Ike was a weak President. He let the country drift dangerously into neglect of its schools, its resources, its cities. With his enormous popularity (it was nearly impossible to dislike him), he could have been a conservative dictator who might have sent this country back to the days of child labor.

The New York Times April 3, 1969

Seventh Congressional District of Wisconsin is shaded.

"Q: Would the $5 billion antimissile system recently announced by Secretary McNamara fall into the President's category of 'excessive arms?' "

"I wasn't prepared for his vivid response. Five billion! That was only the beginning, the President said impatiently. It would buy a pilot establishment, nothing else. And then we would have to go on and on until we had 'the works.' He drew a spiral in the air with his forefinger as he talked. You'd get up into the $20 billions, then the $30 billions, and the $40 billions—just for the United States. Every little town and locality would insist on have a shield. Even Gettysburg. And soon, too, all your allies will insist on having it . . . Now, mind you, the President said, I wouldn't call it a form of excessive arms if I thought it would be effective." **[Emphsis in original]**

—Eisenhower interview in VISTA, Jan.-Feb. 1968.

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Walter P. Reuther, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

A closer look at what Congress has and has not done so far

NEWSPAPER

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

W K 30303 WR000633 M5
LABOR PROGRAM WR
SOTHN REG COUNCIL ##
5 FORSYTH ST N W
ATLANTA GA 30303

UAW

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Vol. 9, No. 16 April 21, 1969

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

Congress questions priorities

DIRKSEN AND MUNDT, (left), two Senate conservatives will likely block any attempts to reorder U.S. priorities. Growing Democratic and Republican demands may blunt their opposition.

Mr. Nixon has moved the country slightly off dead center. The impasse between Congress and the White House is beginning to break up.

A modest 10 point program with a little bit of everything for everybody finally got sent to Capitol Hill by the Nixon administration. It calls for tax-sharing and tax credits (real Republican doctrine); and some tinkering with Social Security, manpower programs, a heavier crackdown on crime, tax reform, updating of our transportation system, and streamlining the Post Office (sure to woo a perplexed public with no political axes to grind).

Meanwhile, the U.S. economy shows no signs of slowing down, nor does inflation seem in any hurry to ease off. Personal income and business expansion soared last month. The U.S. gross national product is now roaring along at the rate of $900 billion a year.

Liberal Democrats in the House won a party caucus battle to work for an end to the inflation-breeding 7 percent investment credit, which costs the U.S. Treasury $3 billion a year. And the pressures for tax reform seem to grow. Everybody except the U.S. Chamber of Commerce is for it.

Congress is unhappy about Nixon intentions to close down Job Corps camps. Hearings are underway this week to spotlight the gains and losses of this venture in rescuing kids from poverty and hopelessness.

The country continues to question topheavy defense spending in both Johnson and Nixon budgets. There is an increasing clamor for beefing up domestic programs to educate the young, care for the elderly, and clean up our cities. The voting habits of key members of the House Appropriations Committee given on page 3 of this issue makes it doubtful if Democratic leaders in the House can lead the fight for a reordering of national priorities. Traditionally, Senate liberals (both Democrats and Republicans) have rescued programs sent down the drain by House members with narrow and fixed ideas about where to spend the federal dollar.

The Senate Republican establishment led by Sen. Everett Dirksen shows no signs of changing its big handout policy for defense and parsimony for the wars against pollution, congestion, poverty, and ignorance.

A coalition of liberals and moderates from both parties in House and Senate may possibly provide enough muscle to subdue the conservative bigger military bang boys who tend to starve the cities when the Pentagon demands a new bomber, new missile or new weapons system.

Democratic tax reform bill would tax the rich, ease burden on wage earners

HARRIS

Sen. Fred R. Harris has introduced the Democratic Party's tax reform program, a package to shift about $4.5 billion of the tax burden from wage earners to corporations and the very rich.

The Oklahoma lawmaker, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, offered his plan a week before President Nixon was ready to unveil the Republican administration's tax reform proposals.

Harris proposed a "minimum" income tax which would close $1.2 billion worth of loopholes which he said permitted 21 millionaires to avoid income tax entirely and reduced the payments of many other wealthy individuals.

At the same time, the measure would provide a $1.1 billion tax cut for low income taxpayers, "relieving over one half of the 2.2 million poverty-level families from any tax liability."

The measure also suspends the 7 percent business investment credit, a $3.3 billion tax break for corporations which expand their plant and equipment.

The money saved by suspension of the credit would be

(Continued on page 2)

Current Issues

MAHON

KIRWIN

WHITTEN

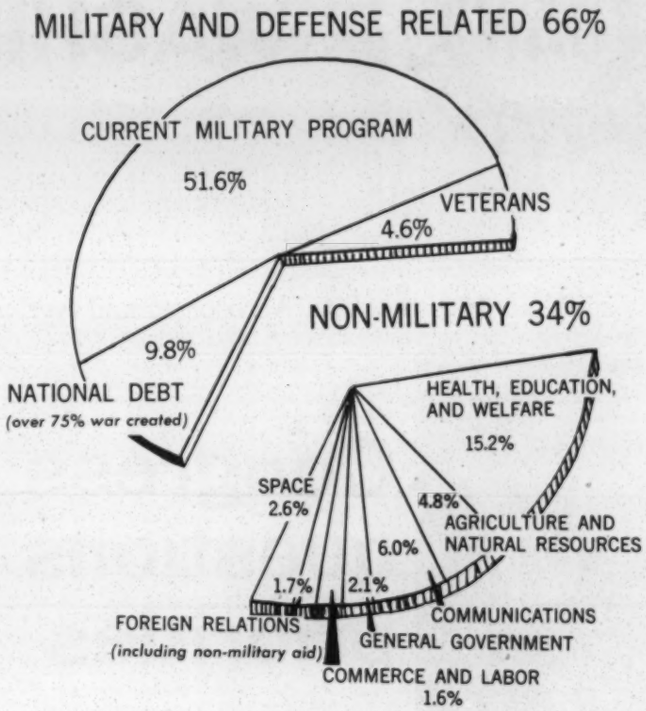
THESE ARE THE SENIOR MEMBERS of the House Appropriations Committee which cuts the federal appropriations pie. The chart (right) shows precisely how Congress last cut the pie 51.6 percent for direct military expenditures and 66 percent military and defense related. Local property and state sales taxes would be helped if more federal money was pumped into education and welfare programs to the cities now facing a fiscal crisis of monumental proportions. GOP tax-sharing approaches would put money into the states without strings and cities gravely threatened might not get their fair share of help.

ANDREWS

ROONEY

SIKES

$156 BILLION VOTED BY CONGRESS IN 1968



* The $156 billion includes all funds appropriated by Congress during calendar 1968, regardless of whether the money was spent in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1968 or allocated to the year ending June 30, 1969. The breakdown (in millions) is as follows:

Supplementals, fiscal 1968 and 1969	$ 6,821.7
Regular, fiscal 1969	132,806.3
Permanent, fiscal 1969	16,629.6
Total	$156,257.6

—Chart prepared by Friends Committee on National Legislation

(Continued from page 1)

used to reduce the 10 percent income surtax to 7 percent, Harris said.

He said the program was in response to a national taxpayer's revolt which "reflects the anger of the average taxpayer who knows there are many who carry little or none of the burden."

Harris announced weeks ago that he would propose a

Tax reform will make rich pay more and give workers a breather. Democratic leaders ask for package that places burden on those best able to carry the load

"minimum" income tax plan. But he spelled out the details for the first time in a speech on the Senate floor.

The bill would tax at the regular rates at least one half of a taxpayer's total income regardless of the source. In determining total income, the measure would ignore present tax preferences for interest on state and municipal bonds, net long term capital gains, depletion allowances, accelerated depreciation on real property, appreciation on property given to charity and stock options.

"Thus, a taxpayer who has an actual income of $500,000 a year from totally exempt sources who has paid no tax in the past will now pay $160,000," he said.

"In the year 1967, 155 Americans with incomes of more than $200,000 paid no federal income tax, and of this group 21 earned more than a million dollars," he said.

"At the same time, 25 million citizens earning less than $3,000 annually paid $1.5 billion in federal income taxes," he added.

"Quite often, the result is that a man who earns over $1 million a year from real estate investment can avoid federal taxes completely while a married couple with an income of $2,200 must pay $84," he said.

Harris proposed a $1.1 billion tax break for wage earners in the low income brackets by increasing the minimum standard deduction for persons who do not itemize their expenses.

The measure would increase the minimum from the present $200 plus $100 for each member of a family to $600 plus $100 for each family member.

Harris' plan to eliminate the business investment credit and roll back the surtax from 10 to 7 percent parallels the proposal of Sen. John J. Williams, R-Del., a leader of the congressional economy bloc.

Both Harris and Williams said the investment credit, which pours money directly into the overheated capital goods market, is inflationary.

"It would seem fairer to grant some relief to the overburdened middle-income taxpayer by not asking for the full 10 percent surcharge extension, and, instead, cutting down also on the inflationary pressures of plant and equipment expenditures," Harris said.

Investment credit is fueling fires of inflation, according to Fred Harris. He calls for an end to this business bonanza

They control the real pursestrings for nearly $160 billion

How 30 Democrats look and vote

The House of Representatives is jealous of its constitutional powers to appropriate money. As state and local governments seek federal help, the $160 billion or so Congress votes for everything from military hardware to Job Corps camps for poor white and black boys who never had a fair chance in life becomes a matter of life and death to the life of all Americans. The federal purse strings have many handles—but none is more important than that of the 30 Democratic members of the House Appropriations Committee whose political pedigrees are described below.

Who he is	Where he lives	What kind of district	How long in Congress	How old	How he votes
Democratic Member of House Appropriations Committee	Population of Hometown (1)	Predominate Population in District (2)	Year service in U.S. House Began (3)	Age (4)	Percent of Opposition to 30 key Democratic Party Roll Call Votes in 90th Congress (5)
George Mahon (19th—Tex.) Chairman	Lubbock, Tex.—128,691	RURAL	Jan. 3, 1935	69	57%
Michael Kirwan (19th—Ohio)	Youngstown, O.—166,689	MIXED (6)	Jan. 3, 1937	83	0%
Jamie Whitten (2nd—Miss.)	Charleston, Miss.—2,528	RURAL	Nov. 4, 1941	59	93%
George Andrews (3rd—Ala.)	Union Springs, Ala.—3,704	RURAL	Mar. 14, 1944	63	100%
John Rooney (14th—N.Y.)	Brooklyn, N.Y.—2,627,319	URBAN	June 6, 1944	66	0%
Robert Sikes (1st—Fla.)	Crestview, Fla.—7,467	RURAL	Jan. 3, 1945	63	82%
Otto Passman (5th—La.)	Monroe, La.—52,219	RURAL	Jan. 3, 1947	69	90%
Joe Evins (4th—Tenn.)	Smithville, Tenn.—2,348	RURAL	Jan. 3, 1947	59	48%
Edward Boland (2nd—Mass.)	Springfield, Mass.—174,463	URBAN	Jan. 3, 1953	58	3%
Wm. Natcher (2nd—Ky.)	Bowling Green, Ky.—28,338	RURAL	Aug. 1, 1953	60	50%
Daniel Flood (11th—Pa.)	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—63,551	MIXED (7)	Jan. 3, 1955	66	14%
Tom Steed (4th—Okla.)	Shawnee, Okla.—24,326	RURAL	Jan. 3, 1949	65	45%
George Shipley (23rd—Ill.)	Olney, Ill.—8,780	RURAL	Jan. 3, 1959	42	47%
John Slack (3rd—W. Va.)	Charleston, W. Va.—85,796	MIXED (8)	Jan. 3, 1959	54	37%
John Flynt (6th—Ga.)	Griffin, Ga.—21,735	RURAL	Nov. 2, 1954	55	97%
Neal Smith (5th—Iowa)	Altoona, Iowa—2,424	URBAN	Jan. 3, 1959	49	13%
Robert Giaimo (3rd—Conn.)	North Haven, Conn.—15,935	MIXED (9)	Jan. 3, 1959	50	20%
Julia B. Hansen (3rd—Wash.)	Cathlamet, Wash.—Less than 2,500	RURAL	Nov. 8, 1960	62	10%
Charles Joelson (8th—N.J.)	Paterson, N.J.—143,663	URBAN	Jan. 3, 1961	53	3%
Joseph Addabbo (7th—N.J.)	Ozone Park, N.J.—Less than 2,500	URBAN	Jan. 3, 1961	44	10%
John McFall (15th—Calif.)	Manteca, Calif.—8,242	RURAL	Jan. 3, 1957	51	3%
W. R. Hull (6th—Mo.)	Weston, Mo.—Less than 2,500	RURAL	Jan. 3, 1955	63	87%
Jeffery Cohelan (7th—Calif.)	Berkeley, Calif.—111,268	URBAN	Jan. 3, 1959	54	0%
Edward Patten (15th—N.J.)	Perth Amboy, N.J.—38,007	SUBURBAN	Jan. 3, 1963	64	0%
Clarence Long (2nd—Md.)	Ruxton, Md.—2,100	SUBURBAN	Jan. 3, 1963	61	7%
John Marsh (7th—Va.)	Strasburg, Va.—Less than 2,500	RURAL	Jan. 3, 1963	43	97%
Sidney Yates (9th—Ill.)	Chicago, Ill.—3,550,404	URBAN	Jan. 3, 1965	60	0%
Bob Casey (22nd—Tex.)	Houston, Tex.—938,219	URBAN	Jan. 3, 1959	54	67%
David Pryor (4th—Ark.)	Camden, Ark.—14,604	RURAL	Nov. 9, 1966	35	57%
Frank Evans (3rd—Colo.)	Pueblo, Colo.—91,181	MIXED (10)	Jan. 3, 1965	46	17%

(1) Population is based on 1960 census.
(2) Based on study done by CQ in 1963, which in turn is based on 1960 census and composition of districts in the 88th Congress.
(3) "Year Service in U.S. House Began" refers to the date which is the beginning of present service. Some Representatives shown have served longer, but their terms were not consecutive.
(4) Age—the age each Representative will be in 1969.
(5) Based on 30 votes selected by Democratic Study Group and used in a study released in 1969 on "Voting in the House." Two-thirds of the 30 votes involved programs and policies advocated in the 1964 Democratic Party platform, and many of the remaining one-third involved traditional Democratic policies. Votes covered such areas as poverty and hunger (4 votes), housing and urban development (6 votes), education (2 votes), civil rights (3 votes), gun control and crime (3 votes), foreign aid (3 votes), federal expenditures (4 votes), consumer protection (2 votes), and 3 miscellaneous votes.
(6) Predominately urban with some suburban population.
(7) Predominately suburban with some rural population.
(8) Largest population is rural, with both urban and suburban inhabitants making up at least 20% of population.
(9) Largest population is suburban with at least 20% of population urban.
(10) Largest population is rural with at least 20% urban population.

Average age of a Democratic Member of Appropriations Committee: 57.3 years.
Breakdown of districts: 8 urban; 15 rural; 2 suburban; 5 mixed.
Average opposition score: 38.5%

WEEKEND WRAPUP

Everything's going Mr. Nixon's way—but **one thing bugs the hell out of partisan Republicans.** It's Ted Kennedy. Everywhere Ted goes, he's followed by scores of TV cameras, reporters with notebooks, and wild acclaim from the natives. The flap up there in Alaska last week shows how jumpy some Republicans can get. There's a certain political magic about any Kennedy which attracts both press and the public—even in the remote reaches of Alaska. As Sen. Mansfield noted, the Republicans are making Ted Kennedy a candidate for 1972. Said Mansfield: "They (the Republicans) are pushing him (Kennedy) so far out in front that, if he wants it, it is a foregone conclusion he will get the nomination." Actually, Mr. Nixon is doing very well. Nixon has outraged a lot of hardcore rightwingers, but he did throw them a bone by putting Otto Otepka on the Subversive Activities Control Board. That's the rightwing boondoggle which spends thousands of dollars for shuffling papers around. Otepka is the darling of the people who see communists under every bed and he'd been in bureaucratic limbo during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. . . . **Have you sent your tea bag to Congress yet?** A lot of people are doing that. It's a reminder of the Boston Tea Party mood of taxpayers these days. The Fred Harris tax reform package got the jump on Mr. Nixon, whose plan will go to Congress this week. The fate of the 7 percent investment credit is the thing to watch as Congress gets down to the nitty-gritty on tax reform. This is "business welfare." It's like throwing gasoline on the flames of inflation. The Democratic party caucus (a thing the Democratic Study Group wrung from Speaker McCormack this year for the first time), put the party on record against a continuation of the 7 percent investment credit. A $10 billion tax reform package could lift the 10 percent surtax next year for good. Elimination of the $3 billion investment credit loophole would permit cutting the surtax from 10 to 7 percent. . . . You didn't see it printed in any newspaper, but our UAW cheeks are blushing from **the nice things Ralph Nader said about our UAW consumer program.** He spoke, with Mr. Meany's ears wide open, to a session of the Unions for Scientific, Professional and Cultural Employees. Nader, incidentally, has about 30 of the brightest kids in the country coming to Washington this summer for another unvarnished look at the federal government. His appraisal of the Federal Trade Commission put the FTC into orbit, but it did shake up some of the encrusted ways of this agency and put the FTC on its mettle. . . . **A lot of the superlatives in the Nixon legislative program were blurred** by the decision to discontinue 59 of the 113 Job Corps centers around the country. The Nixon people lost a lot of points on that ploy—and there were some signs by the end of last week that the White House might change its mind about closing some centers. That old chestnut about it costing more to send a kid to Harvard than to a Job Corps center is still around. Fact is, of course, that kids ready for the social junkheaps until they get a second chance in the Job Corps will cost the taxpayers a lot more money if their talents are never developed or if they run afoul of the law. Sen. Ralph Yarborough has done a study which shows the federal government made money on the billions it spent on the GI Bill, which gave millions of American boys a chance to go to college or trade school. Their education repaid for itself many times over. The same is true of the Job Corps and if Nixon wipes out most of this program, he will be sending thousands of boys back to the same old dreary rut where they will cost society far more than the cost of a year or so in the Job Corps. . . . **Tax-sharing is a tempting scheme** which has both Republican and Democratic support—and now Mr. Nixon has made it part of his official program. The real flaw in tax-sharing is that state governments are chronically blind to the needs of cities, where the biggest headaches are in education and welfare. Giving states a big hunk of federal dollars won't help the American taxpayer nor cure the problems. . . . **The shades of monolithic communism seem to be drawing shut** on the brief period of free socialism that thrived under Alexander Dubcek. The Czechs deeply resent the ragged edge to life their economic ties to Russia have caused them. Like all people, they yearn for a chance to say out loud what they feel inside. It will be a tragedy for America if history proves we stood by and allowed the Czech reformists to go under—all because of an eagerness for rapprochement with Russia. . . . **The turmoil on many college campuses** baffles a lot of white workers who never got beyond high school. Kids with long hair and blank checks from Daddy go on the rampage. The worker pulls that lever or lifts that steel and never seems to get ahead. Pete Hamill says "the working class white man is actually in revolt against taxes, joyless work, the double standard and short memories of professional politicians, hypocrisy and what he considers the debasement of the American dream." A lot of these mostly union members feel forgotten in these days of student strikes and black militancy. Nothing will unify Americans more than even-handed tax reform of taxes that bear down hardest on the man or woman who punches a timeclock and gets clipped every time he cashes his paycheck. Workers resent the kind of grubby life which surrounds them—the urban sprawl, the smog, the jerry-built houses. A massive national undertaking to improve the quality of life for all people would also heal the wounds that divide us all.

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Walter P. Reuther, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

The Democrats came up with a tax reform package

NEWSPAPER

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

W K 30303 VIA SOUE A2
EMORY VIA DIR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST NW
ATLANTA GA 30303

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Vol. 9, No. 17 April 28, 1969

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

FCC will order stiff warnings on cig ads if Congress falters

The Federal Trade Commission will require a stiffer health warning in all cigarette advertising and on packages unless Congress again acts to prevent it, Chairman Paul Rand Dixon said.

"There is a preeminent need for a health warning in cigarette advertising,"Dixon said, because "it is dispensed without regard to the youthfulness of its audience."

The FTC chairman said the new health warning contemplated by the FTC would be similar to the one it attempted to put into effect in 1965 when Congress intervened and established the milder warning now required only on cigarette packages.

The FTC proposal read: "Caution: Cigarette smoking is dangerous to your health and may cause death from cancer and other diseases."

The present cigarette package warning reads: "Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health."

Dixon, who disclosed the commission's intention to the House Commerce Committee conceded that requiring the warning in all advertising including radio and television commercials would probably bring an end to broadcast cigarette advertising.

"I doubt very seriously if they (the tobacco industry) were required to present prominent warning they would want to spend the money that way," Dixon said.

Dixon said his agency would make its move "on or shortly after July 1" if Congress does not preclude it.

The FTC chairman said the agency also favored requiring a statement of the average tar and nicotine content of cigarettes in labeling and advertising.

"We have found that widespread publicity of accurate tar and nicotine yield figures does result in the purchase of lower yield, less hazardous brands," Dixon said.

The FTC supports the FCC's proposal to ban broadcast commercials but he himself was opposed to it, Dixon said. He based his objection on the possibility a safer cigarette might be developed "and there would be no way to advertise them."

A spokesman for the American Heart Association testified that although "no specific causal relationship" between smoking and heart disease has been clinically proved, the statistical case "is growing steadily more convincing."

The witness was Dr. Lewis E. January, professor of medicine at the University of Iowa and a past association president. He was accompanied by Dr. Campbell Moses, of New York, the association's medical director.

"After years of probing and questioning, we are particularly impressed that no one has been able to deny the keystone of the anti-cigarette case—the fact that the overall death rate for men who smoke cigarettes is nearly twice as high as for men who never smoked cigarettes," he said.

Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., asked if it wasn't true that a two pack a day smoker is also likely to drink a lot of coffee and alcoholic beverages, to change jobs more often than the non-smoker and to change wives more often.

"Changing wives, high tension personalities — these things aren't easy to change," replied Moses. "You can quit smoking."

Rep. Tim Lee Carter, R-Ky., a medical doctor, asked whether the association would be "willing to label pork products dangerous or hazardous to health" because saturated fats and cholesterol are associated with heart disease.

"I would be willing to see it labeled as to cholesterol content," January said. He explained later that this would make it easier for patients on a low cholesterol diet to stop.

Lung cancer kills thousands each year and Americans are demanding tougher safeguards against dishonest advertising by tobacco companies which equate smoking with clean air, sunshine, and the wide open spaces. The Federal Trade Commission is cranking up tougher rules, if Congress fails to act.

Current Issues

Business lobby thwarts safety legislation

"The letters were neatly typed on fancy corporation stationery—and they did the trick, they killed the safety bill in the last Congress."

That's what a legislative aide to a top congressional leader said of the Occupational Safety and Health Act, which died a painful death in the last Congress, and shows only feeble signs of coming to life again.

Mine safety has been pushed to the forefront as a result of several serious mine disasters and by the pressure of thousands of West Virginia coal miners converging on their state capital to demand tougher laws to protect miners from black lung, the deadly disease which afflicts at least 100,000 active and retired American coal miners.

The brutal facts of industrial safety have been spelled out time and again by leading officials of the Department of Labor and are repeated elsewhere on these pages. A tragic reversal of a safety ruling by the new Secretary of Labor during the opening days of the Nixon administration has doomed thousands of uranium miners to an early death. The UAW and other unions worked mightily to raise safety standards for these miners, but industry pressures put a freeze order on the effective date of the new rules.

The real dangers in modern industry go beyond the mutilation of limbs and the sudden deaths from accidents. As Ralph Nader has pointed out in several articles, the whole chemical muck that workers live and work in is the deeper danger. Industry has been slow to deal with this encroachment. Many unions have been lax in dealing with the environmental turbulence which deals death and injury to countless millions in all walks of life.

Moves by several lawmakers, Richard Ottinger and Richard McCarthy, both of New York, to establish "ecological ombudsmen" are steps in the direction of real help to the worker exposed to dangerous chemicals on his job. This weighty phrase—"ecological ombudsmen"—simply means that somebody with authority to investigate the hazards to human health caused by the mindless unleashing of dangerous substances, and with authority to take corrective actions.

The future for the occupational safety bill hinges on the initiative of members of Congress, plus the Department of Labor, and the determination of union members and their organizations to demand action.

Lloyd Utter, the safety director of the UAW, notes that 1.7 million industrial workers suffer from impaired or lost hearing resulting from industrial noise. Labor Today reports: "No government data tells the story of the millions who suffer from nervous tension, mental illness and fatigue brought on by killing speedup and anxiety over job security. Or of those who suffer from alcoholism, seeking escape from anxiety."

Industry apologists for state approaches to safety believe that slogans and word-of-mouth campaigns can make the job safe for workers. They fail to realize that the weight

(Continued on page 4)

"While the nation is concerned about street crime, it virtually ignores the far greater death, injury and wage losses on farms, in mines, factories and at construction sites. Since 1965 civil disorders have caused 260 deaths; but unsafe and unhealthy working conditions claim approximately 275 lives each week."—*RALPH NADER*

STATE AND INDUSTRIAL SAFETY STANDARDS are next to worthless. A tough federal law will save the lives of many on the industrial death list—but the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and National Association of Manufacturers are waging a loud and fraudulent lobby against federal safety standards and enforcement. It costs money, and many businesses would rather save money than save human lives.

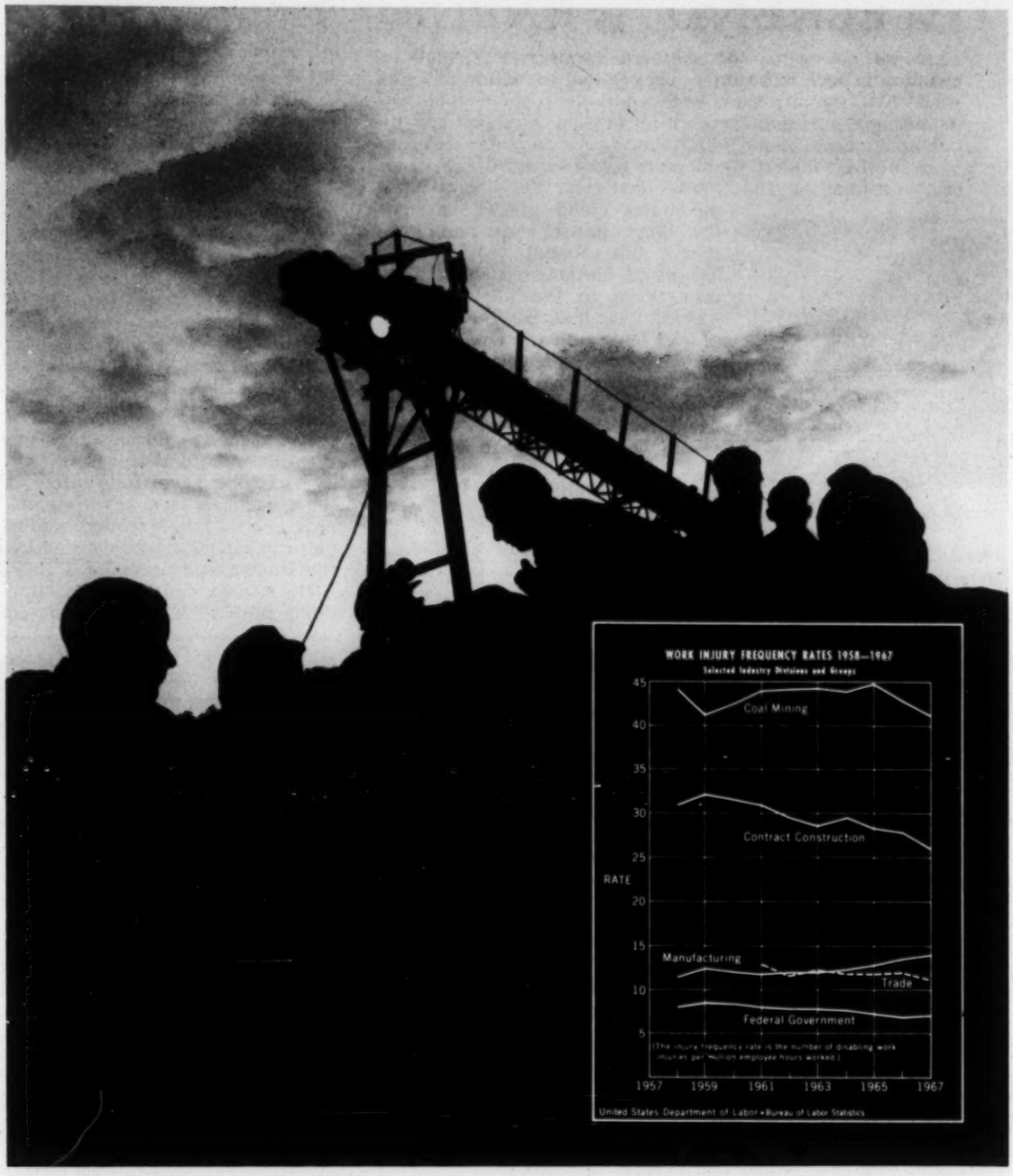
"The chief forms of domestic violence that afflict American working men and women are motor vehicle crashes and occupational accidents and diseases. The toll in death and injury from either of these utterly dwarfs the violence committed in street crimes. But while the nation is properly concerned about such crime, it ignores almost completely the far greater death, injury and wage losses on farms, in mines, factories and open-work areas such as construction sites.

"Consider one comparison out of many that could be cited: all the urban riots in this country during the past three years have led to about 260 dead; each working day brings death to fifty-five workers, disabling injury to 8,500 and lesser injury to 27,200. Every year, 14,000 to 15,000 workers die, more than half a million are disabled by occupational diseases, more than 2 million are disabled by occupational accidents, and more than 7 million are injured.

"And even these figures understate the situation, because death from prolonged exposure to toxic chemicals or particulate matter—asbestos, beryllium, carbon monoxide, coal dust, cotton dust, cancer-causing chemicals, dyes, pesticides, radiation, etc.—is rarely recorded. There are six reasons why the death and injury figures fall short of the facts—reasons which must be recognized publicly before significant progress can be made to reduce worker injury and disease." *RALPH NADER.*

MINERS ARE MURDERED by coal mine disasters, but little is done to prevent them. Living death from "black lung" afflicts some 100,000 miners today. Their tragedy underscores the deeper tragedy of all industrial workers who risk their lives earning their bread at unsafe machines in hazardous circumstances

Photos by Paul Conklin



"Today we spend $95 on auto safety research for each traffic fatality that occurs in the United States, $95 for each death caused by heart disease, $415 on cancer research for each cancer death, and $6.57 on occupational safety research for every worker killed on the job.

"Are occupational accidents the necessary price of progress? Must 14,000 to 15,000 Americans die every year as a sacrifice to the theory of "inevitability"?

"The record shows that where we have tried, we have succeeded. Sound safety programs in progressive companies have reduced deaths and injuries as much as 90 percent. States which mount effective safety programs have lower death rates than those that don't."

—ESTHER PETERSON, former Assistant Secretary of Labor under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson

"Every working day 55 workers die, 8,500 are disabled and 27,200 are injured (a case can be made that these data are undernumerated by at least 25 percent annually).

"Unlike traumatic injuries which are relatively visible, the longer range injuries causing insidious deterioration of the human body come from exposure to coal dust, asbestos, lead cadmium, beryllium, cotton dust, carbon monoxide, chemicals, dyes, radiation, pesticides, benzene and thousands of other toxic materials. Industrial uses of chemicals are growing so rapidly that voluntary exposure limits have been set for only 400 of the 6,000 chemicals in substantial use."—*RALPH NADER*

WEEKEND WRAPUP

Here we go again—**the southern Democratic-Republican coalition is back in business.** They gutted the school bill last week. Not beyond repair. With a little luck, the Senate may patch things up—but there's a lot of damage done, and the conservative coalition did it. Nine brave and true Republicans and 32 southern Democrats plus 143 northern Democrats (a total of 184 votes)—that's all the liberals and moderates could muster to hold the line against attacks on the school bill. School districts sent legions of hardpressed school officials down to Washington. They lobbied their best. But the gut vote of 235 to 184 on the Green amedment was the result, the first real liberal-conservative test in this new 91st Congress. It was a margin of 51 votes and 26 votes needed switching to change the outcome. That's the story of this new Congress. . . **The Job Corps is finding it has more friends** than its well-publicized bloopers would have you believe. Congress may yet get the Nixon administration to back down its decision to shut the doors on many of the centers—but that's a pretty iffy proposition at this stage. We'll have a fuller report next week. . . . **The anti-ABM group in the Senate** is bounding ahead, picking up support all the time, despite the heavy Nixon administration pressures. UPI estimates that 49 U.S. Senators are against the ABM deployment while 42 are for it. There is much rank-and-file consternation about the ABM (a current bumpersticker reads: "The ABM Is An Edsel"), but there's not a peep against the ABM from the AFL-CIO. . . . *"As long as the chairman of the committee believes it is socialism to feed hungry children, but it is perfectly commendable to give large subsidies to farmers, as long as this state of mind prevades the leadership of the committee, I don't think we can hope that the poor and the sick and the hungry will be properly fed.* So spoke Dr. Jean Mayer, a Harvard nutritionist, last week in denouncing the chairman of the House agriculture committee for the slipshod way Chairman Poage of Texas has handled **the hunger problem** before his committee. . . . And here's another scary quote to tuck away in your ecology basket: *"The new technological man carries stronium-90 in his bones, iodine-131 in his thyroid, DDT in his fat, asbestos in his lungs."* That's Barry Commoner speaking, who told Sen. Muskie's subcommittee on environment that our technology, while magnificently productive is seriously flawed because it is consuming the natural capital of mankind—namely, **the environment** and the people who live in it—at such a rapid rate that it threatens probably within the next 50 years to destroy it irreparably. . . . Michigan's Congressman Jim O'Hara will get lots of halleluyahs from consumers (that's all of us) for his **"truth in warranty" bill.** The O'Hara bill would require manufacturers to repair and replace faculty merchandise quickly at no cost to the buyer. Says O'Hara: "Too many Americans have learned through bitter experience that their warranties do not cover the full cost of necessary repair, do not provide prompt servicing, and have not insured repair work of high professional quality." . . . Washington's **Chuck Stone** appeared on the NBC "Today Show" last week with a list of 7 grievances black Americans have against the Nixon administration. Somebody was listening and a lot of ears were burning. Before he left the studio, three agencies had called for transcripts. Time estimates 7 million watch the "Today Show.". . . **California's Jim Corman,** who served on the Kerner commission, says the Job Corps and other direct federal programs are better than the Nixon tax credit route in dealing with hardcore poverty. He thinks "there is the danger that business will only desire to take those workers who can be most easily trained, and will leave behind those who lack basic education. It would result in maximum cost with minimum return."

"BY THE WAY, WHAT ARE WE DEVELOPING TO PROTECT OUR CITIES?"

SAFETY

(Continued from page 2)

of strong federal law oftentimes compels a company to make jobs safer.

Industry tends to take the same approach to job safety that the auto industry long took toward highway safety, believing that signs and warnings are more important than the design engineering for safety of the vehicle itself.

Many states have more fish and game wardens than safety inspectors, thus the state approach to safety is nearly worthless. States simply do not put the same pressures on the wayward that the federal government does. Workers lose their lives or limbs as a result.

Chamber of Commerce and NAM mail against federal safety laws last year undoubtedly saved industry lots of money. It also meant the loss of life to thousands of industrial workers killed in preventable accidents.

Every minute we talk, Secretary of Labor Wirtz told a House subcommittee last year, 18 to 20 people will be severely enough hurt to have to leave their jobs—some of them never to return.

Wirtz noted that state safety expenditures are very small, some agencies lack any rule-making authority, and standards at the state level are outdated. Manpower is scare to enforce what little safety standards there are, penalties are too lenient, and coverage is very limited.

It's a bad situation and the Chamber and NAM are doing nothing to improve the situation on the state level.

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT
printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department
Walter P. Reuther, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW
UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

Safety on the job is blocked by Big Business Lobby

NEWSPAPER

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

W K 30303 WR000633 A4
LABOR PROGRAM WR
SOTHN REG COUNCIL #1
5 FORSYTH ST N W
ATLANTA GA 30303

Current Issues

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
BAYARD RUSTIN, Chairman Executive Committee
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 phone **667-1780** • New York address: 55 West 42nd St., New York 10036, phone 564-3450

MEMO: No. 7-69
May 7, 1969

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Civil Rights, Schools, Anti-Poverty

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION QUICKENS ON THREE VITAL BILLS

Legislation in three areas of great concern to the Leadership Conference - civil rights, anti-poverty and education - has been getting increased attention from Congress in the past few weeks. This MEMO reports on where the main bills are now, where they are heading and what Leadership Conference organizations can do to help get good legislation enacted in these fields.

NEW OMNIBUS CIVIL RIGHTS LAW INTRODUCED

Last week, Senator Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.) and a bipartisan group of 33 other Senators introduced the "Omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1969" (S. 2029). The four titles of the bill are aimed at correcting glaring inadequacies and injustices in civil rights laws already enacted. On the House side, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) has scheduled hearings on voting rights legislation to start May 14 before the House Judiciary Committee.

Title I - would attempt to extend to the selection of state and local juries the prohibitions against discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, national origin or economic status; the 90th Congress enacted such prohibitions last year in regard to Federal juries.

Title II - would give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission the authority most other Federal administrative agencies have, to issue cease-and-desist orders enforceable in the courts.

Title III - would lift the freeze on the U. S. Civil Rights Commission's annual authorization. In extending the life of the Commission five years to June 30, 1973, the last session of Congress adopted an amendment limiting the agency's yearly authorization to what it received in 1968, namely $2,650,000. The freeze is really a cut, since pay raises and other increased expenses will sorely tax the Commission's budget.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN SOCIAL ACTION TEAM
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES — NATIONAL WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARKET DEVELOPERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
POALE ZION
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
USCC DIVISION FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

Title IV - would amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 by extending for five more years the prohibition on discriminatory use of literacy tests and other voter qualifying devices. That prohibition is scheduled to expire on July 1, 1970. According to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission's figures, 1,280,000 Negroes registered to vote in 11 Southern states between the passage of the Act in 1965 and the spring of 1968. It is generally agreed that nearly 400 Negroes were elected to public office as a result of the Act. Its extension is crucial to any furtherance of equality through the ballot.

LCCR Studying Provisions

In 1968 the Leadership Conference supported all of these provisions. It will support them in principle again but its lawyers are considering means of strengthening them.

The EEOC title is under particular scrutiny. Here the Administration's views are as important as those of the Conference if we are to build support for this legislation.

Conference representatives have already met with U. S. Attorney John Mitchell, Jerris Leonard, Assistant U. S. Attorney General for Civil Rights and Secretary of Labor, George P. Shultz. It appears likely that they will back some form of cease-and-desist powers for EEOC. Leadership Conference lawyers will continue to press for the best possible enforcement powers.

What Conference Groups Can Do

Your organization can help support a strong civil rights bill by letting the Attorney General and the President know it wants civil rights legislation that: prohibits discrimination in the selection of state and local trial juries; lifts the freeze on the Civil Rights Commission's authorization; extends the protections of the Voting Rights Act for five more years and gives EEOC authority to issue the strongest possible cease-and-desist orders.

A KEY EDUCATION BILL MOVES TO THE SENATE

The bill to extend aid to public schools through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (H.R. 514) will shortly come before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee after suffering a setback in the House.

On Wednesday, April 23, a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats rejected the leadership bill, which would have extended the act virtually unchanged for five more years, and adopted instead, a substitute that extends the law for only two years and makes some fundamental changes in it.

Among other things, the so-called Green-Quie substitute, named after Rep. Edith Green (D., Ore.) and Albert Quie (R., Minn.) its chief sponsors, would:

(1) consolidate four state educational programs into one block grant - Title II, ESEA (library resources); Title III, ESEA (supplementary education centers); Title III, National Defense Education Act (equipment); and Title V-A, NDEA (guidance, counseling and testing).

(2) permit local boards to give a salary bonus - "combat pay" Mrs. Green calls it - to teachers in disadvantaged areas.

Anti-Civil Rights Amendments Beaten

The one bright spot in the ESEA debate was the ease with which two anti-civil rights amendments were beaten. The two similar amendments, offered separately by Rep. James M. Collins (D., Texas) and Rep. J. J. Pickle (D., Texas) were purportedly aimed at prohibiting the busing of school children. Actually they would have struck another blow at Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and helped school districts reestablish racial segregation. Both amendments were soundly rejected on voice votes. Mr. Quie and Rep. James O'Hara (D., Mich.) led the bipartisan opposition to these proposals.

What Conference Groups Can Do

The fight against block grants and any anti-civil rights riders and for a longer extension of ESEA will resume when the bill comes before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Hearings have not been scheduled yet but Conference groups can start writing to Senators now, urging them to keep the Elementary and Secondary Education Act intact and to extend it for at least three years.

A separate fight will have to be waged to get full funding for the Federal education programs.

ANTI-POVERTY HEARINGS MOVE TO A CLIMAX

The vote on the ESEA bill raises grave doubts about the possibility of getting the Economic Opportunity Act (H.R. 513) extended for five years. Rep. Carl Perkins (D., Ky.) Chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, has already indicated he will settle for a three-year extension. The Administration wants the Act extended for only one year.

OEO In Danger

An even graver issue is the fate of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In the five years of its existence, OEO has clearly demonstrated its great value as the developer of programs that can help end poverty in America. Head Start, Upward Bound, Legal Services, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Comprehensive Health Services, 1,000 Community Action Agencies are programs that have demonstrated their worth in the war on poverty. They bring hope to the hopeless. The Administration's proposal to close 59 Job Corps Centers and deny the promise of this program to some 13,000 youngsters is an ominous harbinger of what may come.

What Conference Groups Can Do

The hearings before the House Labor Committee are almost over. A public mark-up of the bill is scheduled to start May 13. A Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee is beginning hearings on anti-poverty legislation. Conference groups can help in several ways: by having their Washington representatives attend the mark-up sessions (a large attendance is one way to demonstrate interest in a piece of legislation); by issuing statements, and resolutions and by writing to all House members urging them to extend the Economic Opportunity Act for as long a period as possible; to keep OEO an independent agency; to increase authorizations and appropriations to levels high enough to keep the programs fully operative; and to oppose any attempt to weaken, cut back or destroy the landmark OEO programs.

FILM ON ALABAMA POOR AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST

"Cycle to Nowhere," a dramatic film based on the U. S. Civil Rights Commission's inquiry last year into the condition of Alabama's poor is available from the agency upon request.

The hour-long film can be obtained free of charge, postage paid, by addressing your request to:

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Office of Information
Room 327
1405 I Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20425

KEY ROLLCALL VOTE ON EDUCATION BILL

The House on 4/23 adopted an amendment to the aid to education bill, cutting the program back from 5 to 2 years and giving the states direct control over part of the federal funds.

The amendment was passed, 235-184. Right votes against the amendment were cast by 175 Democrats and 9 Republicans. Wrong votes for the amendment were cast by a coalition of 175 Republicans and 60 Democrats.

YEAS—235

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Aspinall
Ayres
Baring
Beall, Md.
Belcher
Bell, Calif.
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Bow
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson, Tex.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Byrnes, Wis.
Caboll
Caffery
Cahill
Camp
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Chappell
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Collins
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Coughlin
Cowger
Cramer
Daniel, Va.
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dellenback
Denney
Dennis
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dowdy
Downing
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards, Ala.
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Fish
Fisher
Flowers
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Foreman
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Frey
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Garmatz
Gettys
Giaimo
Green, Oreg.
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Hammer-schmidt
Hansen, Idaho
Harsha
Harvey
Hastings
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Hogan
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, N.C.
Keith
King
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Kyl
Landgrebe
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Lujan
Lukens
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McKneally
McMillan
MacGregor
Mahon
Mailliard
Mann
Marsh
Martin
Mathias
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Minshall
Mize
Mizell
Montgomery
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Konski
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Pelly
Pettis
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Price, Tex.
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Rhodes
Riegle
Roberts
Robison
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruth
Sandman
Satterfield
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schwengel
Scott
Sebelius
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stuckey
Taft
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Ullman
Utt
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Weicker
Whalley
Whitehurst
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wold
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—184

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Alexander
Anderson, Calif.
Anderson, Tenn.
Annunzio
Ashley
Barrett
Biaggi
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Brown, Calif.
Burke, Mass.
Burlison, Mo.
Burton, Calif.
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Carey
Celler
Chisholm
Clark
Clay
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Daddario
Daniels, N.J.
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Evans, Colo.
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Gaydos
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Gude
Halpern
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Tenn.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Koch
Kyros
Leggett
Long, Md.
Lowenstein
McCarthy
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Mikva
Miller, Calif.
Mills
Minish
Mink
Mollohan
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
Obey
O'Hara
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Podell
Powell
Preyer, N.C.
Price, Ill.
Pryor, Ark.
Pucinski
Randall
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Reuss
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roybal
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Scheuer
Shipley
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Steed
Stokes
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Symington
Thompson, N.J.
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Watts
Whalen
White
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Yatron
Young
Zablocki

NOT VOTING—13

Bates
Culver
Cunningham
Dawson
Edwards, La.
Goodling
Hébert
May
Murphy, N.Y.
Purcell
Rivers
Staggers
Talcott

Women Having Work Problems

BY SARALEE TIEDE
Chronicle Reporter

About 55 percent of local Women Job Corps returnees have jobs in uskilled areas unrelated to their Job Corps training.

Many of the others are unemployed, according to a report on the Job Corps Returnee Center at the Downtown Branch of the Young Women's Christian Assn.

59 Now Enrolled

In the first year of operation, the center has attempted to contact 250 Job Corps returnees here, said Mrs. Paul Titus, chairman of the center's advisory committee.

At present, 59 are enrolled in center activities, which include tutoring, job-finding, social and recreational activities, goodgrooming and counseling.

The girls were recruited from 190 graduates and 74 others who returned before completing the course.

The girls came from families with an average income of $67 weekly. About 50 percent of them are high school dropouts. Mrs. Titus said.

The YWCA center, financed by the Moody Foundation, Farish Foundation, and Hogg Foundation for Mental Health and private donations, was formed to pick up where the Job Corps left off, Mrs. Titus said.

"Realistically, the Job Corps cannot fill the gaps and deprivations of 17 years of poverty in one year."

Major Need Cited

The centers' staff, headed by Miss Joanne Rhone, says the girls major need is help in finding jobs. Most of the girls must contribute money to their family's support and 37 of them have children of their own, Mrs. Titus said.

The center has located jobs for five girls and placed four in training positions.

However, the main purpose of the program was not job-finding, but helping the girls meet problems which imprison them in poverty, Mrs. Titus said. The YWCA offers classes leading to an equivalency diploma and preparation for the licensed vocational nurse entrance exam, involving 40 girls.

Another 27 have participated in visits to colleges and five have already entered college as a result.

The YWCA now hopes to involve volunteers as "big sisters" to the returnees. The volunteers would help provide transportation and be a mature friend to the girl, Mrs. Titus said.

The center also needs more money to continue its work, she added.

Fight to Retain Job Corps Center

By George Davis
Washington Post Staff Writer

Larry Ellis, 21, quit high school in his junior year. He was 16, and he started "running wild," he said, living at various places in the upper Cardozo area—sometimes with his father and sometimes with parents of friends.

He worked at more than a dozen jobs. None of them paid more than about $1.50 per hour.

Raymond Holloway, 18, was in a residential Job Corps center in New Jersey until it was closed in April last year. He came to Washington on his own to enroll in the Job Corps Community Center here.

Frank Lloyd, 18, dropped out of high school in the 10th grade because he said he wasn't learning anything. Three weeks ago, after one year in the Job Corps Community Center, he passed his high school equivalency exam.

The three are leaders in a fight by more than 100 enrollees to keep the center at 1402 Otis pl. nw. open despite Federal plans to close it.

"The center means a lot to us," said Ellis, "We're not going to be turned out like animals.

"When we were out there in the streets they called us crooks and hoodlums, and now that we have a chance to get an education they're talking about closing it, but we'll fight until the end. We're not going to leave."

The enrollees plan to fight on a local level an Administration decision announced last February to close 55 of the Nation's 110 Job Corps Centers by June 30.

The Washington center was scheduled to close May 30, but on Wednesday 45 corpsmen picketed the Office of Economic Opportunity's headquarters in support of center director Maurice Wells, who was inside trying to get funding for one more month.

"We hope we can pick up another sponsor in a month," Wells said yesterday.

Officials at OEO agreed to fund the project until June 30.

The Job Corps Community Center opened in September, 1967, as the only non-residential coeducational center in the Nation. Its purpose was to give high school level courses to dropouts who were members of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Of more than 200 students who have enrolled at the center, 28 have passed the high school equivalency exam. Others still enrolled say the training has taught them how to present themselves for job interviews and how to conduct themselves on the job.

Enrollees take educational courses at the center for two or three hours a day, and spend the rest of the work day in on-the-job training at various Government agencies where they earn $1.60 per hour.

The center is located at the northern edge of the 14th Street poverty area that was burned out during last year's riot.

Copied → Model Cities

Wed., May 14, 1969 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Model City Board Job Plan

A summer program for hiring 1000 youths in the St. Louis Model City neighborhood was approved last night by the Model City Agency board of directors. The program would cost $500,000.

Funds will be sought from the Federal Government in place of other programs previously submitted by the Model City Agency. The board is expected to decide later this week what other proposals will be affected.

If the program is approved, the youths, 16 to 22 years old, would work 18 hours a week in federal agencies with offices in the St. Louis area. They would be paid $1.60 an hour. Youths under 16 would be paid $1 an hour.

Goal of 15,000 Jobs

The jobs would be in addition to those being sought through the Mayor's Council on Youth Opportunity, which has set a goal of 15,000 jobs for the summer. A similar program last summer provided work for 10,200 youngsters. The program costs about $500 for each youth.

Approval of the special program means that other proposals totaling $500,000 will have to be cut from the Model City Agency's over-all request for funding. The request was submitted for the third time earlier this month. A total of $9,485,000 has been allocated for the St. Louis Model City area, but the entire amount is not expected to be appropriated.

A team of federal officials is to visit St. Louis May 26 for a final review of the agency's requests. Budget proposals and other aspects of the job program must be submitted to the Department of Housing and Urban Development at least a week before the team visits St. Louis.

Five Conditions

Members of the board, in approving the program, attached five conditions to ensure that the Model City Agency and its neighborhood corporations would retain control of all phases of the program. They disapproved of involvement of other agencies, such as the Human Development Corporation and the Missouri State Employment Service.

The conditions set out by the board were:

(1) That an agency be selected by the Federal Government and the Model City Agency to administer fiscal matters.

(2) That only youth of the Model City area be permitted to take part in the program. The youths would be selected by the neighborhood corporations.

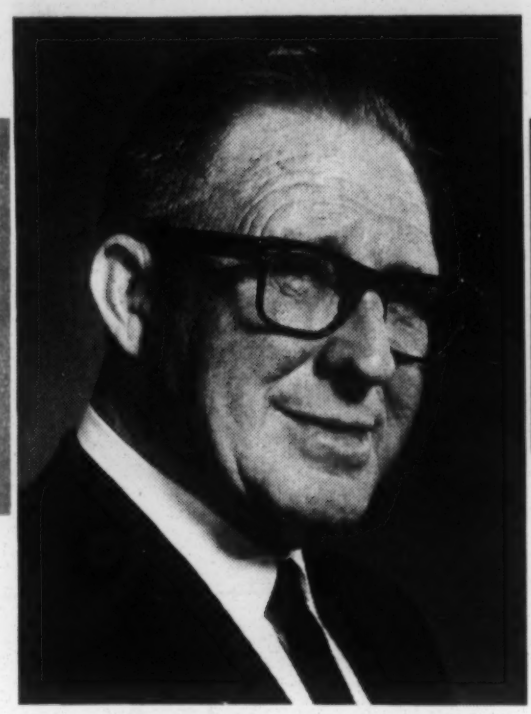
(3) That the program would not affect the area's standing in other job programs.

(4) That the program be monitored under procedures to be established by the neighborhood corporations.

(5) That all supervisors, youth leaders, co-ordinators and clerical personnel be residents of the Model City area.

The Rev. Lucius Cervantes SJ, co-ordinator of the Mayor's Council on Youth Opportunity, had suggested that the Model City Agency undertake the program. He said it was expected that about 35 per cent of the agency's proposed programs would not be funded and urged that the summer employment program be offered as a substitute for programs deemed most likely not to gain approval.

Current Issues



Labor's role in the 1970's

The man who will lead this trade union into the 1970's, IAM President-elect Floyd E. Smith of Cleveland, Ohio, took part in a recent seminar at Berry College, Rome, Ga. The seminar was sponsored by the Federal Mediation Service. The subject of Smith's remarks was "The Role of Labor's Leadership in the 1970's."

The training of trade union leaders

There is no sharp and clear division between the membership and the leadership in the American labor movement. In unions, probably more than any other institution in our society, leadership is developed and drawn from the ranks of the membership.

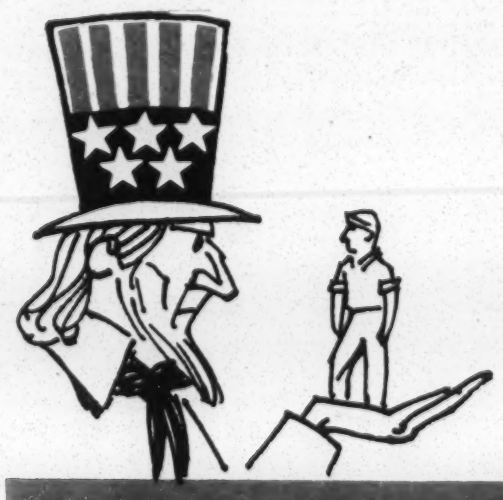
There is no college degree that prepares one for a position of leadership in the American labor movement. For a union leader the process of education begins in the union hall and progresses through the trials and testings that come to him as a steward, local union officer, business agent, international representative and so on up the line—as far as his own talent and toughness may take him.

The quality of trade union membership

Today more than 25 per cent of the members of the Machinists Union are less than 30 years old. These young members have been reared in a period of unsurpassed prosperity. They may be no smarter than the union members of the '30s and '40s, but they are better educated. In the early '50s the average union member had only 10 years of formal education. Today he has 12.3 years. Five out of every eight union members have finished high school and one out of every five has completed college.

Few of these new young members understand the purpose and function—to say nothing of the necessity—of unions in a free enterprise economy. Many have been brainwashed by the anti-union attitudes of the big business press. Often even those who agree with labor's bargaining goals do not see any necessity for labor's legislative objectives.

This means, of course, that labor leadership in the 1970's will be increasingly concerned with programs of internal union education and communication. It means we are going to have to develop new and better ways to reach the minds and inspire support of union members at every level.



Unions for Government Employees

More than 12,000,000 people work for one kind of government or another in the United States today. Their jobs range from policeman to atomic scientist, from fireman to forest ranger, from garbage collector to librarian, from hospital worker to highway employee. Until recently most of these public employees were rather meek and unassuming. They have belonged to polite professional societies, like the National Education Association. And they have watched other groups of workers get ahead while their wages and working conditions lagged behind. . . .

Today unionism among public employees is growing and I expect this trend to gain momentum in the 1970's despite legislative efforts to discourage it.

Unions for farm workers

The 1970's will see union and union leaders playing an increasingly active role in the organization of farm workers. Nowhere is unionism more needed. Because of the myth of the family farm, the National Labor Relations Act specifically excluded farm labor from coverage. There was little basis for this myth in 1935. There is none today.

Farming in America is big business carried on by big, impersonal and often absentee-owned corporations. There are few ways in which unions could serve America better in the 1970's than by raising the wages, working conditions and living standards of migrant workers from coast to coast.

Black workers' need for unions

Today, the winds of change are battering down the barriers of discrimination and segregation that have stood between black Americans and equal opportunity. This is a process that cannot—and should not—be reversed. For millions of white Americans, the labor movement was the way out of poverty and the way into prosperity. Let us hope that it will be the same for black Americans.

It may not be easy to bring black Americans into the mainstream of the labor movement. Many have been totally alienated by past rejections. Some seek to destroy unions just as they seek to destroy universities, schools, churches, and other institutions in our society.

Fortunately, this *is* a minority. For every black who says "Burn, baby, burn," there are a hundred hard-working, wage-earning black families who say "Build, baby, build." And that is what they are doing. They are building unions in areas of this nation where we have never been able to establish a foothold before.

In the South—in Georgia, Alabama and other traditional anti-union states—they are applying the techniques of the Civil Rights struggle to the fight for collective bargaining.

Controlling the economy

For many workers, especially those in the newly organized groups, there will be a period of catching up at the bargaining table. How fast and how far these workers progress will depend largely on the level at which the overall economy is permitted to perform. This Administration is determined to "cool" the economy. If they are successful, they will inevitably increase unemployment. Economists advising the Administration say that this increased unemployment is not only controllable but, if it goes too far, reversible. I hope they know what they are talking about because unemployment and recessions haven't been so easily controlled in the past.

Dental care, mental illness

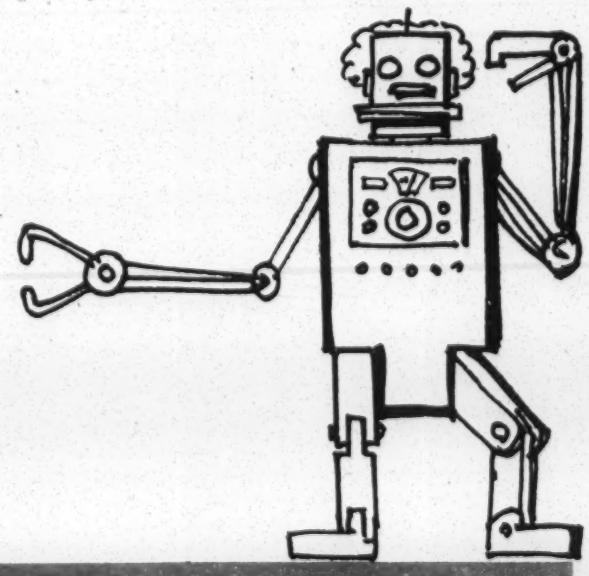
Some areas of bargaining have been pioneered in the 1960's such as dental and eye care plans will undoubtedly be expanded and improved by the 1970's. Most workers tend to neglect and defer dental care because other demands of the family budget always seem more urgent. I also expect that more contracts will be expanded in the 1970's to cover mental illness, especially when it is rooted in or aggravated by the tensions and pressures of today's industrial environments.

Medical care centers

Despite continuing improvement in company-paid health and welfare plans, rising costs of medical care have steadily eroded union gains at the bargaining table. I often hear the complaint that we negotiate higher incomes for doctors rather than improved medical care for union members. What we really need in thousands of communities from coast to coast are comprehensive medical care centers supported cooperatively by labor, management and local communities. In the 1970's we will seek more efficient and rational methods of delivering quality health care to the American people.

Success of collective bargaining

Because of collective bargaining America has the most successful system of labor relations in the world. Nowhere is the labor force more productive or, in fact, more committed to the free enterprise system. Despite all the exaggeration about the harmful effect of strikes only three-tenths of 1 per cent of all working time was lost last year because of strikes. Year after year less time is lost because of strikes than is lost because of on-the-job injuries or even coffee breaks.

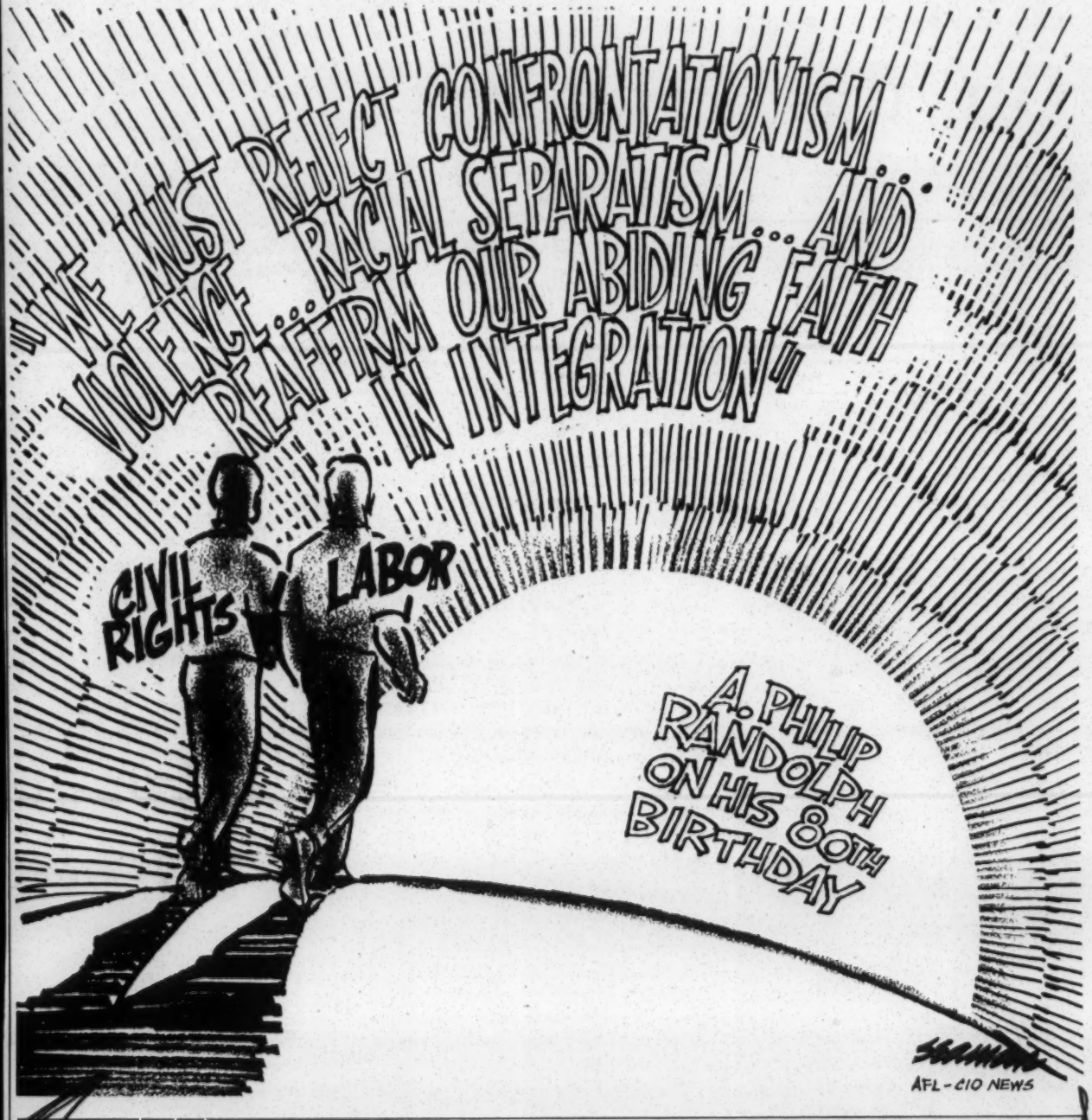


Automation and new technology

Unlike the poor, miserable workers of the 19th century who went around smashing the machines that were destroying their jobs, labor will not try to stop automation in the 1970's. We know that as technology advances, living standards will also advance, at least in the long run. But we refuse to believe that individual workers should suffer—even in the short run—for technological advancements that benefit society in the long run.

Accordingly, I expect the 1970's to be a decade in which bargaining will increasingly aim for contract clauses protecting workers displaced by automation. More attention will be given, for example, to clauses providing severance pay, early retirement, retraining and relocation.

A Walk in the Sun



A Word Edgewise: Current Issues

Democratic Party Reformers

Current Issues

A Word Edgewise:

Democratic Party Reformers Overlooking Pertinent Issues

By John P. Roche

VARIOUS LEADERS — some elected, some self-appointed — are running around reorganizing the Democratic Party, apparently under the illusion that we lost the 1968 election because there was insufficient participation by the "forces of change."

Nobody has bothered to point out that the winners had far less "participatory democracy," that in fact 57 percent of the American electorate voted against the "forces of change." The latest Gallup Poll, showing Nixon at 62 percent, Wallace at 10, and Ted Kennedy at an appalling 33, suggests that the dispute on Democratic organization is simply irrelevant. It resembles nothing so much as an argument over what hymn to sing on the sinking Titanic.

For the benefit of those who are concerned with the real world, let us begin on square 1: there is only one way to win the presidency of the United States—by getting more votes than any other candidate. No matter how virtuous an individual may feel (and the followers of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy have often acted as though they had a corner on political virtue), he has only one vote.

In well-organized dictatorships, the self-anointed children of light have the power to suppress the ignorant masses. They don't, thank God, have it here.

Whether he is happy about it or not, a political leader in the United States has to face the hard fact that the views of the American people establish the limits within which he must act. He can push these limits and, if he is trusted, the people will go a long way with him. But before he raises the banner of change, he has to establish himself by demonstrating that he thoroughly understands the basis of existing attitudes. He has to earn the right to be an innovator.

Right now the American people have a number of very deep grievances against the Democrats. The reaction of most Democratic spokesmen—which is to pretend that these problems do not exist—makes the situation worse.

All Pres. Nixon has to do is maintain his present policy of masterful inaction combined with effective rhetoric, and the refugees from the Democratic dream world could keep him in office until 1977.

Nothing generates distrust, and a rush to another line on the ballot, the way weasling does. On Viet Nam the leaders of the Democratic Party, since Lyndon Johnson abdicated, have put on a spectacular demonstration of this art. When it has been pointed out that the Tonkin Gulf Resolution went through the Senate with only two opposing votes, those who voted for it wax indignant and say "Johnson tricked us."

THIS CONFESSION of incompetence may bring big cheers from the young and militant, but the response of the average American is that if grown politicians can be duped that easily, they shouldn't run a dog pound, much less the country.

Reading the New York Times one might get the impression that we have turned into a nation of pacifists over the last three years. To believe this is to make a disastrous miscalculation; Americans are enraged about Viet Nam because they think that they have been double-crossed by their leaders. Thirty-four thousand Americans are dead and the party that launched the intervention refuses either to defend the decision (and I insist it is quite defensible) or to admit a massive collective error in underestimating the enemy.

The latter course is politically risky, but in the long run far less hazardous than conveying to the sovereign voters the image of the welsher. Right or wrong, Pres. Johnson never had that albatross hung around his neck.

Similarly on domestic disorder. The leaders of the Democratic Party go wandering around the country explaining why we have troubles. The population at large, however, is not working for a degree in sociology. It wants an answer to the perfectly legitimate question: what are you going to do about it? To ignore this question and its legitimacy is to invite the voter to go somewhere else for his answers.

I wish the top Democrats would worry a little less about "building bridges to Red China" or to the Soviet bloc, and start constructing a few to link them with the real concerns of the American people.

Vol. XIV | Issued weekly at 815 Sixteenth St., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006 $2 a year | Congress of Industrial Organizations | Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. | Saturday, May 17, 1969 | No. 20

AFL-CIO News

Current Issues

Surtax Extension Opposed Until Tied to 'Tax Justice'

Council Demands Action on Reform

By Saul Miller

The AFL-CIO "will not support any extension of the surtax until it is combined with immediate, substantial and equitable reform of the federal income tax structure," the federation's Executive Council declared here.

At its two-day spring meeting in Washington, the council strongly reaffirmed the AFL-CIO proposals for tax justice presented to Congress by Federation Pres. George Meany and said there is "no rational reason for lengthy delays. The time to bring the American standard of fair play into the tax structure is now."

The council moved also to throw its full support to four critical strikes and disputes across the nation—the hospital workers at Charleston, S.C., the state road workers in West Virginia, the continuing grape workers' struggle in California and the Oil Workers' Shell boycott.

It declared, in a statement on the ABM controversy, that Pres. Nixon should be supported as commander-in-chief in fulfilling his duty to determine the most effective way of meeting the nation's vital defense needs. **(Story, Page 3.)**

And it voiced its readiness to discuss "with any responsible authority" of the Intl. Confederation of Free Trade Unions "the restoration of free world labor unity" in terms of the reasons that led to the AFL-CIO's withdrawal. **(Story, Page 2.)**

The council accepted the decision of Sec.-Treas. William F. Schnitzler to retire as of June 30, 1969, and elected Lane Kirkland, executive assistant to Meany, to fill out the term until the next convention in October 1969. **(Story this page.)**

It approved also a report by a council committee to propose to the next convention that the number of vice presidents and council members be expanded from 27 to 33. If the convention approves the change, six additional vice presidents will be elected in October.

In its tax statement, the council took note of Pres. Nixon's tax program, including extension of the 10 percent surtax beyond its June 30 termination date and other proposals for tax reform. It welcomed the President's recommendation for repeal of the 7 percent tax credit for business investment, but said "this one proposal does not satisfy the long overdue and critically urgent need for tax justice." **(Text, Page 6.)**

(Continued on page 3)

Ties Surtax Stand To Basic Reforms

(Continued from Page 1)

Of the President's other proposals, the council said they "would not succeed in moving the tax structure very far toward tax justice" and that they fail to directly attack the "major loopholes which unconscionably reduce the tax burdens on the wealthy." The President's program, the council further pointed out, provides "no relief" for those of moderate and middle income, who bear the brunt of the tax burden."

Support for Strikers

In statements adopted on the four labor disputes the council:

- Affirmed its full support of the strike of hospital workers at Charleston, S.C., voted $25,000 to assist the strikers and called on all affiliated unions to contribute generously. **(Story, Page 2.)**
- Backed the strike of state road workers in West Virginia for recognition and good faith bargaining and voted $10,000 to help them in their struggle. **(Story this page.)**
- Renewed its call to all union members to make the struggle of the grape workers in California their own with complete support of the boycott against table grapes. **(Story, Page 2.)**
- Urged stepped-up help of the Shell boycott to aid the Oil Workers win fair and decent treatment from the company. **(Story, Page 2.)**

The council also received a report from Pres. P. L. Siemiller of the Machinists on the serious threat to carrier flight safety at National Airlines due to the lockout and firing of more than 1,000 union mechanics.

The report of the committee on the structure of the Executive Council declared that the federation, through membership on the council, "should be in a position to recognize new areas of real or potential growth and significance in the development of trade unionism, and to extend to a wider segment of the leadership of affiliated unions the opportunity for greater service to the membership of the labor movement at large."

The most practical way to accomplish this objective, it said, is to enlarge the council from 27 to 33 vice presidents.

At three press conferences during the two-day meeting Meany told reporters:

He has responded to a request from British Trades Union Congress leaders to discuss the situation informally with ICFTU leaders and others during the conference of the Intl. Labor Organization in June in Geneva. Meany and a number of council members will be attending the ILO conference.

The AFL-CIO can "under no circumstances" accept the proposals for farm workers' collective bargaining presented by Labor Sec. George Shultz to Congress on behalf of the Administration. Meany said he will spell out his objections in detailed testimony that he will present on May 16.

It is "a little too early" to pass judgment on the Nixon Administration overall, that it is proceeding cautiously, "maybe too cautiously" in some areas. The current meeting at the White House of the President with the entire Executive Council was a very good session, Meany said, as were the sessions of the AFL-CIO Economic Policy Committee recently with leaders of the Administration on economic policy problems.

The federation's Economic Policy Committee is conducting an in-depth study of the Mexican border runaway plant problem along with other problems of the "export of American jobs."

Pres. Nixon's speech on Viet Nam was a very sober talk that presented the "facts squarely" and was pretty much the same fundamental position taken by Pres. Johnson.

Meany reported also that the council had voted to renew its support of the A. Philip Randolph Institute with an appropriation of $2,000 a month for the next 12 months.

The next meeting of the council was set for Aug. 7-8 in New York City.

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D.C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Vol. 9, No. 21 May 26, 1969

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

Job Corps

Billions go down the drain in military and government waste—but the puny $100 million saving the Nixon administration seeks by closing down Job Corps camps may cost more in wasted lives than dollars saved. Despite its handicaps, the Job Corps has been a classic success in saving thousands of boys and girls at the bottom of the economic ladder.

"Why don't they audit the public schools?" Sen. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin asked when the kids in the Job Corps camps were criticized for not reading better.

The Job Corps took most of society's failures and did a remarkable job in fixing their teeth, teaching them to read and write, giving them a healthy diet for the first time in their lives, and enabling many to learn a useful trade.

Without one GOP vote, 40 liberal and moderate Democrats tried to save the Job Corps centers scheduled for closing—but they could not buck the conservative coalition in the Senate. Thus the Cranston resolution, strictly advisory, was lost. The Nixon administration continues to shut down centers which rescued many young kids from a lifetime of poverty and despair.

"Right—the Job Corps should be restricted to well-bred, well-to-do people like us."

The ABM Issue

The ABM—that costly new weapons system which will rob Americans of billions needed to make our cities better places to live in—can go either way.

The Senate has the votes now to kill the ABM for good. The House is a different question.

The ABM is the shorthand name for "anti-ballistic missile" which has had many lives as the Pentagon has tried to keep it alive. In its latest reincarnation as Safeguard, the ABM is expected to cost $7 billion.

But the history of most new weapons is that preliminary costs very soon balloon much more than the original costs. One estimate of the ABM before it was modified came to as high as $100 billion.

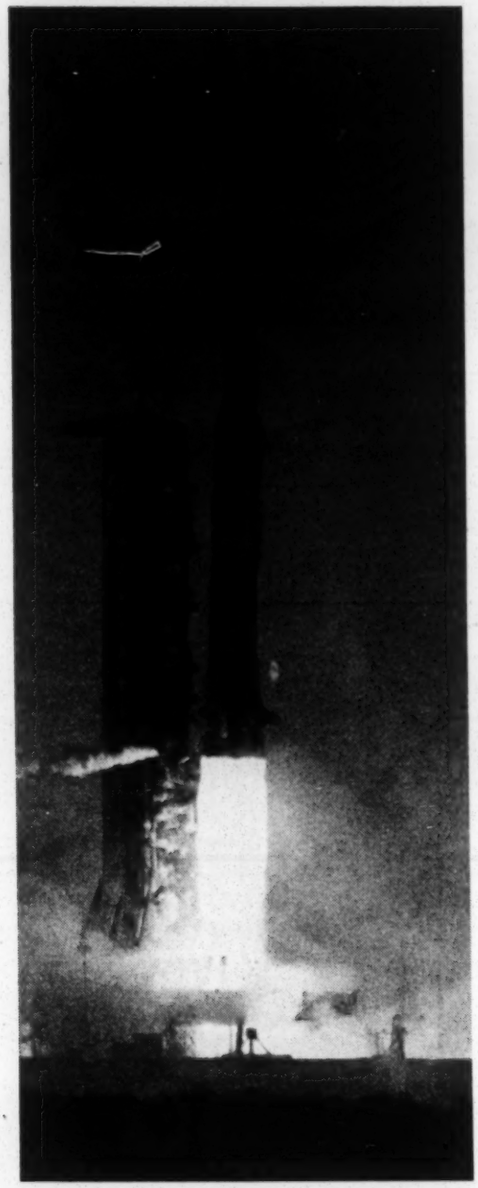
Why is the ABM bad? Several reasons. First, there are many scientific doubts that it would even work. Second, it will undoubtedly set off a new arms race.

Finally, there is a growing feeling in the nation that the American people need a re-ordering of priorities.

Instead of spending more and more for arms, we ought to be making the United States a fit place to live in.

During the Memorial Day recess many members of the House of Representatives will be home. They ought to be talked to about the ABM.

Even the conservative chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Rep. Mahon of Texas, is now openly questioning the blankcheck approach of the military. Ask your own Congressman what he thinks.



Priorities

As America's space technology continues to astound the whole world, many Americans are seriously questioning where the emphasis should be as we grapple with problems at home and on earth. The superior technology that puts a rocket around the moon can be used to build houses and schools.

"A nation's defense effort is always a relative thing; it has no particular meaning except as it relates to the effort of a supposed enemy. Recently I asked the Library of Congress to give me some figures on total defense spending of all the major nations of the world, including those we might class as 'the enemy.' Because we can't be too certain about communist defense spending figures, and because total economic production is almost as important as defense production in assessing military strength, I also asked for estimates of Gross National Product. Here is what I learned about 'the enemy':

Country	*Gross National Product (1966)*	*Defense Spending (1967-68)*
Soviet Union	**$ 357 billion**	**$32 billion**
China	**74 billion**	**7 billion**
Communist bloc countries of Eastern Europe	**115 billion**	**5 billion**
Total 'Enemy'	**$ 546 billion**	**$44 billion**

"Now let's see what the comparable figures are for the United States and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organizations, ignoring for the moment our other treaty organizations and other friendly, capitalist countries around the world:

Country	*Gross National Product (1966)*	*Defense Spending (1967-68)*
United States	**$ 743 billion**	**$73 billion**
NATO Countries	**481 billion**	**21 billion**
Total 'Our Side'	**$1,224 billion**	**$94 billion**

"You will note that the United States alone has more than doubled the Gross National Product of the Soviet Union, and with our allies we have more than doubled the GNP of the Soviet Union and its allies (assuming China can be considered an 'ally' these days). Also, remember that our GNP has continued to climb rapidly; at the end of 1968 it was $861 billion, and it's expected to reach $920 billion this year. Our defense spending is up, too; excluding Vietnam, it is going up $4 billion this year."—*From "Preparing for Peace III, The Tough Problem of Priorities," Newsletter of Congressman MORRIS UDALL of Arizona.*

Military spending eats up 10 percent of our gross national product today. Too much of this is sheer, unadulterated waste. For the first time, Congress is taking a hard look at every request for new weapons and new military outlays. The military spending for "our side" and "the other side," listed here by Congressman Udall, is a lesson we must all take to heart in deciding where to put our money, where we place our national priorities.

Students

The turmoil and bitterness on campuses today is part of a deep unrest among millions of America's young people who ask searching questions about the very destiny of this country. Much of it is ugly, uncouth, and even contemptuous. Three observers comment here on what's behind the confrontations which baffle and irritate so many adults.

"If you ask a kid in college nowadays how he'd like to see himself 20 years hence—You could ask that question 10 years ago and he might tell you, 'Well, the way things are going, I'll have a decent income and a house in the suburbs and maybe two cars and my kids will be in a good private school, and I'll have a certain status in the community.'

"You don't get that response any more. Those things don't seem particularly good to the present students. They don't see that as an end in life. They see that it hasn't done much for their parents. And there's something much worse than that.

"And that is that if you really push matters far enough —and there, you really have to push, and they won't even tell you, frequently, no matter how hard you push —they're not sure they'll be physically in existence 10, 15, 20 years hence.

"And nobody can be sure, and the more expert the person you go to, the clearer that becomes. So they really are a generation that isn't sure it has a future. They don't see that future, and they sure don't want what their parents got."—*From an interview with Prof. GEORGE WALD, Chicago Sun-Times, May 18, 1969.*

"We ought to welcome the revolt as the one way to prod us into a better America. To meet it with cries of 'law and order' and 'conspiracy' would be to relapse into the sterile monologue which precedes all revolutions. Rather than change old habits, those in power always prefer to fall back on the theory that all would be well but for a few malevolent conspirators. It is painful to see academia disrupted, but under the surface were shams and horrors that needed cleansing. The disruption is worth the price of awakening us. The student rebels are proving right in the daring idea that they could revolutionize American society by attacking the universities as its soft underbelly. But I would also remind the students that the three evils they fight—war, racism and bureaucracy—are universal. The Marxism-Leninism some of the rebels cling to has brought into power a bureaucracy more suffocating than any under capitalism; the students demonstrate everywhere on our side but are stifled on the other. War and imperialism have not been eliminated in the relations between communist states. Black Africa, at least half-freed from the white man, is hardly a model of fraternity or freedom. Man's one real enemy is within himself. Burning America down is no way to Utopia. If battle is joined and our country polarized, as both the revolutionists and repressionists wish, it is the better and not the worser side of America which will be destroyed. Someone said a man's character was his fate, and tragedy may be implicit in the character of our society and of its rebels. How make a whisper for patience heard amid the rising fury?"—*From "In Defense of the Campus Rebels," I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY, May 19, 1969*

Educators have become chanters of incantations rather than speakers of truth, according to Sister Joel Read, president of Alverno College in Milwaukee.

"This has been exposed most rapidly and clearly on our campuses.

"I am not saying that the prophets of our times are the radical youth of the nation. I am saying that all of us involved in this crucial investment which every society makes and terms education are becoming slowly and painfully aware that things are awry in our house.

"Why have the students been the ones to bring this irrelevance to the fore? Compare the student of 1939 with the student of 1969. The crises of 1939 were no less grave than those of today.

"But the student of 1969 has seen on his television screen the Russian takeover of Czechoslovakia, the political conventions of 1968, the assassination and funeral of Robert Kennedy, the funeral of the Rev. Martin Luther King, the daily reports and the reports in depth of the Vietnam war, the reports in depth of the riots in the cities and the riots on the campuses, the debates in the United Nations, the debates in congressional committees, the state and national politics."

Students today, said Sister Joel "have seen close up more suffering, more injustice, more terror, more destruction, more tragedy than most of us have read about when we came to college. It is surprising so few of them are cynical.

"I'm honestly convinced that the crises that dislocate and disrupt our times are not the crises of disintegration and decline. The crises come because we are in the midst of the greatest and most promising revolution in all human history.

"Millions of human beings on all of the continents, including our own, are assuming responsibility for their own life and destiny. The crises come from a release of hope in once darkened areas, so long shackled by the old slaveries of ignorance and poverty and disease. How can we expect such cataclysmic changes to take place without travail and without disruption?

"We have one foot in a world that is going and one foot in a world that is coming, and the world that is going hasn't gone and the world that is coming hasn't come. It is very difficult to live in this twilight zone."

WEEKEND WRAPUP

We have a new Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He's regarded as a constitutional conservative, but these things have a funny way of working out. Earl Warren proved much more liberal than anybody ever thought he'd be. Justice Burger will certainly put his own stamp on the Court. It's too early to predict just how he will rule. . . . **Insiders in the Senate** are predicting the ABM issue is dead. The White House simply doesn't have the votes. The anti-ABM group has been bi-partisan from the start. It's been briefed by some of our country's best brains. The anti-ABM votes are not expected to budge. Things are not that rosy in the House where the Pentagon has been able to win more followers. . . . **Chairman George Mahon** of the House Appropriations Committee is one of the most powerful men in Congress. Last week he traded some harsh words with Chairman Mendel Rivers of the Housed Armed Services Committee. The wire services carried the clash all over the nation. There wasn't a word of it the next day in the Congressional Record. The two agreed to "clean it up" before the Record was printed. The dispute between Mahon and Rivers illustrates the kind of skepticism about military spending growing among conservatives in Congress. There was a long time—20 years or more—when the Pentagon and the White House could breathe the magic words "national security" and Congress would bend its knee and sign on the dotted line. Our military budget last year was $80 billion. Many sobersides in Congress, like Mike Mansfield, think we can cut the budget by $8 billion and not change our military position in the slightest. Sen. Goldwater last week criticized attacks on the military-industrial complex and said the military was being made "the goat" for America's weariness with the Vietnam war. It goes much deeper than the war. There's a general feeling we can save money to make life better at home by giving the military budget the same hard look we give everything else. . . . **Sen. George McGovern** in True magazine this month claims that rich people are getting the biggest handouts from the federal government. *"The real scandal in this country,"* he states, *"lies in the handouts to the rich which amount to many times the $3 or $4 billion it would cost to see that hungry Americans get enough nourishing food to escape permanent mental and physical handicap in childhood, have the health and vigor to work and make a contribution to society in their adult years, and to be free from want and malnutrition when they grow old. Critics of aid to the poor insist that federally funded programs weaken the moral fiber of the needy. Although few are willing to say that subsidies have weakened the moral fiber of the rich, one must wonder about the fiber of a nation whose priorities show such contempt for human value."* . . . **A new wave of UAW citizen-lobbyists** has been in Washington making the rounds of Capitol Hill. Some 300 or so from the independents, parts, and suppliers councils, from UAW leadership in Kentucky and Indiana (Region 3), and from the International Harvester council have been in Washington to hear reports on trends in their own industry and to lobby Congress for passage of key legislation. Pension reinsurance was a top issue for Board Member Nelson Jack Edwards' group. UAW Vice President Pat Greathouse and his Harvester troops toured the Hill for a wide range of proposals including tax reform and progressive farm programs. . . . **Some iron-fisted denunciations** of conflict-of-interest and outside income come from the lips of that congressional objector H. R. Gross of Waterloo, Iowa. But what about Mr. Gross himself? Don't be silly. He wouldn't be caught dead telling where every last penny of his income comes from. . . . **The student upheavals** are beginning to backfire in many places. A lot of people think student rebels come from families where the head of the house was afraid to spank. And they think students have been pampered too much. Ugly as the confrontations are, and they are ugly, the student uprisings compelled many big schools to mend their ways. A recent study shows more foreign students attending our major universities than black Americans. Many colleges are moving rapidly to change that. College professors are starting to care about the job of teaching. Prof. George Wald of Harvard calls the campus disorders *"a great disguised yell for help. Those kids are in a world that offers them very little, very little light at the end of the tunnel, a prospect of imminent destruction that pursues them at all times. The only cure for student unrest is adult unrest."*

"Go away boy, you bother me!"

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT
printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Community Action Programs Department
Walter P. Reuther, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW
UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

Student rebellion must be placed in proper perspective

NEWSPAPER

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

Current Issues

AFL CIO NEWS
5-31-1969

New Jobs Bill Picks Up Wide Support in House

Legislation aimed at providing a job or training leading to a job for every American looking for work has been introduced by Rep. James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.) with more than 100 other congressmen as co-sponsors.

The O'Hara bill has the AFL-CIO's "strongest endorsement," Legislative Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller said. Joining with labor in launching a major campaign for the bill are leading civil rights, religious and civic organizations.

The legislation would pull together and expand existing manpower programs geared to jobs in private industry.

It would provide incentives for employers to train their present workforce for higher-skilled, higher-paid jobs—opening up new entry-level jobs in the process.

And it would add to this a large-scale public sector job and training program that would both meet unfilled public service needs and provide assurance of full employment.

The goal of the legislation, O'Hara declared, is "to end involuntary unemployment in the United States."

A statement of purposes written into the bill opens with a finding by Congress that to achieve the objective of the 1946 Employment Act "we must assure an opportunity for a gainful, productive job to every American who is seeking work and make available the education and training needed by any

(Continued on Page 11)

New Jobs Bill Picks Up Wide Support in House

(Continued from Page 1)

person to qualify for employment consistent with his highest potential and capability."

It declares that "the guarantee of meaningful employment opportunities for all Americans requires public investment to the extent the private sector is unable to provide such opportunities."

O'Hara said he foresees a first-year target of 200,000 jobs in the public and non-profit sectors, with the future extent of the program depending on the ability of private industry to provide jobs for those looking for work.

The public sector jobs wouldn't be make-work, he stressed. He cited surveys showing urgent needs of cities, states and rural areas for expanded facilities and services.

Public service jobs would be provided through contracts with government and non-profit agencies, with safeguards to assure that persons hired will be paid prevailing wages, will receive the same benefits as other workers, and will not be used to displace present employes.

Similar safeguards would be written into private industry training and upgrading programs.

A small-scale public sector job program is reportedly included in an Administration manpower bill drafted in the Labor Dept., but still awaiting final White House clearance before being sent to Congress.

The 105 initial sponsors of the O'Hara bill included 19 of the 20 Democratic members of the House Education & Labor Committee—all but Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.). Nearly all of the sponsors are members of the liberal Democratic Study Group of the House.

O'Hara said the government has already had sufficient experience with its assortment of manpower programs to demonstrate the practicality of the approach.

"This bill takes the wraps off," he said, "and lets us really move toward the optimum use of our most valuable natural resources—the hands, muscle and brains of the American people."

MORE THAN 100 congressmen joined Rep. James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.) in sponsoring a bill to provide jobs or training for every American looking for work. Going over the list of sponsors are, from left: Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington office of the NAACP; O'Hara; AFL-CIO Legislative Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller, and Bayard Rustin, of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

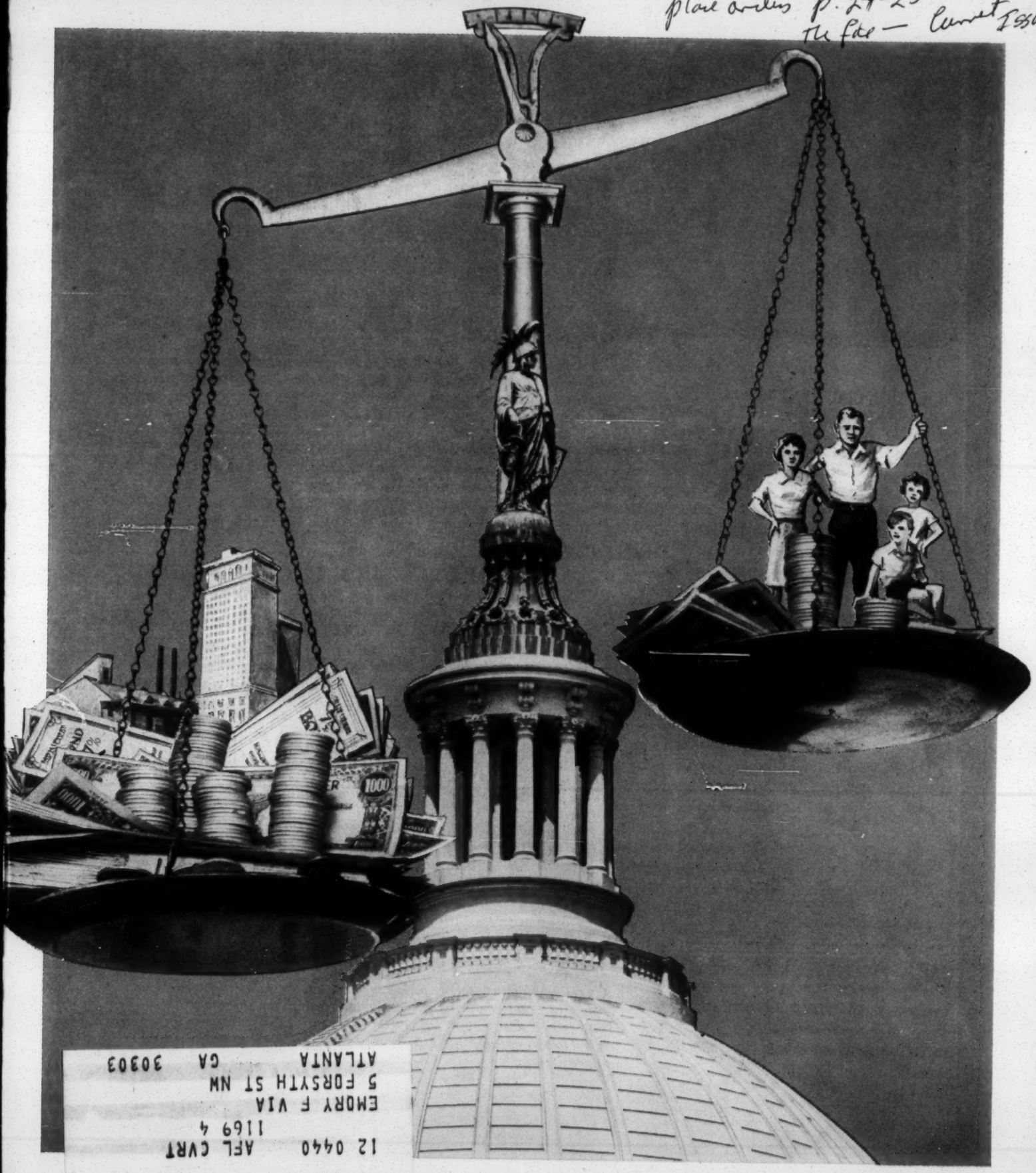
AFL-CIO News 5-31-69

The American Federationist

MAY 1969

The Case for Tax Justice

place orders p. 24-25
The fdr — Current Issues



12 0440 AFL CVRT
1169 4
EMORY F VIA
5 FORSYTH ST NW
ATLANTA GA 30303

The American Federationist

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Vol. 76 MAY 1969 No. 5

GEORGE MEANY
Editor

SAUL MILLER
Executive Editor

ROBERT B. COONEY
Associate Editor

Articles dealing with economics, research and education have been prepared in cooperation with the staffs of the Department of Research and the Department of Education.

Published monthly by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations at AFL-CIO Building 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006. Editor — George Meany. Director of Publications — Saul Miller. Subscriptions, $2 a year in U. S. and Canada. Other rates on application. Second class postage paid at Washington.

In this Issue

The Case for Tax Justice 1

The typical working man draws a paycheck shrunken somewhat by withheld taxes. He thereby pays what he is supposed to pay and usually without complaint. The growing gripe about the tax system is rather that it is rigged in favor of unearned income, in favor of the "loophole set." Many people with high incomes pay much less than their fair share. With congressional hearings on the tax system under way, the AFL-CIO has presented a wide range of proposals aimed at achieving tax justice.

Labor Co-ops and the Housing Crisis 15

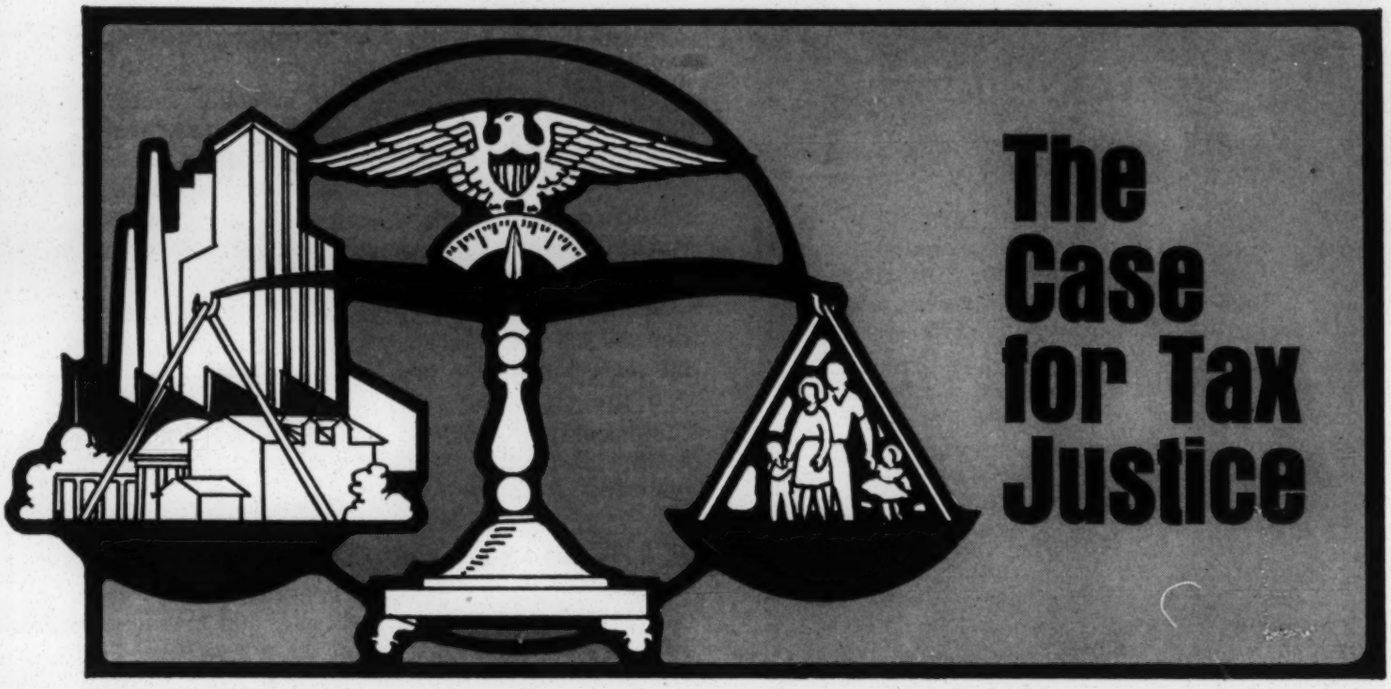
While the well-off have no trouble buying housing and public housing promises the best hope for the least well-off, the broad area of moderate-cost housing has long been a problem in America. It usually is in short supply and periodically it is in critically short supply. Union-sponsored cooperatives have been trying to meet this crisis since the 1920s. This article describes the latest and biggest housing co-op of all. Harold Ostroff

The Rising Price of Money 19

When the nation's money managers try to combat inflation by hiking interest rates, a chain reaction occurs. The extra cost of borrowing money gets built-in to almost everything in the economy. It adds hundreds or thousands of dollars to the yearly expenses of each family, millions to businessmen's expenses and billions to the outlays of federal, state and local governments. This article explains how each small hike in interest rates has become a step in an ever-rising cycle over the past 20 years. Elizabeth R. Jager

New Books, Pamphlets and Records 24

A new paperback serves as a reminder of the labor turmoil of an earlier era and reaffirms protest as an American characteristic. New pamphlets present labor's positions on adjusting to automation, on relating man and his environment and on perfecting the social security system.



The 13.5 million members of the unions of the AFL-CIO are, almost without exception, taxpayers. They pay their taxes regularly, payday after payday, through the payroll withholding program. They are loyal Americans; they appreciate the value of government, the services of government, the need for paying for government.

They are willing to pay their fair share.

But they are tired of having to pay the share of other Americans. Specifically, they are tired of paying the share of those Americans whose incomes are greater and whose taxes are lower—the "loophole set" in today's society.

So it is on behalf of the largest organized group of taxpayers in America that the AFL-CIO makes proposals which we believe are based on the doctrine of fair play. There are some who call these measures "tax reform." We think "tax justice" is a better description and that is what we are seeking—tax justice.

The great and growing inequities in the federal tax structure are clear to most taxpayers and reasonably informed citizens.

In 1967, the most recent date for available information, the taxes paid by millionaires averaged only 25 percent of their total income. Twenty-one of these millionaires and 134 other persons whose reported incomes exceeded $200,000 paid not one cent in federal income taxes.

GEORGE MEANY, President of the AFL-CIO, presented labor's tax proposals to the House Committee on Ways and Means on April 1. The above introduction is excerpted from Meany's testimony. The AFL-CIO tax proposals put before the Committee are published here in their entirety.

Yet in that same year, 2¼ million taxpayers whose incomes fell below the government's definition of poverty paid $100 million in income taxes. And the average wage and salary earner with an income of $8,000 paid over 10 percent of his total income in income taxes.

The federal tax structure is rigged against wages and salaries—against income from work. It is rigged in favor of unearned income.

The federal tax on wages and salaries is the full tax rate—and the tax usually deducted from the paycheck. However, those who receive other forms of income are provided with special privileges and exemptions:

- Income gains from the sale of stock or other property are taxed at only half the regular tax rate—with a top maximum rate of 25 percent. Moreover, when stock or other property is passed on to heirs at death, the increased value of the property from the date of purchase is not subject even to this much-reduced capital gains tax.
- Income from interest payments on state and local bonds is completely exempt from federal taxation.
- Sizable portions of the income from oil and gas properties and a large number of minerals never enter the tax stream because non-existent "depletion" expenses are written off.
- Much of the income from real estate escapes taxation since it is written off as depreciation. Such income is not only exempt from taxation but, since it is considered a write-off cost, it provides a tax shelter for the wealthy because it is deducted from other taxable income.

These special tax privileges are the domain es-

Contradictions

Many of the inequities in the taxation system run in direct opposition to the objectives sought through public tax-spending programs.

For example:

- While the nation is being burdened with inflationary pressures and high interest rates, the task of easing these burdens is made more difficult by the tax system. Privileges such as the 7 percent investment credit and accelerated depreciation on real estate fuel the fires of the only source of inflationary demand in the national economy—business investment in plants, machines and equipment.
- $935 million in federal funds are being spent on low- and moderate-income housing; yet $800 million worth of tax loopholes go to real estate operators constructing motels, office buildings, plants and high-rise, high-rent apartment complexes.
- $4.5 billion is spent to "stabilize farm incomes;" yet wealthy non-farmers are encouraged, through the tax system, to disrupt and distort the farm economy.
- The large and growing concentrations of wealth and economic power are a source of growing national concern; yet the income tax system allows $15 billion in appreciated assets to accumulate and be transferred to heirs without ever entering the tax base. At the same time, tax-exempt status is given to certain types of family foundations set up for avoiding taxes and perpetuating control of family and industrial financial dynasties. $8 million is spent enforcing anti-trust laws; yet the tax system provides incentives for those who would merge and "conglomerate."
- Oil, gas and other depletion allowances are justified largely on the basis of encouraging development of domestic productive capacity; yet similar tax benefits flow to those bolstering the productive capability of foreign nations.
- Some $25 billion in federal categorical grant-in-aid funds will go to the states and localities in 1969; yet the amount of federal money available to hard-pressed state and local governments is diluted by allowing interest on state and local bonds to go tax-free, since this exemption costs the Treasury more than the states and municipalities gain.
- The nation is committed to alleviating the plight of its 22 million poor; yet many of these families pay federal income taxes while many of the wealthiest legally ignore the federal tax collector.

—AFL-CIO President George Meany, in testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee.

sentially of the wealthy. But the super-rich and corporations have even further privileges:

- Because of the little-known, unlimited charitable contribution deduction special privilege, many wealthy individuals and businesses can make contributions and save more in taxes than the contribution is worth.
- Tax-exempt family foundations can be set up so wealthy families can control their fortunes in perpetuity without paying taxes.
- Wealthy non-farmers can invest in farm operations which yield imaginary losses that can be charged off against their high non-farm incomes.
- Business deducts 7 percent of the cost of new equipment and machinery from its tax bill—as a special tax credit. And, they can deduct it again as part of depreciation.

As a result of these and similar inequities, wealthy investors and businesses pay considerably less than their full tax burden. But moderate- and low-income taxpayers bear the full brunt of the tax system. This double standard of taxation heaps an unfairly great part of the burden of running the federal government on the shoulders of middle-income wage and salary earners.

These facts are generally known. They are eroding public confidence in the tax structure and in the fairness of the federal government as well. And since Americans expect so much from their tax structure—national defense, public facilities and services, grants-in-aid to the states and local governments—these inequities in the tax structure undermine public support for much-needed expansion of government services for a growing, urban population.

The entire federal tax structure must be overhauled. Tax loopholes for the wealthy must be ended. The relative tax burden on moderate- and low-income families must be eased.

Only twice since its inception in 1913 has the federal tax structure been revised. And these two revisions—in 1939 and 1954—were, according to a former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, only "faceliftings."

The case for thorough reform of the federal tax structure is compelling and demonstrated by numerous incongruities and paradoxes. There is another too frequently overlooked aspect.

Americans must pay other taxes. In fact, though federal income tax revenues have grown and still loom largest among the taxes paid by most individuals, state and local taxes have grown at a far faster pace. From 1963 to 1967, states and localities have almost tripled their annual tax take—from $44 billion to $115 billion. In contrast, federal income taxes (corporate and individual) grew from $69 billion to $95 billion, or by slightly over one-third. What's more, the increases in state and local taxes have in the main resulted from levies on property and sales to

consumers which take their toll primarily from those whose ability to pay taxes is the least.

The importance of viewing the impact of the total tax structure was dramatically documented in the 1969 Economic Report of the President. Data was presented showing that the combined federal, state and local tax systems converge in such a manner as to redistribute income "away from the poor." At the same time, those of modest and middle incomes are bearing a disproportionately high share of the tax burden, while those with wealth and ability-to-pay escape their fair share.

The impact of these tax changes over the past five years makes the point clear. A $7,500 income family of four, as a result of the net effect of the 1964 federal tax cut and the 1968 increase, had an increase in after-tax income of 2 percent between 1963 and 1968. The rise in social security insurance rates and state and local tax increases over the period resulted in a 3.4 percent cut in after-tax income.

For those at the very bottom of the income scale, these tax changes over the past five years cut into after-tax income by 14.2 percent, while those with incomes of $35,000 and over enjoyed net increases in after-tax income.

Thoroughgoing federal income tax loophole closing and reform would make a substantial contribution toward compensating for the unfair manner in which the burdens of other taxes fall.

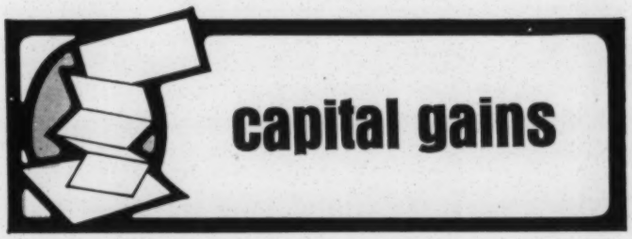
Furthermore, it is the federal income tax system that most states look upon as the standard for a good and fair way to allocate the costs of public services. A number of states that do use income taxes use the federal definitions and standards as models for their own systems and three states now "piggyback" their taxes directly upon the federal taxes that their residents must pay.

Yet, as the inequities in the federal system grow and become more and more notorious, the basic principles of taxation based on income and ability-to-pay become suspect and fair-minded state and local legislators find it increasingly difficult to convince those they represent of the advantages of fair taxation methods.

To the extent that states and localities model their systems on the federal "base," the inequities that exist in the federal structure are multiplied. And the basic advantages are lost as other states shy away from taxing income and continue their reliance on inequitable and ineffective consumer and property taxes.

A thorough overhaul of the federal income tax structure must be approached with three objectives in mind:

1. The loopholes of special tax privilege for wealthy families and businesses must be eliminated.
2. The impoverished must be removed from the tax rolls.
3. There must be a reduction in the relative tax burden for low- and moderate-income families.



When certain so-called capital assets are sold, the profit is taxed at only one-half the rates that apply to ordinary income. And the tax rate cannot exceed 25 percent regardless of the amount of the seller's total income. Capital assets under the Internal Revenue Code consist of property such as corporate stocks, vacant land and other assets not held for use in the taxpayer's trade or business.

In addition, profits from the sale of many other assets—although not defined by the Code as capital assets—can also receive this same privileged preferential tax treatment. Profits from the sale of livestock used for draft, dairy or breeding; real estate used in a trade or business; royalties from sales of timber, iron ore and coal deposits can all qualify for preferential treatment as capital gains, as can gains on sales of business machinery and equipment.

The preferential tax rates which apply to these unearned forms of income represent one of the most unconscionable flaws in the tax system. It is this special treatment, according to the Treasury, that is the most important factor in reducing the tax rates of those with high incomes.

Viewed in the context of the three major criteria upon which the tax system is built—equal treatment of equals, progressive rates and neutrality in economic impact—the capital gains tax fails on every count.

- Similarly situated individuals, whose incomes differ not in amount but only because of source, will pay markedly different amounts of taxes. A married man with a wage income of $8,000 will pay $1,000 (excluding surtax) in federal income taxes. If his $8,000 came from capital gains, his tax would be only $354.
- Tax rates on capital gains progress only from 7 percent to 25 percent. Tax rates on wages, salaries and other "ordinary income" go from 14 percent to 70 percent. An $8,000 per year single wage earner who receives a raise of $1,000 will pay a 25 percent tax on this $1,000, the same amount that would be paid by a taxpayer in the $50,000 income bracket who receives $1,000 worth of capital gains.
- Many business and individual decisions to buy, sell, invest, donate, trade, pay dividends, harvest crops, will to heirs, and so forth, hinge upon the Internal Revenue definitions of capital gains and the preferential treatment accorded these gains.

If a corporation, for example, pays dividends to its stockholders, the dividends are taxed as ordinary income. If the corporation retains much of its earnings, swelling the market value of its stock, shareholders can profit from capital gains. If a farmer wanting to

sell his orchard harvests his crop first, the profit from selling the crop would be taxed as ordinary income. If he sells the land with the crop unharvested, the entire proceeds will be taxed at the capital gains rate. Hence, by not harvesting his crop, he's increased his after-tax income.

What's more, the capital gains tax escape route combines neatly with many other avoidance schemes, stimulating their use and compounding the tax benefits. Accelerated depreciation on real estate—a loophole which permits postponement of taxes and creates opportunities for tax-loss gimmickry—also paves the way for converting what should be ordinary rental income into capital gains. The depletion allowances for mineral industries, in themselves an unconscionable gimmick for deducting non-existent expenses, also serve as the vehicle whereby ordinary income is unjustifiably converted to capital gains.

Reported capital gains are taxed at only half the normal rate—and never more than 25 percent. Thus, in 1967, some $25.6 billion in capital gains were taxed at one-half the regular tax rate and subject to a maximum of 25 percent.

Another major leak in the tax system, according to the Treasury Department, results from the fact that large amounts of capital gains "fall completely outside the income tax system," since capital gains on assets transferred at death or by charitable donation go tax-free. The Treasury estimates that $15 billion of capital gains in 1967 were not taxed at all through this escape route. If an individual holds an appreciated asset till he dies, the appreciation is not subject to the income tax. If an individual or corporation donates appreciated property to a charitable organization, the appreciation is never taxed—and the full appreciated value can be deducted from other income.

For example, if a taxpayer donates $1,000 worth of stock which cost him $100, he pays no tax on the $900 of appreciated value and is permitted to deduct the full value ($1,000) from his income. If he were in the 50 percent bracket, this gift of an asset which cost him $100 would save him $500 in taxes. If he sold the asset, included half the capital gain in his income, and then contributed the $1,000 in cash, his net tax saving would have been only $275. If the $900 appreciation were taxed at ordinary rates rather than the 25 percent maximum capital gains rate, the donation of this asset that cost $100 would have only yielded a net tax saving of $50.

Moreover, under certain circumstances it is possible for an individual to actually improve his after-tax position by giving away rather than selling an asset.

All told, the capital gains tax yielded only about $5 to $6 billion in revenue in 1967, representing an effective tax rate of less than 15 percent.

The Treasury estimates that, if all capital gains entered the tax base and were taxed as ordinary income, the 1969 revenue increase would be $8.5 billion.

Finally, though capital gains treatment discriminates unfairly between earned and unearned income, the effect is also to discriminate between classes of individuals. The benefits of capital gains flow almost exclusively to the wealthy.

For example, in 1967, one-third of all capital gains reported went to individuals with annual incomes of over $100,000—50,000 income tax returns out of the total 71.7 million filed accounted for 33 percent of the capital gains.

Put another way, after those with incomes of over $100,000 took their capital gains, 99.94 percent of the population was left to share the other two-thirds.

Demonstrating this same point, the U.S. Treasury in its 1969 tax study showed that capital gains reduced the effective rates on taxable income from 55.5 percent to 32.7 percent for those in adjusted gross income brackets of $1 million or over. For those in the $5-$10,000 brackets, capital gains reduced effective rates by only two-tenths of one percent—from 16.4 percent to 16.2 percent. Thus the net result was to water down the progression in effective tax rates from a top of 55.5 percent down to only 32.7 percent.

Oil, gas and other mineral extraction industries are allowed to take deductions for depletion. In principle, depletion for extractive firms is akin to the depreciation allowance taken by other industries and is geared to permit the gradual write-off of capital costs over the life of the investment.

However, the percentage-depletion deduction formula provides a much more generous write-off of otherwise taxable income than depreciation. Moreover, unlike depreciation, the annual deduction from income never stops—it continues even after the cost of the investment has been fully written off. The Treasury estimates that oil, gas and other depletion deductions average 12 times the deduction that would be allowed based on actual costs. In the petroleum industry, for example, 90 percent of the depletion deductions taken are "excessive." Hence, these firms are deducting non-existent costs.

The percentage-depletion formula allows mineral operators to deduct amounts ranging from 5 percent (gravel, sand and clay) up to 27.5 percent (in the case of oil) of the gross income from the property—regardless of the amount of investment. Since the amount that can be deducted is limited to 50 percent of net income, in many cases the result is that only half the net income generated from the property is subject to tax.

Moreover, mineral producers are allowed to immediately write off certain exploration and development costs which, again, under normal accounting practices

should be considered as investment costs to be written off over a period of years. And since these costs do not reduce the percentage-depletion allowance, a double deduction for the same capital investment results.

In addition, there are other gimmicks used by mineral industries to circumvent the modest limitations that do exist on the depletion deduction. The carved-out production payment, for example, is in actuality a loan. The proceeds, however, are treated as income in the year received, thereby boosting the depletion deduction that can be taken. When paid off, the loan is considered an expense. These transactions are timed to generate tax advantages which the Treasury estimates cost $200 million in lost revenues.

And again, these abuses become magnified and compounded by providing opportunities for individuals, corporations and their stockholders to defer taxes, convert ordinarily taxable income to preferentially taxed capital gains, and traffic in tax-loss gimmickry by writing off imaginary losses against other income.

According to the Treasury, the 1968 revenue loss due to excess percentage depletion and the immediate write-off of development costs was as follows:

Excess depletion:	
to corporations	$1,100 million
to individuals	$200 million
Expensing capital costs:	
to corporations	$240 million
to individuals	$60 million
Total	$1,600 million

As a result of these privileges, in 1965 the petroleum industry as a group paid taxes at an effective rate 21.1 percent of total net income and other mineral industries at 24.3 percent. At the same time, the average manufacturing corporation paid taxes at the rate of 43.3 percent—double the rate which applied to extractive industries. In 1966, the 20 oil giants paid taxes at a rate of only 8.5 percent of income.

The two most frequently offered justifications for the tax incentives granted these industries are: (1) special incentives are needed because these businesses are risky, and (2) these resources must be developed domestically for strategic considerations. Yet risk is certainly not unique to mineral development and many other industries are as strategic or more so. What's more, the fact that percentage depletion is also allowed to companies developing the mineral capabilities of foreign nations hardly squares with the notion of developing a domestic productive base.

The most dramatic testimonial to the fallacy of these arguments, however, was contained in a study done under contract with the Treasury by the Consad Research Corporation of Pittsburgh. This study viewed the $1.6 billion tax incentive appropriately in terms of a federal subsidy, since this is the amount of tax revenue the nation loses as a result of the special privileges. The study showed that this $1.6 billion subsidy led to additional national mineral resources valued in the market at only $150 million. Every dollar in federal tax forgiveness yielded 9 cents worth of additional reserves.

And, according to the Treasury's analysis of the Consad study, the depletion allowance encourages excessive drilling and inefficient production methods and discourages research into other potential fuel sources.

interest on state and local bonds

Federal income tax law actually operates on a triple standard in its treatment of various forms of income. Wages, salaries and so-called ordinary income are fully included in the tax base and are subject to the full, progressive rate scale. A second standard applies to income from capital gains, since only half of it enters the tax base and there is a 25 percent limit on the tax rate. A third standard is applied to some forms of income which are completely excluded from the tax base—and, of course, subject to a zero tax rate.

The interest paid to holders of state and local bonds falls into this third category. For the year ended June 30, 1967, U.S. Census Bureau figures show that state and local governments paid out some $3 billion to their bondholders. These governments saved $1.2 billion in interest expense, since the tax-exempt privilege enabled them to sell these bonds at less than market rates of interest. However, the Treasury lost $1.8 billion in revenue. The balance—$600 million—went as tax benefits to wealthy individuals and commercial banks which hold most of the bonds.

Since the Treasury loses more than the state and local governments gain, the tax-exempt privilege is a wasteful as well as back-door method of providing aid to state and local governments. Moreover, this tax-free interest erodes the equity of the income tax system since the tax advantages only go to the wealthy. The Treasury notes that tax-free income from state and local bonds is the second most important factor (capital gains is first) in reducing the taxes of those with incomes of over $100,000 per year.

For example, in 1968 the average yield on high-grade municipal bonds was 4.51 percent and top-rated (Aaa) corporate bonds was 6.18. The tax-exempt status compensates for the lower rate only for those in tax brackets of 27 percent and higher—the rate which applies to a married person with a taxable income in excess of $16,000 per year.

To illustrate, if a married person with taxable income of about $8,000 (22 percent bracket) bought a high-rated tax-exempt municipal rather than a corporate bond, he would lose $1.67 in interest on every $100 invested and save $1.36 in taxes, suffering a net

loss of 31 cents for each $100 invested. On the other hand, for someone in the $100,000-or-over bracket, the $1.67 in interest lost saves him $3.83 in taxes—thus, a net gain of $2.16 on each $100 invested in tax-exempt bonds.

Also the benefits of the tax forgiveness to state and local governments often run counter to the needs and objectives of most subsidies. Since the amount of debt most state and local governments can issue is tied to property values, it is the richer areas of the nation that rely heaviest on debt financing. Thus the wealthier areas get the largest subsidies. Similarly, the bonds issued by the smaller, less affluent governments generally are low-"rated" or not "rated" at all by the investment analysts. Consequently, these bonds are considered riskier and, if they are to compete in the bond market, the poorer governments must bear higher interest costs.

On top of this, there has been a rapid growth in the proportion of municipal bonds held by commercial banks. In 1961, these banks purchased 56 percent of the state and local debt and in 1967 roughly 90 percent of the net purchases were attributed to commercial banks. This has resulted in an erratic market for municipal securities, since these banks switch their investment portfolios back and forth in response to demand for business loans.

In times of tight money and rising business loans, commercial banks reduce purchases of municipals and may, in fact, sell them, thereby limiting the market and driving up the interest rates that municipalities must pay. Such developments require states and localities to pay higher and higher interest rates in order to market their bonds.

Hence, in many ways the interest rates a municipality must pay on its debt (and the amount of taxes its citizens must pay as a result) are at the mercy of the commercial banks and the bond raters.

What's more, many state and local governments have abused the tax-exempt privilege by issuing so-called industrial development bonds. These tax-exempt bonds have been used to build factories for private industry—sometimes to the corporation's exact specifications. In this manner, a number of states have pirated firms from other areas, using their federal subsidy for the private benefit of wealthy corporations.

A host of special tax-forgiveness provisions apply to real estate. Taken by themselves, these privileges are hardly justifiable but, when manipulated and combined, they result in unconscionable tax-avoidance opportunities for wealthy real estate operators, investors and speculators.

The major tax-escape route is the special accelerated-depreciation deduction. Under the accelerated formulas, new buildings can be written off at twice normal or "straight-line rates" and the cost of used buildings can be charged off at 1½ times normal depreciation rates. In the case of a new building with a 40-year estimated life, the result is that about 23 percent of its cost can be deducted from income during the first five years of the property's life. For a used building, 17 percent of the investment can be written off in the first five years.

The following table shows the effects of the special depreciation formulas compared to the "straight-line" method which apportions the depreciation deduction equally over the useful life of the asset.

Building With a 40-Year Life

Total	Straight-Line	200% Declining Balance	Sum of the Years Digits	150% Declining Balance
	%	%	%	%
Year 1	2.5	5.0	4.8	3.7
1st 2 Years	5.0	9.8	9.6	7.4
1st 3 Years	7.5	14.3	14.3	10.8
1st 4 Years	10.0	18.5	18.8	14.2
1st 5 Years	12.5	22.6	23.2	17.4
1st 10 Years	25.0	40.1	43.3	31.7
1st 20 Years	50.0	64.0	74.4	53.4

Since depreciation write-offs are considered a cost, these fast write-offs and other costs are subtracted from rental income and the income tax, if any, is paid on the remainder. Often there is no income at all, or even a reported loss in the early years of ownership, as a result of accelerated depreciation.

Technically, the fast write-off provisions mean that tax liabilities are deferred—in principle, the lower taxes in the early life, due to excess deductions, will be made up later as smaller deductions are permitted. To this extent, the excess depreciation results in an interest-free, no-strings federal loan to the real estate operator.

But actually, the accelerated-depreciation special privilege paves the way for other tax gimmickry. First, a good part of the excessive depreciation deductions are never returned to the tax base because the property is sold long before the depreciation deduction runs out. And a good part of that which is eventually taxed is taxed at only half the usual rate, and never more than 25 percent, since it is considered a capital gain.

Combining these advantages with "leverage"—much debt, little equity—the infamous real estate tax shelter is created. The excessive depreciation plus interest charges on the debt result in large bookkeeping tax losses. These phantom losses are in turn washed out against an individual's other income, sheltering it from the federal tax. To take full advantage of this, many high-income individuals join together into syndicates. These syndicates buy or develop high-deprecia-

tion property that will show a loss which can be applied to the wealthy investors' other income. What's more, when the properties approach a point when a profit might be shown (depreciation and interest become less than rental income), the property is then sold or refinanced, starting the cycle all over again.

A Treasury study of 19 investors exploiting the real estate shelter showed that the group had a combined income of $2.7 million from their major economic activities. But, since they made investments in real estate, they were able to "shelter" (remove from their otherwise taxable income) $1.5 million and cut their tax bill by more than half.

The average investor in this group, according to the Treasury, had an income of $141,000 from his other interests. He sheltered $77,500 of this from the Internal Revenue Service by his real estate investments and his paper real estate "losses" saved him $45,000 in taxes.

The Treasury also traced the activities of one real estate investor over a seven-year period. This operator had a seven-year income of over $7.5 million. Yet, because of real estate depreciation deductions, he paid the same effective tax rate on his total income as a married wage earner with two children and an annual income of $10,000.

Moreover, real estate operators can unfairly lighten their share of taxes through reporting capital gains in installments, exchanging appreciated property tax-free, and through complicated mortgage-refinancing arrangements.

The privileged treatment real estate investors receive through the tax structure contributes to eroding taxpayer confidence, as do all loopholes, and:

1. Costs some $850 million in terms of federal revenues forgone—expenditures or subsidies granted through the tax system. Fast depreciation alone accounts for a revenue loss of $750 million.

2. Runs in direct opposition to meeting one of our most serious national needs. These privileges serve to channel resources into luxury housing and away from the much-needed improvements and additions to the housing available for those with low and moderate incomes. The Treasury estimates that, of the $850 million in tax benefits flowing to real estate operators, only $50 million went to those investing in low- and moderate-income facilities.

Under the Internal Revenue Code, there are special tax-accounting privileges for farmers—privileges which were developed to ease the bookkeeping chores of ordinary farmers.

However, these accounting privileges are being manipulated to provide windfall tax benefits to wealthy individuals and corporations who operate or invest in farms in order to get tax losses. These losses are not true losses; nevertheless, they can be deducted from the wealthy investor's non-farm income, sheltering it from the federal income tax.

Though most businesses use the "accrual" method of accounting, since it is the most accurate way to reflect the true income of the business, farmers are permitted to choose between use of the accrual method or the "cash" method. Using the cash method, inventories are ignored. The growth in inventories is not balanced off against other costs. Put another way, costs that reflect the building up of an asset (inventories) are deducted from otherwise taxable income, but there is no corresponding adjustment made for increases in the value of the asset (inventory). As a result, certain farm operators abuse this privilege by carefully mismatching costs, and the income generated by these costs, to their tax advantage.

Losses, which under normal (accrual) accounting procedures would result in gains, are created which in turn are used to "shelter" the wealthy investor's non-farm income from his taxable income.

What's more, since many of these "paper" losses actually reflect increases in investment, income taxes that should be paid annually at ordinary rates are postponed until the sale of the inventory, at which time the tax is cut in half because capital gains rates apply. Under these circumstances it is possible for the tax-deductible costs of raising an animal to exceed the taxable gain even though the animal is sold at a profit.

For example, a cash-basis farmer spends $200 over a three-year period in raising a cow and charges the $200 off over the period as an expense. He then sells the cow for $250. His real profit on the transaction was $50; yet, since the entire $250 is considered as capital gains, only half of the $250 ($125) must be reported as taxable income. As a result, he reports $125 in income and deducts $200 in expenses over the three-year period. His tax returns show a $75 loss on a transaction which in actuality yielded a profit of $50.

Under normal accounting techniques, the $200 spent in raising the cow would have been treated as an increase in inventory and would not have resulted in a deductible expense. Upon the sale of the cow, the capital gain would have been $50 and one-half of it, or $25, would enter his taxable income. Hence the "accrual" farmer would have reported $25 in income (although it was actually $50) and no deductions. The "cash" farmer reported income of $125 and expenses of $200.

Moreover, the definition of what are capital assets (and therefore subject to capital gains tax rates) is stretched considerably, to the advantage of certain farmers. The Internal Revenue Code, for example,

treats livestock used for draft, dairy or breeding purposes as depreciable capital assets.

Through the use of "leveraging" (much borrowing —little cash investment), the advantages of these special privileges are compounded. The combined effects of interest charges on the money borrowed for the farm investment and the operating losses, that are so easily shown through cash accounting, result in phenomenal phantom tax losses which are washed out against the other income of wealthy farm investors, sheltering it from taxation.

Some insight into how these special privileges are utilized by the wealthy can be found in the annual income tax return data published by the Internal Revenue Service.

In 1967, for example, there were over 1 million tax returns filed showing net farm losses and almost 2 million reporting a net gain. For those taxpayers with adjusted gross income under $50,000, the number of returns showing profits from farm operations exceeded the number showing losses, by rather substantial amounts. The overwhelming majority of actual, operating farmers were in this group.

However, where adjusted gross incomes were over $50,000, more returns showed losses than gains. In the $1 million-and-over income group, only 12 returns showed profits—totaling $74,000—compared to 101 returns claiming losses—totaling $7.6 million.

Obviously, "non-farmers" are investing in farms solely for tax purposes. As a consequence, these non-farmers compete unfairly with legitimate farmers. They distort the farm economy by bidding up the price of farmland and forcing ordinary farmers to compete in the market with those who are totally indifferent to whether they receive a fair price for the product or not.

The Treasury estimates an annual tax loss of some $800 million due to the farm loopholes. By placing a $15,000 limit just on the amount of phantom tax loss that can be applied against other income, some $145 million in revenue could be recouped.

The tax-exempt status granted to certain foundations represents one of the most glaring examples of how a well-intentioned, seemingly desirable tax privilege can become twisted.

As a nation, we recognize that philanthropy is desirable and should be encouraged. In line with this reasoning, individuals are permitted, within certain limits, to deduct from their taxable income contributions to organizations established for religious, charitable, scientific, educational and similar purposes. Likewise, the federal government grants tax-exempt status to the organizations receiving the contributions.

Granting special tax privileges for such contributions or to such institutions raises the same fundamental question as in all tax-forgiveness schemes. The government is relinquishing funds it would otherwise be entitled to and therefore others must pay a higher share of the costs of government. Thus, where there is tax forgiveness, there must also be an assurance that the nation's interests are being served.

Recent investigations into certain tax-exempt foundations—non-profit organizations set up and supported by wealthy families or individuals—have raised some serious doubts as to whether appropriate purposes are in fact being fulfilled and the nation's interest is being served.

Tax-exempt foundations have grown phenomenally—new ones are cropping up at the rate of some 2,000 per year. The assets of the larger foundations are currently estimated at some $20 billion and each of the 27 largest foundations has assets worth $100 million or more.

The philosophy underlying the private foundations, according to a foundation spokesman, is "the systematic use of private funds for public purposes." Unfortunately, the studies of the activities of tax-exempt foundations done by the House Committee on Small Business have shown that in many cases the opposite situation prevails. That is, public funds are being systematically used for private purposes.

Family foundations frequently are used as a means whereby the wealthy can avoid income, gift and inheritance taxes, yet maintain control over wealth. When families donate company stock to private family-run foundations, family control over the business can be assured from generation to generation, while inheritance taxes are avoided. The donor can control the management of the foundation—appointing relatives, rewarding friends and employes. The foundation provides the conduit for donations which reduce the taxes on his business income.

Furthermore, this control can be parlayed to a point where the foundation is used to promote the foundation owner's other business interests. Practices have been uncovered which can be questioned on the basis of unfair competition, conflict of interest, self-dealing, "insider" arrangements to affect stock prices and so forth.

Foundations, for example, can lend money to the founder, his family or the family business at preferential interest rates, thus supplying venture capital for the donor's other interests. The Subcommittee's studies noted situations where suppliers and buyers have made sizable contributions to foundations controlled by customers, indicating underhanded pricing deals. What's more, these organizations can enter into deals whereby, through intricate tax maneuvering, they can buy a business, invest none of their own money and pay the seller more than the market value of the business. On

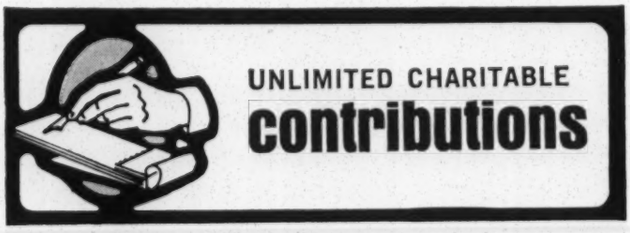
top of this, the deal can be set up as an installment purchase, permitting the seller to convert what should have been ordinary income into preferentially taxed capital gains.

A Prentice-Hall Executive Tax Report, for example, offers this advice:

> Have You Put a Price on Your Business? You may be able to double it—by selling to a Charity.
>
> Say you're planning to sell your business, and you think a fair price would be five times earnings. If the company earns, say, $101,500 after taxes ($200,000 before), you're probably figuring on selling for about $500,000. If that's the case, STOP RIGHT THERE —you may be shortchanging yourself:
>
> That business could be worth $1,000,000 to a tax-exempt organization: An ordinary buyer is only interested in earnings after taxes—that's all he gets to see. But a tax-exempt buyer keeps a hundred cents on the dollar. So a fair price to a charity would be five times $200,000, or $1,000,000—twice what you figured!

Commenting on the abuses uncovered, a New York Times editorial added another dimension—that of the increased role of foundations in shaping national policy: "Since almost everyone pays income taxes, the burden of exempting the income of the foundations is borne by the public at large. Yet the public is virtually powerless to influence the ways in which the foundations spend their tax-free dollars."

Generous tax treatment is appropriate for charitable organizations since private philanthropy is an important adjunct to public programs serving the goals of the nation. However, this special treatment is justifiable only if these organizations are in fact using the foundations, and their tax-exempt privilege, for the public good and not merely for the private advantage of a select well-heeled few.



The ordinary taxpayer cannot deduct charitable contributions that exceed 30 percent of his income. However, through use of a little-known loophole—the unlimited charitable-contribution deduction—about 100 of the nation's wealthiest families escape paying $25 million in taxes. Many of these families pay no federal income taxes at all.

Though the loophole alone yields tax benefits to some of the nation's wealthiest, the major part of the tax bonanza comes about through combining the unlimited-deduction gimmick with another loophole—that which permits the contribution deduction to be based on the appreciated value of assets (typically stocks) donated, not the cost. Hence, no tax—not even at privileged capital gain rates—is ever paid on the appreciated value; yet the full amount is allowed as a deduction from income.

The unlimited-deduction privilege seems stringent in that it's only allowed if total contributions plus income taxes paid in eight out of the ten preceding years exceeds 90 percent of taxable income. However, these criteria are easily met by many wealthy individuals whose income comes from non-taxable sources. Thus many who rely upon state and local bond interest, or capital gains, or whose taxable income is "sheltered" by means of excessive depletion or depreciation deductions, can easily give away large percentages of taxable income—since so little of their income is subject to tax.

The Treasury studied the 1964 tax returns of four wealthy "non-taxpayers" and found that each had a total income of between $6 and $10 million and a taxable income of zero. Their incomes came almost entirely from dividends and/or capital gains. Each gave away property close to, or in excess of, the reported adjusted gross income—property which was for the most part appreciated stocks, upon which no capital gains tax was ever paid—and in each case, taxable income and income tax were $0.

As a result, a seemingly innocent and appropriate tax-forgiveness provision geared to encouraging philanthropy serves in the main to divert public revenues to private use. The public revenue cost is far out of proportion to the philanthropic goals forwarded and the difference flows to a privileged few individuals of extreme wealth.

What is more, studies have shown that the charities supported by the contributions of the wealthy are generally quite different from those that receive the bulk of their contributions from the majority of the nation's taxpayers. And this evidence suggests that congressional intent and the national interest in supporting charitable organizations are thwarted.

For example, a 1965 Treasury Department report showed that in the income classes under $20,000, over 80 percent of the contributions went to religious organizations and charities concerned with social welfare, such as the Community Chest and the Red Cross. In contrast, those in the over-$1 million income class gave over two-thirds of their contributions to "other organizations"—principally foundations. Religious and social welfare organizations like the Community Chest received less than 10 percent of the wealthier group's philanthropy.

The investment-credit tax privilege was added to the Internal Revenue Code in 1962 and liberalized in 1964. The privilege was enacted as an effort to spur

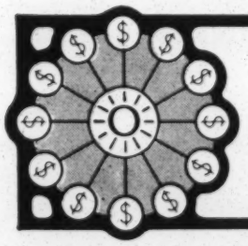
the economy by encouraging business to invest in new machinery and equipment.

Under this provision, business firms are permitted to deduct from the federal income taxes owed an amount equal to 7 percent of the cost of new machinery and equipment. The full 7 percent can be deducted for firms with tax liabilities up to $25,000. If the tax liabilities are more than $25,000, the amount of credit that can be deducted is limited to one-fourth of their taxable income. In other words, the only limit on the credit is that it cannot reduce the firm's tax bill by more than 25 percent.

In effect, then, the nation's taxpayers are picking up the tab so that a private firm can get a discount on the costs of its equipment.

What's more, prior to 1964, businesses had to deduct the credit from the cost of the investment before they were allowed to write off depreciation. This was changed in 1964 and currently the credit can be taken and the full purchase price can be written off. Thus more than 100 percent of the cost can be written off and, like the oil depletion deduction, imaginary expenses are used to reduce taxable income.

The revenue cost of the credit, according to the Treasury, amounts to $3 billion at fiscal year 1969 levels of business profits and investment. This $3 billion tax forgiveness subsidy induces increased business investment and feeds the only major source of inflationary-demand pressure in 1969—while the entire national economy is burdened with tight money, unprecedented interest rates and other generally restrictive measures.



MULTIPLE SURTAX exemptions

The corporate income tax is a two-step affair. The first $25,000 of profits is taxed at a rate of 22 percent and the remainder is taxed at 48 percent (excluding the temporary 10 percent surtax).

The exemption of the first $25,000 from the full corporate tax rate was made part of the Internal Revenue Code in order to help small corporations.

However, the intent of this provision has been thwarted by many large corporations, which have intentionally organized themselves into chains to shelter much of their income from the full corporate rate.

Thus, by spinning off into subsidiaries, a corporation can reduce its taxes annually by $6,500 per subsidiary. A single corporation, for example, with a net profit of $1 million would pay a tax of $473,500. If the same corporation operated through 40 subsidiaries, each showing a profit of $25,000, the tax would be cut by more than half—down to $220,000.

The Treasury estimates that the exemption results in a reduction of the tax rate on corporations generally from 48 percent to 45.8 percent and a revenue loss of approximately $1.8 billion. The combined effect of both the 7 percent investment credit and the $25,000 exemption brings the effective rate down to only 43.4 percent and the revenue loss to some $4 to $5 billion.

Moreover, this special privilege amounts to a tax incentive that encourages unsound corporate arrangements. It also adds an element of discrimination between those types of corporations that can easily be split up to take advantage of the special privilege and those that cannot.

As a result, a benefit intended to help small business also provides tax-windfall opportunities to large, highly profitable operations.

conglomerates

The greatest wave of mergers in American history is now rolling through the economy. This great movement towards the concentration of economic power has been building up over the last 20 years. It obscures the peaks of the two previous merger waves in 1899 and 1929. The number of mergers of mining and manufacturing companies zoomed from 219 in 1950 to 844 in 1960 to nearly 1,000 in 1966 and over 2,400 in 1968, according to the Federal Trade Commission.

Not only are the "bigs" taking over the "smalls" but minnows are swallowing whales and the "bigs" are merging with other "bigs." Conglomerate marriages with increasing frequency involve partners with assets over $10 million. In 1966, there were 101 mergers involving an acquired company with assets in excess of $10 million. The Federal Trade Commission reported 192 such mergers in 1968, with assets of the acquired companies totaling $12.6 billion. The 200 largest companies acquired 70 firms in mergers in 1968, the FTC reported.

As a result, one out of every six firms that made Fortune Magazine's 1962 top-500 list has completely disappeared.

These conglomerate corporations grow in all directions by acquiring companies in any industry or product-line, no matter how unrelated. They operate in all kinds of different industries and markets.

The great merger movement of recent years has brought an alarming increase in the concentration of economic power in the hands of the major corporations. In 1967, the 200 largest manufacturing corporations held nearly 59 percent of the total assets of all manufacturing corporations—up from about 48 percent in 1948. The 78 giant manufacturing corporations, with assets of $1 billion or more, held 43 percent

of the assets of manufacturing corporations in 1968 and received 49 percent of the profits of all manufacturing corporations.

The concern is not with large conglomerate corporations merely because they are large. It is the effects which must be examined. The immediate questions concern plant closedowns and the impact on collective bargaining and the local community. Beyond this, what does the concentration of economic power do to the political system and economic system in terms of prices, competition, efficiency and inventiveness?

These questions go beyond those that can be answered through the tax structure. They involve the anti-trust laws and the operations of the Justice Department, as well as such other government agencies as the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission. Yet it is clear that there are tax inducements to those who would merge and the tax structure adds thrust to the corporate take-over movement.

- By "swapping debt for equity" (offering bonds in exchange for stock) the acquiring firm has to pay bond interest rather than stock dividends. Interest is tax-deductible; dividends are not. Because of this tax advantage, the purchaser can offer a bond (debenture) supposedly valued at more than the stock, creating what has been labeled "funny money."

The seller also has a tax advantage since he pays no taxes on the transaction until the bond is paid off. Hence, it is the nation's taxpayers who are helping to finance the take-over.

- If the seller receives stock in the acquiring firm in exchange for his old stock, the transaction under most circumstances is tax-free. Of the 352 major acquisitions that took place in 1967 and 1968, some 90 percent were tax-free. The "new" firms were valued in the stock market at $3 billion higher than the pre-merged firms; yet no taxes were paid.
- The tax-loss "carry-over" provisions in the Internal Revenue Code lead to anomalous situations where a firm showing a loss becomes a more desirable partner for a merger than a profitable one. And again the nation's taxpayers are the losers. If a firm has losses, it pays no taxes. If the firm merges with a profitable firm, its losses can be washed out against the acquiring firm's otherwise taxable income. And, of course, other tax loopholes can be called into play to create phantom losses and situations similar to the tax havens built by wealthy real estate speculators and tax-loss farmers.

Moreover, other business tax privileges—the 7 percent investment credit, for example, and accelerated depreciation—help to provide many corporations with unreasonably large amounts of cash (depreciation allowances plus retained profits) after payment of taxes and dividends to stockholders. The cash is thus available for such ventures as those involved in the sharp rise in foreign investment and buying out other firms.

other loopholes
FOR THE WEALTHY

There are, unfortunately, many other loopholes of special privilege for rich people and corporations that should be closed. Stock options, for example, permit corporate executives to receive income in the form of stock deals that are not reported or taxed as salaries, but are taxed on the sale of the stock as capital gains. And other opportunities to defer taxes on salaries and convert salary income to much lower-taxed capital gains are available to high-paid executives. Tax-deductible "business" vacations are the privilege primarily of wealthy businessmen and executives, as are the non-taxable benefits that accrue to those with lavish expense accounts.

Earnings from operating ships or aircraft registered in a foreign country are tax-exempt. This encourages "runaways." In 1968, more American-owned tonnage was registered under foreign flags than under the U.S. flag. And special tax gimmicks also apply to corporations operating through foreign subsidiaries.

proposals
TO CLOSE THE LOOPHOLES

To close these loopholes and bring the federal individual and corporate income tax systems into line with America's standards of fair play, the AFL-CIO urges adoption of the following proposals.

1. Capital Gains.

Elimination of preferential tax treatment of capital gains for both individuals and corporations. Such gains should be taxed at regular tax rates. At the same time, the present income-averaging provisions should be broadened to include capital gains.

Approximate revenue gain: $6-7 billion.

2. Capital Gains on Property Transferred at Death.

All appreciation (difference between original cost and market value) should be taxed in full on transfer at death. The tax rate should apply to all appreciation occurring after date of enactment; one-half the tax rate should apply to all gains occurring between an appropriate date such as January 1, 1950, and the date of enactment.

The tax should be allowed as a deduction for estate-tax purposes. It should not apply on transfers between the decedent and spouse nor to estates valued at less than $60,000.

To prevent "forced" sales of assets, appropriate

ESTIMATED FEDERAL REVENUE GAINS AND LOSSES RESULTING FROM AFL-CIO TAX PROPOSALS

LOOPHOLE-CLOSING PROPOSALS		APPROXIMATE REVENUE GAIN (LOSS) MILLIONS OF DOLLARS
1. Eliminate Preferential Tax Treatment of Capital Gains		$6,000 – $7,000
2. Tax Gains on Property Transferred at Death		$3,100* – $4,200**
3. Disallow Depletion after Investment Fully Written Off		$1,500
4. Eliminate Tax-Exempt State and Local Bond Interest — Include Federal Subsidy and Loan Guarantee		$100
5. Eliminate 7% Investment Credit		$3,000
6. Eliminate Accelerated Depreciation on Real Estate Except for Low- and Moderate-Income Housing		$700 – $800
7. Limit Farm-Loss Deductions		$145
8. Eliminate Unlimited Charitable-Contribution Deduction		$50
9. Eliminate Corporate Multiple Surtax Exemption		$235***
10. Tax-Exempt Foundations		—
11. Conglomerates		—
12. Allocation of Deductions	$ 250	
13. 25% Minimum Tax on Exempt Income	$1.500	
TOTAL GAIN	**$1,750**	**$14,830 – $17,030**
TAX-RELIEF PROPOSALS		
1. Increase Minimum Standard Deduction		$1,200
2. Increase Standard Deduction		$2,000
3. Reduce First Two Bracket Rates		$3,400
4. Broaden Allowable Moving-Expense Deductions		$100
TOTAL REVENUE LOSS		**$6,700**
APPROXIMATE NET REVENUE GAIN FROM AFL-CIO PROPOSALS		**$8,130 – $10,330**

* If taxed at current capital-gains rates. ** If taxed at full rates. *** When fully effective.

installment-payment procedures should be adopted.

Approximate revenue gain: $3-4 billion.

3. Depletion.

Deductions for depletion should not be permitted to be taken after the cost of the property has been fully written off.

Approximate revenue gain: $1.5 billion.

4. Interest on State and Local Bonds.

All interest on state and local debt securities, issued after the date of enactment (following an appropriate transition period), should be subject to the income tax. The federal government should guarantee the bonds and pay the issuing state or local government an amount equal to one-third of the interest cost on such taxable issues. No federal guarantee or interest-rate subsidy should be permitted for industrial development bonds, regardless of the amount of the issue.

There would be a net revenue gain, after taking into account the cost of the subsidy and the guarantee, of approximately $100 million.

5. 7 Percent Investment Tax Credit.

The 7 percent investment tax credit should be repealed.

Approximate revenue gain: $3 billion.

6. Accelerated Depreciation on Real Estate.

Accelerated depreciation (depreciation in excess of straight-line) should be disallowed on all real estate except low- and moderate-housing.

Approximate revenue gain: $700-800 million.

7. Limitation of Deductions Attributable to Farming Operations.

Each dollar of non-farm income over $15,000 should reduce the amount of farm loss that can be deducted from non-farm income by $1. This provision should not apply to farm losses resulting from taxes, interest, casualty, drought and sale of farm property. This provision should not apply to farmers using the accrual method of accounting.

Approximate revenue gain: $145 million.

8. Unlimited Charitable Contributions.

The special unlimited charitable-contribution deduction should be repealed immediately.

Approximate revenue gain: $50 million.

9. Multiple Surtax Exemptions for Corporate Income Tax.

Commonly controlled business enterprises should, after an appropriate transition period, be limited to only one $25,000 surtax exemption.

Approximate revenue gain (when fully effective): $235 million.

10. Tax-Exempt Foundations.

(1) Financial transactions between a foundation and its founders, contributors, officers, directors or trustees should be prohibited.

(2) Foundations should be required to spend their incomes within one year of receipt.

(3) Foundations should not be permitted to own 20 percent or more of any business unrelated to their

charitable function. A reasonable time should be allowed for presently organized foundations to comply with this provision.

(4) If a donor maintains control of a business or property after it is contributed, no donation deduction from taxes should be allowed until the foundation disposes of the property or the donor's control over the property ends.

(5) Foundation borrowing to buy investment properties should be prohibited. Foundation lending should be limited to appropriate charitable functions.

(6) A limitation, such as 40 years, should be placed on the life of foundations.

(7) Congress should carefully examine the problems posed by the actual operations of foundations and the need for some degree of federal regulation of the use of the tax-exempt funds of foundations.

11. Conglomerates.

The skyrocketing trend of business mergers requires detailed examination, including the anti-trust laws and the operations of the appropriate government agencies such as the Justice Department, Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

A thorough investigation should also be conducted to determine the extent to which the federal tax structure contributes to this alarming trend of corporate mergers and acquisitions.

Among the tax provisions that should be examined are those which permit:

(1) Corporations to deduct interest payments on debt used to finance mergers and acquisitions.

(2) Capital gains taxes to be paid in installments when stock is exchanged for debt securities.

(3) Tax-free exchanges on corporate stock transfers made for purposes of mergers and acquisitions.

(4) Corporations to "carry over" the operating and capital losses of an acquired firm.

EFFECT OF AFL-CIO TAX-RELIEF PROPOSALS* MARRIED TAXPAYER, TWO CHILDREN, STANDARD DEDUCTION

WAGE OR SALARY INCOME	1968 FEDERAL INCOME TAX	TAX DUE UNDER AFL-CIO PROPOSALS	TAX REDUCTION	TAX REDUCTION AS A PERCENTAGE OF PRESENT TAX
$ 1,000	—	—	—	—
2,000	—	—	—	—
3,000	—	—	—	—
5,000	$ 290	$ 168	$122	42.1%
7,500	686	546	140	20.4
10,000	1,114	949	165	14.8
12,500	1,622	1,359	263	16.2
15,000	2,172	1,827	345	15.9
20,000	3,428	2,965	463	13.5
35,000	8,504	7,849	655	7.7
50,000	15,360	14,540	820	5.3

Excludes surtax.
* Increase in minimum standard exemption to $600 plus $100 per dependent.
Increase in standard deduction to 15%, maximum of $2,500. Reduction in first two bracket tax rates to 9% and 13%.

EFFECT OF REDUCTION IN FIRST TWO BRACKET RATES TO 9% AND 13% MARRIED TAXPAYER FILING JOINT RETURN

TAXABLE* INCOME	PRESENT FEDERAL INCOME TAX	TAX UNDER AFL-CIO PROPOSAL	TAX REDUCTION AS A PERCENTAGE OF PRESENT TAX
$ 1,000	$ 140	$ 90	35.7%
2,000	290	220	24.1
3,000	450	380	15.5
5,000	810	740	8.6
7,500	1,285	1,215	5.4
10,000	1,820	1,750	3.8
12,500	2,385	2,315	2.9
15,000	3,010	2,940	2.3
20,000	4,380	4,310	1.6
35,000	9,920	9,850	0.7
50,000	17,060	16,990	0.4

* Wage and salary income less personal exemptions and deductions.
Note: Figures exclude 1968 surtax.

In addition, the penalty tax provisions applying to excessive amounts of retained profits should be made workable in the light of recent experience.

In the event the above proposals cannot be adopted quickly, we propose No. 12 and No. 13 as interim measures.

12. Allocation of Deductions.

Individuals and corporations should be required to allocate certain deductions between taxable and non-taxable income.

Under present law, those who receive tax-exempt income derive a double benefit. The income never appears on the tax return, hence no tax is paid. Secondly, personal or non-operating business deductions can be deducted in full from taxable income.

Before such deductions are permitted, since they are designed to define ability-to-pay, total income (taxable and exempt income) should be taken into account. Thus individuals with excluded income, as defined below, in excess of $10,000 should be required to allocate certain personal deductions in line with the ratio their adjusted gross income bears to adjusted gross income plus exempt income. The deductions that should be allocated are: interest and tax payments, casualty losses, charitable contributions, medical expenses and cooperative housing expenses. The allocation formula should be as follows:

$$\text{Deductions} \times \frac{\text{Adjusted Gross Income}}{\text{AGI Plus Exempt Income Minus \$10,000}} = \text{Allowable Deductions}$$

Excluded income which would cause deductions to be allocated should include the following:

(1) One-half of capital gains.

(2) State and local bond interest.

(3) Depletion taken after the cost of the property has been written off.

(4) The difference between the cost and the market value of property donated to charity.

(5) Depreciation on real estate taken in excess of

straight-line, except for low-and moderate-housing.

Corporations with excluded income, as defined above, in excess of $25,000 should be required to allocate non-operating expense deductions between net profit from operations and excluded income.

The allocation formula should be as follows:

$$\text{Non-operating Deductions} \times \frac{\text{Net Operating Profit}}{\text{Net Operating Profit Plus Exempt Income Minus \$25,000}} = \text{Allowable Non-operating Deductions}$$

Approximate revenue gain from allocation of deductions: $250 million.

13. Minimum Tax on Exempt Income.

A 25 percent tax should be levied on the amount of excluded income which exceeds $10,000 for individuals and $25,000 for corporations, plus any amount of deductions disallowed under allocation-of-deductions formula. The "excluded income" subject to this tax should include the following:

(1) One-half capital gains.

(2) State and local bond interest.

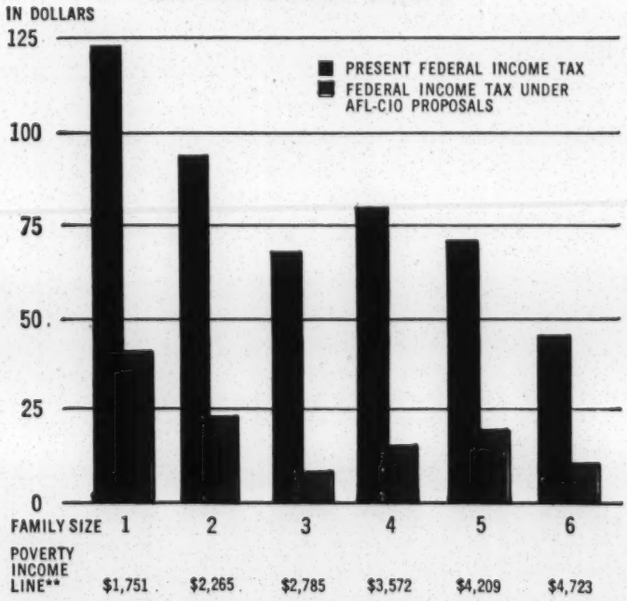
(3) Depletion taken after the cost of property has been written off.

(4) The difference between the cost and the market value of property donated to charity.

(5) Depreciation on real estate taken in excess of straight-line, except for low- and moderate-housing.

The effect of the allocation of deductions and minimum tax proposals on an actual case has been cited by the U.S. Treasury. The case shows a taxpayer with a total income of $1.3 million paid a nil effective tax rate (.03 percent). Under the proposals suggested by the AFL-CIO, the effective tax rate would have been 21.8 percent.

EFFECT OF AFL-CIO TAX-RELIEF PROPOSALS FOR LOW INCOME GROUPS*

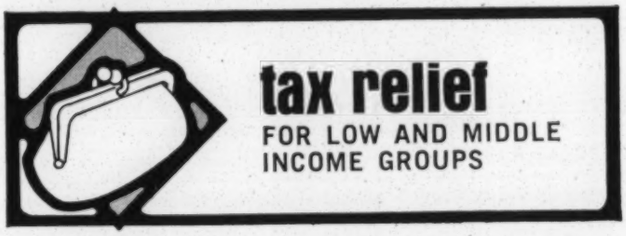


* Increase in minimum standard deduction to $600 plus $100 per dependent. Reduction in first two bracket tax rates to 9% and 13%.

** 1966 Department of Health, Education, and Welfare non-farm poverty income levels, adjusted for change in living costs 1966-1968.

Approximate revenue gain from 25 percent minimum tax: $1.5 billion.

Finally, all special tax-forgiveness proposals offered under the guise of "incentives" which would provide additional loopholes for the wealthy and further erode the fairness of the tax structure should be rejected. All proposals to adopt a federal retail sales tax—whether called "value-added" taxes or offered clearly as a tax on consumers—should also be rejected.



1. The minimum standard deduction should be increased from the present $200 plus $100 per exemption to $600 plus $100 per exemption.

This proposal would exempt from federal income tax the majority of persons below the government-defined poverty level and significantly reduce the tax payments of all persons at or near the poverty level.

The revenue cost would be about $1.2 billion.

2. The standard deduction should be increased from the present 10 percent with a $1,000 maximum to 15 percent and a $2,500 maximum.

This proposal would bring standard deductions closer in line with the actual deductions claimed by most taxpayers. It would simplify reporting for the great majority of taxpayers and would provide tax relief for all those whose itemized deductions amount to less than 15 percent of income or $2,500. Most of the relief would flow to those in the $5-$20,000 income range.

The revenue cost would be approximately $2 billion.

3. The first two individual income-tax bracket rates should be reduced from the current 14 percent and 15 percent to 9 percent and 13 percent, respectively.

This proposal would provide tax relief to all taxpayers, but the major portion of the tax deduction (approximately 95 percent) would go to those with annual incomes below $20,000.

The revenue cost would be about $3.4 billion.

4. Moving-expense Deductions.

Deductible moving expenses should be broadened to include certain non-employer-reimbursed expenses such as those related to sale of old residence—real estate commissions and advertising costs and costs of settling an unexpired lease; pre-move househunting trips; and temporary lodging costs (for worker and family). These additional costs should be subject to an overall limitation of $2,000. Present treatment of other deductible moving expenses—unreimbursed expenses of transporting the employe, his family and belongings in a job-connected move—should continue.

The revenue cost would be about $100 million.

Labor Co-ops and the Housing Crisis

by Harold Ostroff

A few months ago, 30 adults and 20 children moved into their new homes at Co-op City. These first 16 families were the vanguard of 15,382 families who by 1971 will be living in this new $300 million cooperative community now being built in the northeast corner of New York City.

In this group of first families were two mechanics, two upholsterers, two office clerks, two salesmen, a grocer, a window washer, a draftsman, a civil servant, a dry cleaner, a waiter and two families who are retired. The oldest "head of family" was born in 1887, the youngest was born 41 years later. The youngest of 20 children was born last December 29.

Occupations, ages, colors, religions, political affiliation, union membership—all are mixed at Co-op City. There is, however, one important similarity each family has in common—each is a part owner of the cooperative. They became so when they made an investment to help make this cooperative a reality. When the city is completed, their investments will have provided $32 million of the cost of building the community.

Cooperative housing is not a panacea for solving all the myriad complexities of the entire housing situation confronting urban and rural America. It is, however, a means for people with limited resources as well as for those with higher incomes to join together to obtain decent homes, on a non-profit basis, at very reasonable costs. Co-op City is but the latest and most dramatic illustration of this kind of housing.

Organized labor's involvement in housing cooperatives dates back to 1926, when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers undertook the sponsorship of the first low-cost housing cooperative in the Bronx, New York.

The general housing situation which prompted the union's involvement in housing in the mid-1920s was not very different from conditions which confront working people today. There was a great shortage of moderate-cost housing. The shortage resulted in high rents in the apartments which were available, apartments the average wage earner could not afford. The same slums which plague the city today in large measure existed then.

The size of the first cooperative was small, 303 apartments. Its significance must be measured not in its size, but in the magnitude of the concept that working people can own multi-million dollar enterprises and supply themselves with homes on a non-profit basis. This was indeed a revolutionary idea in 1926 in the United States—and it still is.

Under the leadership of Sidney Hillman, Jacob S.

HAROLD OSTROFF is Executive Vice President of the United Housing Foundation. The UHF is a federation of 62 non-profit organizations whose aim is to promote better housing through cooperatives.

Potofsky and Abraham E. Kazan, the man designated by Hillman to develop the union's cooperative housing program, the pioneers of the Amalgamated Housing Cooperative established the principles which were to become basic guidelines for similar communities in the future.

The objective of the cooperative was to provide its members with good housing at the most reasonable price possible. To achieve this end, the cooperative was a non-profit, non-speculative enterprise. The member's investment was based on the number of rooms in his apartment. (In the first Clothing Workers' project, the investment was $500 a room. The monthly carrying charges averaged $12 per room per month.) Each member of the co-op had one vote regardless of the size of his investment. There was no proxy voting. The members elected the Board of Directors at an annual meeting. Each member received a full financial report annually. The cooperative was open to all. The cooperative was neutral in matters of religion and politics. When a member wanted to leave the cooperative, he gave the corporation first option to repurchase his stock at its par value.

These were the basic principles and they proved successful. In time, the original development quadrupled in size and, by 1965, the union had sponsored three additional cooperatives which provided homes for 3,628 families.

Since their inception, open membership has always been the first basic principle of cooperatives. One of the most encouraging aspects of the development of housing cooperatives has been that they create naturally-integrated communities. More and more frequently, people of minority groups discover the economic and social advantages cooperatives provide. The economic benefits of low monthly carrying charges for decent housing are available to people, regardless of color.

Where black and white live together sharing the common bond of home ownership, they have done so in harmony.

The 50,000 families living in housing cooperatives have demonstrated that, given the opportunity for participating in practical programs for self-help, the essential ingredient which has made cooperatives successful, is the common bond of mutual ownership which exists between the members. This is particularly true in housing cooperatives where the members have made substantial investments in their homes. Having invested two or three thousand dollars in his cooperative, the average member is interested in and concerned with the welfare of the organization. It also becomes apparent that cooperation means not only self-help but also mutual aid. People working together for their mutual self-interest is essential for the successful operation of a cooperative enterprise. Thus it is that people of different occupations, different interests, different colors, different religions, different political views and different economic circumstances live and work together in cooperatives.

By the end of the second World War, the housing shortage had become much more acute. Housing for families with so-called middle incomes was virtually non-existent. Most of the housing which was built was designed and priced for upper-income families. Having observed the success of the Amalgamated's first two cooperatives, a number of other unions entered the field. Most notable were the Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union. By the mid-1950s, a number of largescale housing cooperatives had been built.

By 1950, it was obvious that the time was propitious to establish a central organization to promote and develop cooperatives on a larger scale in New York City. Conferences were held among the leadership of trade unions and among existing cooperatives to establish such an organization. In 1951, the United Housing Foundation was incorporated. Jacob S. Potofsky, President of the Clothing Workers, is president of the foundation and Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., Financial Secretary of Local 3 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is vice president.

The foundation is a federation of trade unions, cooperatives and other non-profit organizations who work together to develop moderate-cost housing cooperatives. The combined strength of the members of the organization has resulted in the foundation sponsoring and building eight cooperatives which have provided homes for 30,442 families in New York City. These communities were built at a cost of $536.5 million.

Another $125 million, 6,000-unit cooperative is now on the drawing boards. Together with the cooperatives which were built prior to 1951, and those which were built by others but which have joined the foundation, over 50,000 families are living in

Co-op City, nation's largest apartment complex and world's largest housing cooperative, in various stages of construction.

cooperatives which are members of the United Housing Foundation.

Unions elsewhere in the nation also have been involved in sponsoring housing cooperatives. In Roxbury, Mass., Service Employes' Local 254 sponsored a $3.3 million 200-unit project and then backed a companion $5.6 million 314-unit co-op. In Connecticut, the Greater New Haven Labor Council sponsored a 101-unit project. Communications Workers' Local 3808 sponsored a 76-unit co-op in Nashville, a companion to an earlier 178-unit project.

The housing problems of New York City are no different from those of other major cities in the nation. They are just more complex and larger because of the size of the city. For example, it is estimated there are 800,000 units of substandard housing in the city. This means there are some 3 million New Yorkers living in unfit housing. This would mean a population almost equivalent to the size of the city of Chicago is inadequately housed.

Cooperatives have made more progress in the city of New York than in any other area of the country. But compared to the great need which exists for decent moderate-cost housing, the result must be considered small. Nevertheless, the leaders of the United Housing Foundation believe that the type of structure developed in New York City can be used in other cities to stimulate similar programs.

Historically, the State of New York has led the nation in progressive legislation intended to stimulate the development of moderate-cost housing. It is encouraging to observe that other states recently have adopted similar legislation.

The successful undertaking of largescale housing developments requires the cooperation of government at all levels as well as the concern and commitment of people and knowledgeable organizations.

In the case of Co-op City, for example, the cooperative has received a $26 million mortgage from the New York State Housing Finance Agency. The interest rate on the mortgages will be considerably below conventional mortgage rates. The City of New York has granted the cooperative a 50 percent tax abatement for 30 years. But even during the abatement period, the city will be receiving some $6.6 million more in taxes a year than it had received from the site before its redevelopment. The plans for the development had to be approved by the City's Planning Commission. The larger community, as well as Co-op City, will benefit from the addition of three elementary schools, two intermediate schools and a new high school being built in the area.

What is being achieved at Co-op City demonstrates what can be done when there is a commitment for housing. The cooperative will provide some 55,000 to 60,000 people with new homes. The people are supplying approximately 10 percent of the cost based on investments of $450 a room. The cooperative will supply its members with centrally air conditioned apartments at an average cost of $25 per room per month. Apartments of comparable value in New York City, in the private market, rent for between $80 and $100 per room per month. Apartment sizes at Co-op City range from one to three bedrooms.

Building a $300 million "city" for 60,000 people is not an undertaking for amateurs. It requires the knowledge and experience of professional planners, architects, engineers and builders, as well as the skills of thousands of experienced craftsmen.

Cooperatives are independent and autonomous or-

ganizations, owned and controlled by their members. But this does not mean that largescale cooperatives can be built by the "democratic process." They cannot. The future owners do not design the site or plan of the apartments; nor do they decide who will build the development, nor do they vote to determine what color the walls will be painted. These and all other matters involved with construction are entrusted to the Board of Directors and the professions they engage to build the development.

Cooperatives sponsored by the United Housing Foundation have followed the example of the first Clothing Workers' cooperative in developing other kinds of cooperatives to meet the needs of people. In every community, people have organized their own credit unions, cooperative supermarkets, pharmacies and optical centers. Through the United Housing Foundation, cooperatives developed their own insurance company to provide members with automobile insurance. There is also a city-wide furniture cooperative. These self-help enterprises couple meaningful participation with practical economic benefits and savings.

Last year, two presidential commissions cited the lack of decent housing as a primary cause of the crises in the cities. Such developments as Co-op City exemplify what can be done when there is a commitment for moderate-cost housing. Unfortunately, it is a lone example in a period when such developments should be commonplace.

The problems of the cities are not just a matter of eliminating slums and creating an adequate supply of all kinds of housing, although these are vital factors. Jobs, training, integration. education, pollution of water and air and mass transportation are all elements of the total problem. Unfortunately, the kind of will needed to deal with these issues has not been demonstrated by either government or private enterprise on a meaningful scale.

Talk about creating model cities, eliminating slums and providing decent housing led to high expectations, but Congress provided only token funds. This is one reason for the crises in urban America today. People began to believe political promises that slums would be eliminated and that they would participate in programs designed to better their social and economic circumstances. But nothing much happened to change conditions. The old slums grew worse and new ones emerged. Eventually, the ghetto areas in city after city exploded. After riots in Detroit, Newark, Washington and a hundred other cities, the nation realized there was, indeed, an urban crisis.

Slogans do not eliminate slums or produce housing. Only commitment, backed by adequate resources, can get the job done. Co-op City combines both factors. This one development will cost $300 million. In comparison, the last Congress, even after the riots, allocated only $625 million for the model cities program for the entire nation!

The federal budget reflects national priorities and programs. With 70 percent of the population living in urban areas, urban programs are budgeted to receive half the amount designated for agricultural programs. As the New York Times said, "a visitor from outer space would conclude that ours is still a rural society." It is even more difficult for many people to understand how in a period of crises in our cities, we can justify spending billions of dollars a year on space exploration.

The space program, however, illustrates what the nation is capable of achieving when it is committed and willing to spend its resources for a specific program. With the same commitment and dedication directed toward solving urban problems, it would be possible to achieve the objectives of slumless cities and decent homes for all. But the task of eliminating the causes of the urban crises will not be achieved overnight, no matter how much money is spent. Neither is the urban crisis separate and distinct from the rural crisis. Conditions in the hamlets of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana have a direct bearing on conditions in Chicago, New York, Detroit, Boston and every major city of the nation.

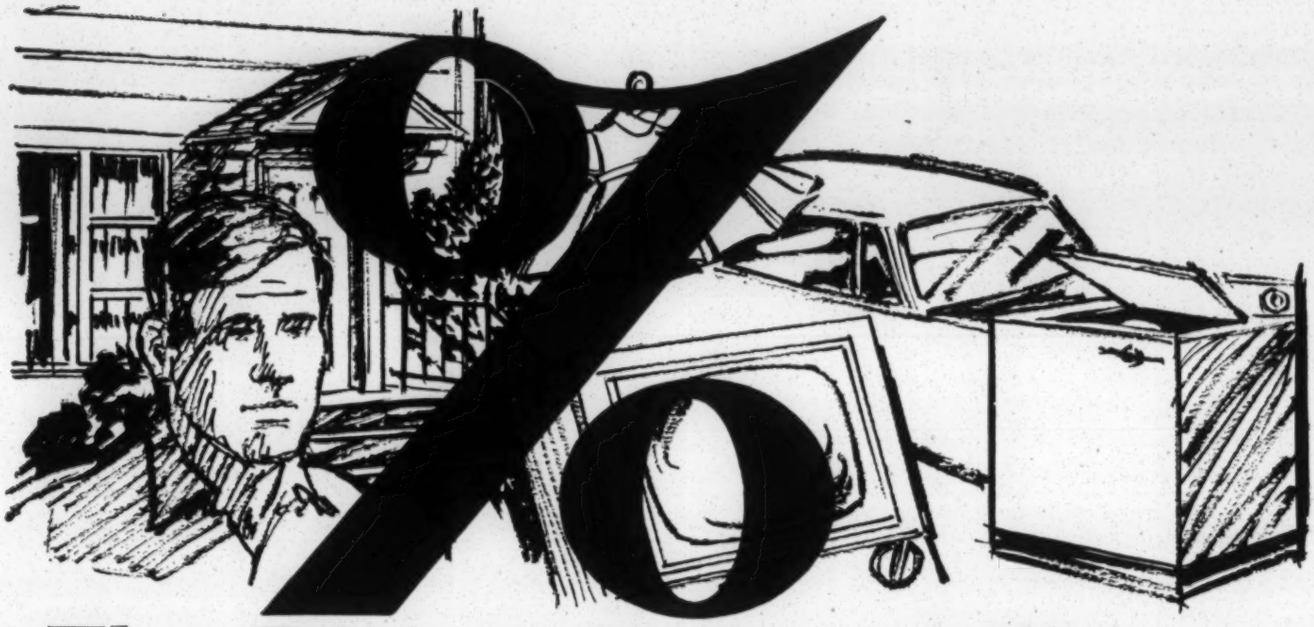
Neither private enterprise, nor federal, state or local governments alone are going to solve these complex problems. There is a need for a comprehensive cooperative approach by all segments of society. There is no question that if the public and private sectors combine their resources and efforts in a cooperative endeavor, it would be possible within a period of decades to eliminate many causes of the urban crisis.

Trade unionists have learned the value of organizing themselves as producers. Many workers have also learned the value of organizing their purchasing power as consumers in cooperatives. The combined efforts of trade unions and cooperatives, with some assistance from government, has made it possible for many people to help themselves obtain good housing at modest cost. This effective partnership should be expanded to help resolve the housing situation.

The lesson to be learned from Co-Op City is that, through effective partnership and commitment, it is possible to build the largest cooperative community in the world and to provide people with good housing at a reasonable cost. It is not an investment in real estate but an investment in people—young and old, black and white, not only for the present, but for the future.

The primary concern in planning Co-op City was planning a quality environment for the development of human relations among people. We do not subscribe to the theory that people become frustrated, alienated or dehumanized by the size or shapes of buildings.

What is important is for people to have the opportunity to live in dignity and self-respect with their neighbors; to create an atmosphere for brotherhood and a happy relationship among people; to provide an opportunity for people to grow and enrich their lives socially and culturally. This is the real meaning and purpose of Co-op City. And this has been the meaning of other cooperative communities.



The Rising Price of Money

by Elizabeth R. Jager

Small hikes in extra interest charges—the price of borrowing money—have added extra hundreds or thousands of dollars to the yearly expenses of every family, millions to businessmen's expenses and billions to outlays of federal, state and local governments.

Most of the extra cost is hidden but interest rates affect every price in the economy. Businessmen borrow to build new factories, to buy raw materials, to pay for overhead. Retail stores borrow to buy goods from factories and stock their inventories. At each stage of production and sales, higher interest paid for borrowed money adds a link in a chain of higher costs until the consumer pays the final price.

Interest rates also affect government spending. When interest rates and prices rise, the cost of running government goes up because government must pay more to borrow money and must pay more for the goods it buys. The interest on the federal debt has mounted to $14 billion in the 1968 budget and is earmarked at almost $16 billion for 1970. This is almost four times the budget cost of public welfare spending, half again as much as will be spent on medicare, double the cost of veterans' benefits and services and double the amount allocated for education and manpower.

Like business, the government can to a certain extent "pass on" the higher cost of interest rates to the taxpayer. Thus the ordinary consumers around the nation feel the impact more than any other group.

ELIZABETH R. JAGER is an economist in the AFL-CIO Department of Research.

In national economic terms, the cost of higher interest can be crippling in the short run and inflationary in the long run. Housing is hurt first and hardest from high interest rate and scarce-credit policies. Builders who cannot get scarce credit at any price are forced out of business. Other businesses find they cannot afford the high price of money and shut down. Jobs are lost. The jobs that go first belong to those who are the most serious concern of today's policymakers—the poor, the unskilled, the non-white, those least likely to be employed.

In the Spring of 1969, however, the nation's money managers again boosted interest rates and tightened credit. In April, the Federal Reserve upped the rate which banks have to pay for loans from the Fed—the discount rate—to 6 percent, the highest since 1929. The objective is to stop the inflation fueled by a business investment boom.

The theory is that higher costs of money will make it too expensive to borrow, investors will slow their expansion in building new factories, consumers will curtail their buying and the economy will cool off. Then, so the theory goes, interest rates will fall and the economy can move forward on an even keel.

For nearly 20 years, this approach has been adding a growing burden to the nation's economic progress. Ever since the early 1950s, interest costs have been raised to increase the cost of borrowing and stem inflation by slowing down the economy. There have been recessions in 1954, 1958, 1960-1961 and a slowdown in 1967. But the long-term price of money has

continued upward during most of those nearly 20 years.

The cost of borrowing has never receded to low levels, prices have not come down. Each time the nation finds itself on a new plateau of higher rates after billions in lost production, high job losses and suffering among those least able to afford the economic impact—the home buyers, workers and consumers.

In brief, the policy of raising interest rates represents a short-run, misplaced effort which produces long-run distortions. In 1969, the policy of raising interest rates once again has set the stage for potentially worse problems for the economy.

The Higher Cost of Higher Interest

"It's come to be very difficult for a person to finance a first home unless he has a wealthy relative to stake him," according to a West Coast banker quoted recently in the Wall Street Journal.

Most Americans are finding that "it's come to be very difficult" to meet the cost of living. One reason for the constant rise in living costs is the built-in, long-term cost of higher interest rates due to the policies of the nation's money managers.

For most people in need of homes, buying a house is a formidable venture and rents also are rising. For example, in 1969, a Viet Nam veteran may find $20,000 mortgages rather typical as housing prices zoom upward. Even Veterans Administration and Federal Housing Administration rates have been lifted to 7½ percent, with insurance charges boosting the effective rate to 8 percent. This means monthly payments of $150 on a 30-year mortgage, not including taxes. The total cost to repay a $20,000 mortgage grows to $53,000 over 30 years.

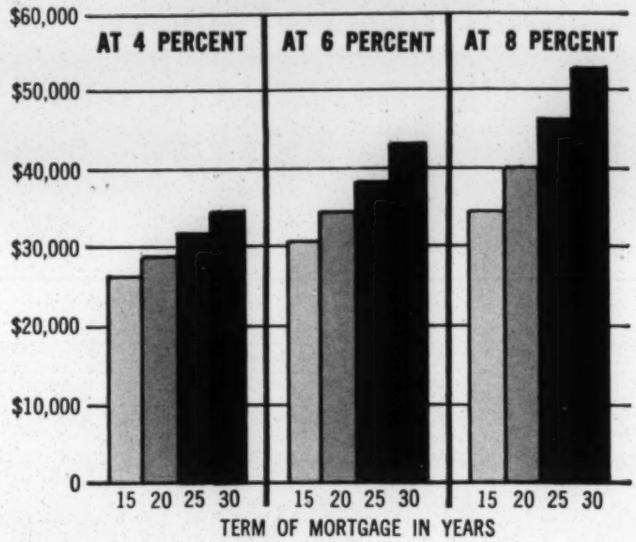
In 1952, a Korean war veteran could find a house with a $10,000 mortgage at a 4 percent rate. The monthly payments were less than $50 and interest and mortgage costs totaled about $17,000 during the 30-year "life" of the mortgage.

In 17 years, only 4 extra percentage points show up in the mortgage rate—from 4 percent to 8 percent—and the price of the house has risen to where the mortgage required has doubled from $10,000 to $20,000. But total costs have more than tripled. Thus doubling the rate and doubling the mortgage have more than tripled the costs to the homebuyer.

And interest charges helped to raise the price of the typical mortgage from $10,000 to $20,000 because builders borrow money to buy land and materials, pay workers, etc., and usually pass the cost of added interest charges on in higher prices to the homebuyer. Manufacturers of building materials borrow money to run their factories and pass on the extra costs of borrowed money to the builders—and so the chain goes.

The higher long-term costs are obscured, however, because the average man tends to base his decision on the monthly payment and not the total cost. Many people know that the longer it takes to pay back a loan, the higher the total cost to the borrower. But few people realize how much.

THE RISING COST OF A $20,000 MORTGAGE LOAN*



*Principal and interest payments only.

The rate of 6 percent of the past few years meant that a $20,000 mortgage cost $34,388 in 20 years and $43,168 in 30 years. At 8 percent, the same mortgage for 30 years adds $10,000 to the costs, for total payments of $52,832. The change from 6 percent to 8 percent between 1966 and 1968 meant a percentage cost hike of 22 percent in only a few years, just for added interest payments.

In a country where average wages are $3 an hour for factory workers—a yearly income of $6,000—most private houses have moved out of reach in recent years. Even if a man and his wife work full-time at average hourly factory rates, their combined income would be $12,000. A recent Department of Labor budget study, based on prices in 1967, showed that an income of $13,000 in 1967 was the appropriate level for a family budget to carry a $20,000 house.

Rents also rise because of higher interest because builders must pay higher rates on money borrowed to build apartments and on mortgage costs. These extra costs are passed on to apartment dwellers in the form of higher rents. The result is more luxury apartments and not enough apartments geared to the paychecks of most Americans.

Car prices have changed, too, and partially because of interest payments. Unlike mortgage rates, auto loan rates at commercial banks showed very little change in the 1950s and early 1960s. In the same way, however, the overall impact is greater than it looks. In Washington, D. C., for example, one bank lent money at a 4 percent rate from the early 1950s until 1966, when the rate was changed to 4½ percent and then to 5 percent in 1969. Actual rates were much higher because bank loans for cars tend to be "add-on" or "discount" installment arrangements, which cost the

borrower effective rates at much higher levels. But the result was similar—the cost of cars was higher, the length of time to repay loans tended to be stretched from 2 years in the early 1950s to 3 years by the 1960s and the stated 4 percent to 5 percent change in interest charges meant a rise in effective rates—including add-ons—from over 7 percent to over 9 percent. The change adds only a few dollars more to monthly payments, but totals $60 extra in 3 years.

The Long-term Record—An Upward Seesaw

The record shows that the major effect of repeated efforts to slow down the rise in demand for goods and services through higher interest rates has meant an ever higher cost. The discount rate has seesawed upward and built ever higher interest charges into the economy.

During World War II and the postwar expansion, the Federal Reserve followed a policy of keeping a low discount rate—the basic interest rate the Federal Reserve charges for loans to commercial banks. (The Fed has three major means of affecting interest rates; the discount rate is only one, but all of them interact.) In the early 1950s, Federal Reserve policies were changed because most economists believed the Fed's practices were inflationary. But from 1950 until 1953, discount rates moved up from 1½ percent to 2 percent. Recession followed, with unemployment rising to 5.5 percent. The same medicine was prescribed as the economy moved up and another recession occurred in 1958. Once more, in 1959, the discount rate was raised, followed by recession and rising unemployment. As the 1960s started with recession, 10 years of "anti-inflationary" changes had raised the discount rate—the basic cost of money to the banks—by 100 percent. The discount rate was 1½ percent in 1950 and 3 percent in 1960.

In the early 1960s, unemployment stayed high while the economy moved up, but the nation's balance of payments problem was used as the reason for keeping the discount rate at or above the 3 percent level. U.S. interest rates could not be allowed to move too low, it was claimed, or investors would send their money abroad to seek higher returns and foreigners would remove their investments from the United States. This would bring the nation even worse problems in its financial standing, it was argued.

But in 1965, even with the high starting point, the discount rate was hiked again—to 4½ percent "to stop inflation." The housing crisis and mini-recession of 1966-7 followed. Production fell off. Employment moved down. Prices continued up. Then the Fed started the upward trend of interest rates again and in April 1969 finally raised the discount rate to the 1929 level—6 percent, a 300 percent rise above 1950.

The Federal Reserve thus proved what the AFL-CIO, Congressman Wright Patman (D-Texas) and others who have favored low interest rates have always said: The policies of the Federal Reserve Board, charged by law with providing smooth supplies of money and credit to an expanding economy, have failed to try to keep interest rates low enough so that most Americans will not suffer from the nation's money policies; banker domination and banker orientation fail to serve the nation's needs.

The Fed claims it merely influences the supply of money and the price of interest, but cannot control either one. That is true. The Fed has three weapons —the discount rate, the amount of reserves it requires banks to keep against deposits, and its buying and selling of securities in the open market. Meanwhile, many financial institutions—savings and loans, life insurance companies, etc.—and other money markets affect the upward price of interest.

But the Federal Reserve does not try to move interest rates down. Instead, its policies have encouraged the rising interest rate trend.

In short, the thinking of the nation's money managers is geared to higher interest rates. The problem is not that the Fed tries to force rates up, but that its policy blocks efforts to try to keep interest rates as low as possible for the needs of most Americans.

The Prime Rate—Bankers' Minimum Wage

While criticism of Federal Reserve policies has mounted throughout the past 20 years, much less attention has been paid to another basic lending rate, the so-called prime rate charged by the nation's leading banks to their blue ribbon customers. After the "prime rate" reached 7½ percent in March of 1969, the Fed raised the discount rate in April and many experts predicted another rise in the prime rate.

The prime rate—which is not set by legal authority but by the private action of big banks—has seesawed upward in the past 20 years at a higher rate than the discount level. Obviously, if the banks must pay the discount rate to borrow from the Fed, they must charge their customers a higher rate because interest rates mean income to the banks.

The trend is upward. Starting at 2 percent in the early 1950s, it moved to 5 percent before the 1954 recession, then back up to 4½ percent before the recession of 1958 and up again to 5 percent before the 1960-61 recession. In the 1960s, the prime rate never dropped below 4½ percent.

Thus in 10 years the basic lending rate of major banks had more than doubled—125 percent higher in the early 1960s than its level 10 years before. And it has zoomed upward in the past few years. By March 1969, the prime interest rate—which the banks charge their richest blue ribbon borrowers—was 275 percent higher than in the early 1950s.

The prime rate is as basic as the discount rate because banks scale many other rates upward from that level. Mortgage rates and many other interest charges tend to be higher—as less credit-worthy borrowers or less rapidly repayable loans must pay interest rates above the basic charge geared to the banks' needs for return on their loans.

This rate is "competitive" only in the sense that it

goes up when the demand for loans is high and down when economic slowdowns occur in borrowing. The bankers do not compete with one another on the prime rate. The prime rate sets the floor—a minimum wage set by the banks to protect their incomes.

The key big banks set the prime rate and the nation's other banks follow the leader. So the big banks set their own minimum wage—without negotiations with their customers or government legislation.

In "Floors and Ceilings," published in the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank Review in May of 1966, Federal Reserve Board Governor George Mitchell raised the question of why the bankers did not compete:

"Ceiling rates on loans are established by law. But floors on rates are set by the policy of bankers. The prime rate, for example, establishes the rate at which loans are made to the 'best' customers of the banks—that is, the large, well-established firms, which have the least risk of default."

Competition? The prime rate started in the Depression because competition was so much of a problem for the banks.

"The establishment of a nationwide prime rate," Governor Mitchell explains, "came in the 1930s when a very liquid banking system faced a greatly reduced loan demand. The combination of banks seeking loans and of customers who were well aware of the large number of available banking alternatives kept downward pressure on loan rates. In an effort to protect themselves from erosion of yields by these competitive forces, banks began to follow the lead of a few large banks who simply announced a floor rate below which they would not lend. Rates were scaled up from this minimum for less prime customers and stability in yields was thus assured. Borrowers were supposed to be happy because they knew they were paying the lowest rate available. Lenders were supposed to be content since they knew they competitively could not charge more than the going rate, and if they charged less they would simply cause all other banks to join them and hence they would 'spoil the market.'"

Thus the bankers started to set their own minimum wage in the 1930s. No competition for lower rates exists. The price of money is pegged not by law but by policies of private bankers who claim that "demand" and the "market" forced them to raise the prime rate to unprecedented heights in 1969.

"The kind of price-fixing inherent in the prime rate," Governor Mitchell comments, "contravenes some of the key virtues that we associate with competitive market enterprise . . .

"One could almost say it is downright discriminatory to fight inflation with monetary restraint so long as the prime rate is holding the credit door invitingly open to the biggest borrowers in the business."

But in March 1969, the banks raised the prime rate to 7½ percent and, with discounts, to over 9 percent.

While the banker-dominated policies of the Federal Reserve System and the bankers' price-fixing of a floor under rates continue to help drive interest rates upward, the nation seems to be awakening in 1969 to just how discriminatory and dangerous high interest rate policies have become.

The Business and Banking Bonanza

The large and medium-sized corporations feel the impact of high interest rates last, least and often only temporarily. They are the cause of the current inflationary boom, as business borrowing has zoomed upward. Business outlays for plants and machines in 1969 were expected to increase 14 percent over 1968, despite ever higher interest rates. The Fed's answer to slow the boom: higher interest rates and scarcer credit. By the time such a policy can reach the corporations, many more homebuilders, homebuyers, workers and others will feel the brunt of high-interest rate policies. Before the policy "works," the nation may be on its way to recession. Meanwhile, profits for big business and banks have soared upward in the 1960s while other groups have failed to match or barely kept up with the ever-rising spiral in costs.

Why haven't higher interest rates stopped big corporate investment? There are several reasons:

- Rich firms can get loans at the lowest interest rate—the prime rate—when others cannot borrow at any price or at much higher interest rates. The prime rate's purpose is to give the best customers the first chance at scarce credit. Others can get the leavings, if any, at high cost.
- Tax policies help make credit cheaper for corporations than for consumers since the interest costs are tax deductible as a cost of doing business.
- The 7 percent investment credit and double depreciation for new construction have spurred investment and reduced the cost of higher interest even further. This 7 percent tax credit is a government subsidy of business investment in new equipment and machines, thus spurring investment and cheapening the cost of interest for the corporation. Fast write-offs reduce the interest-cost impact even further.
- Business can pass on the higher interest costs in higher prices. Profits after taxes zoomed 91 percent between 1960 and 1968.
- The cash-flow from higher prices, plus tax depreciation write-offs, helps corporations to have enough money to pay for much expansion without borrowing money. When they have to borrow, the substantial cash-flow means the debt (at higher interest) can be paid back more rapidly, thus making the impact temporary on the big corporation.

As Business Week reported on March 22, 1969: ". . . whatever their motive for capital spending, big companies are agreeing on one vital point: The financing needed to carry out plans is already in the bag." Unlike the homebuyer whose income will not allow him to pay back a mortgage in less than 30 years because he can't afford higher monthly payments, the corporation has higher income from higher prices, depreciation write-offs and huge deductions from taxes.

THE RISE IN BANK EARNINGS FOR 1968

NEW YORK	
Bankers Trust N.Y. Corp.	10.2%
Charter-New York Corp.	15.6
Chase Manhattan Bank	13.3
Chemical Bank N.Y. Trust	9.7
First National City Corp.	10.4
Manufacturers Hanover	10.0
Morgan Guaranty	9.7
NORTHEAST	
First National, Boston	10.0
First Pennsylvania	7.1
Girard Trust	16.3
Mellon (Pittsburgh)	9.7
Philadelphia National	18.3
SOUTHEAST	
Citizens & Southern	16.7
First National, Atlanta	9.0
Virginia National	10.3
Wachovia	12.5
MIDWEST	
Continental Illinois	11.4
First National, Chicago	11.6
Harris Trust	12.8
Northern Trust	14.4
National Bank Detroit	12.2
National City, Cleveland	9.6
Northwest Bancorp	10.0
SOUTHWEST	
First National, Dallas	14.8
Republic National, Dallas	16.8
Valley National	17.7
WEST COAST	
Bank of America	11.8
Crocker-Citizens	6.8
Security Pacific	17.6
Union Cancorp	31.0
Wells Fargo	14.2
Seattle First	15.3

Source: Commercial and Financial Chronicle, March.

Thus higher interest rates, when charged, can be taken care of quickly. "We look for sufficient payback so that cash-flow will pay for capital improvement. If we do increase our debt in the process, it will be a very temporary increase," said one major corporate executive in the same issue of Business Week.

For banks, the upward climb of interest rates has meant a real bonanza. In the past five years, the nation's largest banks averaged a profit growth rate of 8 percent a year. Between 1967 and 1968 alone, these profits jumped 11 percent. And first quarter 1969 reports from leading banks show a great range, with some having 28 percent higher profits than the first quarter of the year before.

As bankers and well-to-do corporations continue to avoid the impact of Fed policies and hike their profits, government regulations seem less and less effective in an ever more complicated world. New loopholes are reported daily. Those who are causing the investment spree are hurting least, last and only temporarily.

For those hurt first, worst and for a long time—the average American and the national economy—discrimination takes many forms. Even legal ceilings on rates payable to savers benefit the well-off much more than the ordinary saver. The Fed sets the rates banks may pay depositors. In the 1960s, this rate moved upward from 3 percent to 6¼ percent for some deposits of $100,000 or more and to over 5 percent for others. But for the man with a savings account, the rate merely moved from 3 percent to 4 percent. Meanwhile, the "prime rate," the basic rate for income to the banks on the money they lend, has moved from a prime rate of 4 percent to 7½ percent.

Again, the cry for "market competition" urges removal of all ceiling rates in 1969 because the money lenders do not want a legal ceiling, even though they set their own floor.

The AFL-CIO pointed out to the Congress the "terrible price" the nation pays. In 1968, the Housing and Urban Development Act included a suspension of the legal ceiling on FHA mortgages until October 1969. In the interim, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development can change the rate so the mortgage lenders can "attract" money into the mortgage market.

"We note with considerable concern," the AFL-CIO said then, "the proposal that the statutory limit of 6 percent on all VA and FHA mortgages be eliminated and that the interest rate be set by the Housing and Urban Development Secretary.

"The argument is made that unless the limit is raised, there will not be any great flow of mortgage money and many of the programs within this bill will lie fallow, even if enacted.

"In effect, we are being told that the interest rate is being held hostage and all of us who are inherently opposed to high interest rates are expected to surrender as the price of realizing any mass building programs.

"If a higher interest rate were to produce more money and more dwellings, we might at least understand why some non-bankers support the proposal, knowing the terrible price that will very shortly have to be paid throughout our economy. That terrible price, we are convinced, will be an across-the-board upward movement in all money costs, be they the cost of borrowing for a car or other consumer items or the cost of borrowing by the U.S. Treasury or the state and local governments.

"The added interest will hit us all many times over. Very soon a new higher plateau of interest rates will be established, cancelling out any temporary advantage enjoyed by the higher mortgage interest rates. Within a matter of months, new pressures would generate another rise in the mortgage interest rates and the movement would be under way again to move the whole interest rate structure to a still higher plateau."

Unfortunately, labor's warning to Congress has proven prophetic as interest rates have continued their upward climb, at a heavy cost for the consumer, the businessman and government at every level.

NEW BOOKS

Rebel Voices—An I.W.W. Anthology

Edited, with introductions, by Joyce L. Kornbluh. Paperback AA 139, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mich. Third printing, 1968. 419 pp. $4.95. In original clothbound edition, $12.50.

In a period when the nation is being reminded that nothing is more American than protest, this book offers a good look at another period of turmoil and perhaps some perspective on our occasionally turbulent history. In Mrs. Kornbluh's words, "This anthology is an attempt to bring together the history of the I.W.W. as told by the Wobblies themselves. It is a story of their strikes, free-speech fights, trials and riots, of militancy and martyrdom, of sacrifices and suppression, of epic struggles for a One Big Union and a Cooperative Commonwealth which would be free of class and nationality distinctions." This book proved popular when it first appeared in hardcover, but it was expensive. This paperback edition now makes it more widely available.

NEW PAMPHLETS

Adjusting to Automation

AFL-CIO Publication No. 144. Available from AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division, 815 Sixteenth St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. January 1969. 36 pp. Single copies free.

As automation and increasing mechanization have swept through the economy, unions have attempted to ease and humanize the impact through collective bargaining. This publication consists of seven articles which first appeared in the American Federationist. They deal with specific approaches developed by unions in recent years: "Protecting Job Rights Through Attrition Clauses;" "Easing Job Changes by Advance Notice;" "SUB: Closing the Wage Loss Gap;" "The Transfer Rights of Displaced Workers;" "Severance Pay: Cushion at Job's End;" "The Quickening Trend Towards Early Retirement;" "The Shorter Workweek Trend." The articles have been revised to take account of recent bargaining advances.

Man and His Environment

AFL-CIO Publication No. 143. Available from AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division, 815 Sixteenth St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. January 1969. 26 pp. Single copies free.

There is a growing realization in America that the rampant growth of this nation must become a thing of the past, that an urbanized population must pay more attention to conserving the nation's resources than exploiting them, that there must be developed a sounder relationship between man and his environment. This publication presents labor's positions in several areas—the crisis in land use, the fight for clean air, the water crisis and the energy revolution. These updated articles first appeared in the American Federationist.

Security in Time of Need

AFL-CIO Publication No. 145. Available from AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division, 815 Sixteenth St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. March 1969. 32 pp. Single copies free.

The Social Security Act of 1935 was a landmark in social welfare for this nation. It laid the foundation for a system which would help people in need as a matter of right, based on the Constitution's empowering the federal government to provide for the general welfare. This publication, prepared by the AFL-CIO Department of Social Security, describes in detail the major components of the social security system: Old Age, Survivors, Disability and Health Insurance; Public Welfare; Workmen's Compensation; Unemployment Insurance; Health Programs. With the aid of charts, the background and coverage of each program are made clear. The problems and weaknesses in each area are described, along with labor's recommendations for improvement. After reviewing the programs designed to deal with some of the difficult problems of modern life—retirement, disability, unemployment, sickness, poverty—the publication concludes with labor's hope that the nation will move on to complete a social welfare structure which has proven its worth.

Women and American Trade Unions

By Alice H. Cook. New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 8 pages. Single copies free.

With more women working longer and more women joining unions, one would expect that the role of women in union life would have become more prominent. The author of this study points out that women are largely found in secondary leadership positions on the local level and seldom reach national leadership posts. In fact, she says, less attention is being paid to the special needs and problems of women union members than was the case earlier in the century. This study examines contract provisions for women workers and the effect recent federal legislation on "equality" has had on women's opportunities in the shops and the attitude of unions toward handling the kinds of grievances and demands arising under Title VII and the Equal Pay Act.

Why Not Be a Medical Technologist?

U.S. Department of Labor. Available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 10 cents.

This attractive leaflet is one of a series of "Careers for Women" leaflets which has just been issued by the

U.S. Department of Labor. Most of the questions a high school student would ask are clearly answered—what does the job consist of, what kinds of jobs are available in the field, what qualifications are needed, how much can one earn, what skills and aptitudes are necessary? Unions working with high school students can obtain other materials on career opportunities from the Department of Labor.

Focus on Community Action

Report of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity. Available from U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 58 pages. 35 cents.

This report on the poverty program briefly reviews the reasons for the existence of poverty in this affluent nation and the programs designed to help people break out of the poverty cycle. Recognizing that community action programs are the most misunderstood aspect of the war on poverty, this report describes the organization and development of a variety of programs which help the community fight illiteracy, unemployment, poor health, bad housing and other problems perpetuating poverty. The relationship of the community action agency to the governing structure in the community is discussed along with amendments adopted by Congress.

How to Conduct a Community Action Meeting

New Jersey Community Action Training Institute, 2465 South Broad St., Trenton, N.J. 20 pages. Single copy free; additional copies, 25 cents.

Whether it's an anti-poverty group or a union local, one of the first steps toward efficient operation is learning how to conduct an orderly meeting. Realizing this, the New Jersey community action training program has adapted the AFL-CIO's "How to Run a Union Meeting" to meet their needs. Union members serving on community action boards will want to obtain copies for their officers.

What Everyone Should Know About the Constitution of the U.S.

Channing L. Bete Company, Greenfield, Mass. 24 pages. 50 cents; over 100 copies, 30 cents each.

With the constantly raging debate over states' rights, the extent of presidential powers and the role of the Supreme Court, it may be helpful to re-examine the basic document that established the U.S. form of government. This attractively illustrated pamphlet contains the entire text of the Constitution and the 25 amendments, with marginal notes and illustrations clarifying and interpreting the various provisions.

The Responsibility of Candor

By Edward P. Morgan. International Labor Press Association, 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. 12 pages. 20 cents.

One of America's leading journalists discusses the need for greater frankness and courage among journalists who cover the news in all media. In a speech to the ILPA which is reproduced in this pamphlet, Edward P. Morgan discusses the special vulnerability of public broadcasting with its "low calorie diet of tiny appropriations" to retribution from the special interests. Morgan cited several cases in his recent experience as news director for the non-commercial Public Broadcast Laboratories.

Labor Breakthrough in the Southern Classroom

League for Industrial Democracy. Available from AFL-CIO Department of Education, 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006. 48 pages. Single copy free.

A breakthrough in having the role of the labor movement discussed on a southern university campus was achieved when the University of Virginia offered a course on organized labor in the spring of 1968. Course materials and lecturers were largely assembled by the LID, which initiated this pilot project. A three-day institute on labor's role in the South also was held on campus, bringing together union, civil rights and anti-poverty workers to discuss economic and social issues in this "right-to-work" state. The accomplishments in breaking down stereotypes and anti-labor attitudes in the two projects are recorded in this booklet by the instructors, labor leaders who participated in the session and in an evaluation of the course written by the students.

Clean Water—It's Up to You

Izaak Walton League of America, 1326 Waukegan Rd., Glenview, Ill. 48 pages. Free.

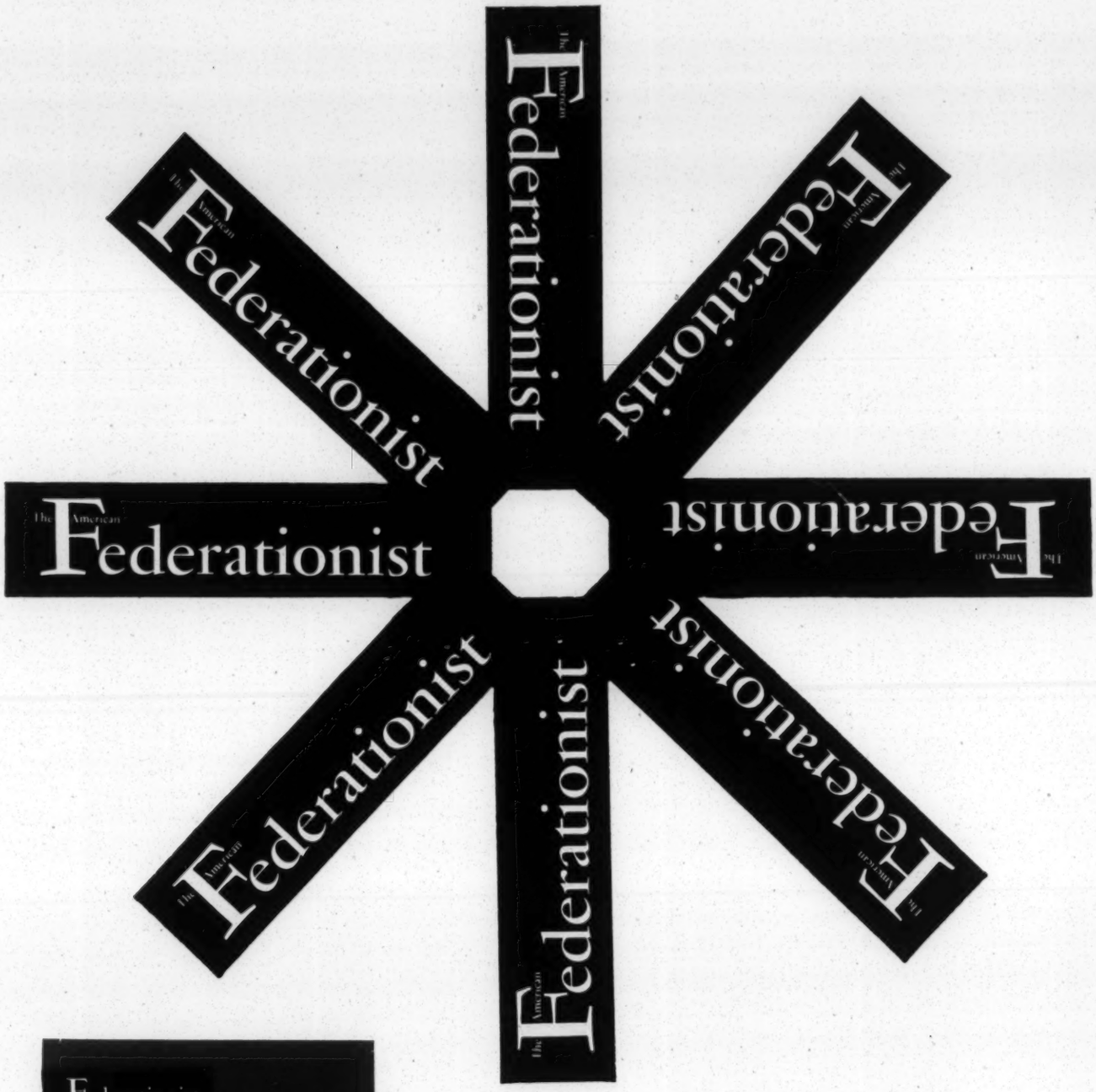
Water pollution threatens the health of many communities. It closes beaches and poisons fish, waterfowl and other wild creatures. It jeopardizes farms, factories and business investments. This pamphlet is designed to equip the concerned citizen with ideas and tools to fight for water quality standards and see that standards are enforced. This is a how-to-do-it pamphlet which will help citizens get the facts, check local standards and enforcement, make use of federal assistance programs, join with other community groups to promote this vital cause and elect candidates who will give leadership on the problem. "A Citizen Action Checklist" is included to help interested citizens get a program under way.

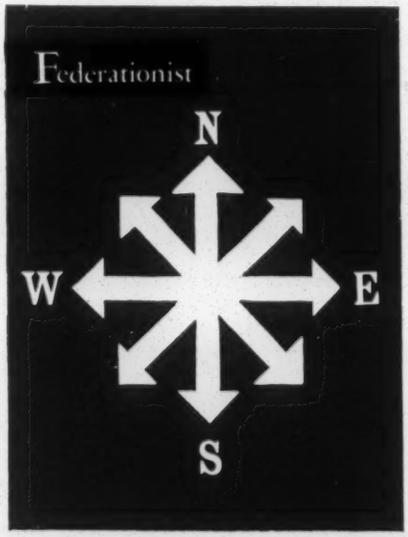
. . . AND RECORDS

Martin Luther King, Jr. at Local 1199

Produced by Moe Foner. Monaural LP. Available from Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union, RWDSU, 709 Eighth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10036. $4.95.

Just a few weeks before he was assassinated in Memphis, Martin Luther King addressed a Local 1199 rally. This memorial record opens and closes with King's "I've Been to the Mountain Top" speech and includes highlights from other speeches and sermons. Proceeds go to Local 1199's Brotherhood Fund.





LABOR'S JOURNAL OF OPINION

subscribe today to the labor movement's journal of opinion — an influential guide for trade union leadership

only $2.00 per year

Current Issues

Read 6/6/69 [V

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
BAYARD RUSTIN, Chairman Executive Committee
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 phone **667-1780** • New York address: 55 West 42nd St., New York 10036, phone 564-3450

MEMO: No. 8-69
June 4, 1969

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A MAJOR FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL IS INTRODUCED

A job for every American who wants to work is the goal of a major piece of legislation introduced in the House last week.

Representatives of nearly 40 of our participating organizations attended the press conference at which Rep. James O'Hara (D., Mich.) made the measure public on behalf of himself and the more than 100 fellow House members who joined him as co-sponsors.

The bill (introduced in 5 identical measures, H.R. 11620,-21,-22, -23,-24) simply titled "The Manpower Act" was referred to the House Education and Labor Committee. Once the date for public hearings is set we shall announce it.

Jobs: Public and Private

The principal purpose of The Manpower Act is stated on the title page: "to assure an opportunity for employment to every American seeking work and to make available the education and training needed by any persons to qualify for employment consistent with his highest potential and capability."

The bill has three main features:

1. It would consolidate some nine existing job training programs into a single program administered by the Secretary of Labor. The sponsors hope in this way to permit the government to respond more flexibly to the needs of the unemployed and the labor market. The programs consolidated are those specified in the Manpower Development and Training Act and Part 1(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN SOCIAL ACTION TEAM
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES — NATIONAL WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARKET DEVELOPERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
POALE ZION
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
USCC DIVISION FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

2. It would create a completely new program designed to encourage employers to train their present employees for higher-skilled, better-paying jobs - and by upgrading them, create more job openings at the entry-levels of their industries. Ninety percent of the cost of approved upgrading programs would be paid by the government. Bonuses would be awarded to employers whose programs resulted in "substantial upgrading and high retention."

3. The Secretary of Labor would be empowered to contract with any Federal, state or local governmental agency, or with any private nonprofit organization for work that would absorb into public service employment those who have not found places in private industry. This program would bring the unskilled into community improvement projects in health, education, public safety, recreation, beautification, etc. It would seek to provide them with the training they need to move on into regular private or public employment.

There is no price tag on the Manpower Act. It would authorize the appropriation of sums needed to accomplish its objectives. It does not specify how many jobs its programs will create. Mr. O'Hara said at the press conference that he forsees a first-year target of 200,000 jobs in the public and non-profit sectors; the future extent of the program would depend on the ability of private industry to provide jobs for those looking for work.

What Participating Organizations Can Do

Leadership Conference organizations interested in supporting the Manpower Act can help in several ways:

1. Familiarize yourself with the bill. Copies can be obtained from the House Document Room, Capitol, Washington, D. C. by simply asking for the bill by number.

2. Enclosed with this MEMO is a list of the House members who, as of this date, have joined in sponsoring the bill. If you find your Congressman's name among them, by all means commend him. If he is not on the list, urge him to become a sponsor.

This bill would go far toward meeting the goal set forth in the statement adopted at the annual meeting of the Leadership Conference Board in which we urged Congress "to enact a massive employment program that will create socially useful jobs in both the public and private sectors of the economy."

LANDMARK HEARINGS ON THE "POWERLESSNESS" OF FARM LABOR GET UNDERWAY

An inquiry into the "powerlessness" of migrant and seasonal farm workers is being conducted by the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. The far-ranging hearings, according to the Subcommittee Chairman Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.) will "explore the depth to which migrant workers are powerless to influence decisions in their base communities and so-called 'user states.' The degree to which and the way in which migrant and seasonal farm workers are deprived of political power and economic power, deprived of cultural identity or pride, deprived of the rights and privileges that most Americans take for granted."

The tentative hearing dates are as follows:

June 9 and 10: "Who Are the Migrants?"
July 14 and 15: "Efforts in Community and Union Organization"
July 28: "Migrant Subculture" (The witness will be Dr. Robert Coles)
July 29: "The Effects of Pesticides on Farm Workers"
August 7 and 8: "Legal Problems of Migrants"

Additional hearings in September and October will explore limitations of present government service programs and social and worker benefit programs; employment and manpower programs; the nature and scope of rural employment; and the future of migrant and seasonal farm workers.

We urge our Washington representatives to try and attend these hearings. The time and place of the hearings can be obtained by calling the Subcommittee, CA 4-3121, ext. 4538.

- 30 -

SPONSORS OF H.R. 11620

James G. O'Hara, of Michigan.
Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey.
John Brademas, of Indiana.
Augustus F. Hawkins, of California.
Brock Adams, of Washington.
Joseph P. Addabbo, of New York.
Glenn M. Anderson, of California.
Frank Annunzio, of Illinois.
William A. Barrett, of Pennsylvania.
Mario Biaggi, of New York.
Jonathan B. Bingham, of New York.
John A. Blatnik, of Minnesota.
Edward P. Boland, of Massachusetts.
George E. Brown, Jr., of California.
James A. Burke, of Massachusetts.
Daniel E. Button, of New York.
James A. Byrne, of Pennsylvania.
Frank M. Clark, of Pennsylvania.
Jeffrey Cohelan, of California.
John Conyers, Jr., of Michigan.
James C. Corman, of California.

SPONSORS OF H.R. 11621

Dominick V. Daniels, of New Jersey.
Carl D. Perkins, of Kentucky.
John H. Dent, of Pennsylvania.
Roman C. Pucinski, of Illinois.
Charles C. Diggs, Jr., of Michigan.
John D. Dingell, of Michigan.
Thaddeus J. Dulski, of New York.
Don Edwards, of California.
Bob Eckhardt, of Texas.
Joshua Eilberg, of Pennsylvania.
Leonard Farbstein, of New York.
Dante B. Fascell, of Florida.
Thomas S. Foley, of Washington.
Donald M. Fraser, of Minnesota.
Cornelius E. Gallagher, of New Jersey.
Sam Gibbons, of Florida.
Jacob H. Gilbert, of New York.
Henry B. Gonzalez, of Texas.
Kenneth J. Gray, of Illinois.
William J. Green, of Pennsylvania.
Seymour Halpern, of New York.

SPONSORS OF H.R. 11622

William D. Ford, of Michigan.
Hugh L. Carey, of New York.
James H. Scheuer, of New York.
Adam C. Powell, of New York.
Robert H. Mollohan, of West Virginia.
William T. Murphy, of Illinois.
William S. Moorhead, of Illinois.
Thomas E. Morgan, of Pennsylvania.
Lucien N. Nedzi, of Michigan.
Robert N. Nix, of Pennsylvania.
David R. Obey, of Wisconsin.
Arnold Olsen, of Montana.
Thomas P. O'Neill, of Massachusetts.
Richard L. Ottinger, of New York.
Claude Pepper, of Florida.
Bertram L. Podell, of New York.
Melvin Price, of Illinois.
Thomas M. Rees, of California.
Henry S. Reuss, of Wisconsin.
Peter W. Rodino, Jr., of New Jersey.
Fred B. Rooney, of Pennsylvania.

SPONSORS OF H.R. 11623

Lloyd Meeds, of Washington.
Louis Stokes, of Ohio.
William Clay, of Missouri.
Benjamin S. Rosenthal, of New York.
Daniel J. Ronan, of Illinois.
Edward R. Roybal, of California.
William F. Ryan, of New York.
George E. Shipley, of Illinois.
John M. Slack, of West Virginia.
B. F. Sisk, of California.
William L. St. Onge, of Connecticut.
Robert O. Tiernan, of Rhode Island.
John V. Tunney, of California.
Morris K. Udall, of Arizona.
Charles A. Vanik, of Ohio.
Lionel Van Deerlin, of California.
Jerome R. Waldie, of California.
Charles H. Wilson, of California.
Lester L. Wolff, of New York.
Gus Yatron, of Pennsylvania.
Clement J. Zablocki, of Wisconsin.

SPONSORS OF H.R. 11624

William Hathaway, of Maine.
Patsy T. Mink, of Hawaii.
Phillip Burton, of California.
Joseph M. Gaydos, of Pennsylvania.
Wayne L. Hays, of Ohio.
Julia Butler Hansen, of Washington.
Ken Hechler, of West Virginia.
Henry Helstoski, of New Jersey.
Floyd V. Hicks, of Washington.
James J. Howard, of New Jersey.
Chet Holifield, of California.
Charles S. Joelsen, of New Jersey.
Joseph E. Karth, of Minnesota.
Edward I. Koch, of New York.
Peter N. Kyros, of Maine.
Robert L. Leggett, of California.
Ray J. Madden, of Indiana.
Spark M. Matsunaga, of Hawaii.
Abner J. Mikva, of Illinois.
George P. Miller, of California.
Joseph G. Minish, of New Jersey.

Editorials

Current Issues

Ethics

Some Senators and Congressmen are living in glass houses when they denounce the ethical conduct, or misconduct, of some of our Supreme Court Justices. Or, so it seems to an increasing body of citizens.

Most trade union members would agree that an annual salary of $60,000 a year is a stately income. It should be enough to permit a Supreme Court Justice to keep body and soul together without outside fees from any source whatsoever.

But what of a United States Senator who gets only $42,500 plus travel, plus office, plus help, plus, plus, plus?

Should a Senator who serves on the Judiciary Committee profit from his partnership in a private law firm that represents clients in cases before Federal Judges whose appointment was approved by that Judiciary Committee?

Should a Senator who serves on the Armed Forces Appropriations Subcommittee profit from ownership of large blocs of stock in defense corporations?

Should a Senator who serves on the Finance Committee passing on laws to regulate banks and other saving institutions be an officer or important stockholder in a private bank or savings and loan institution?

Should Senators who vote Federal subsidies to farmers for not working their land be allowed to collect such subsidies for owning farms they don't work?

The same questions could be asked of Congressmen. The only difference is that for the first time this year, members of the House have been required—by their own vote—to report outside income. Senators have a gentler law under which they divulge speaking fees and such honorariums.

The question of ethics of public servants has been raised and quite properly. Now, let's make sure that a single standard is applied to all three branches of Government—the Courts, the Executive and the Congress.

It's time some of those questions were answered.

Appeal

More than 1,000 IAM members on National Airlines have been locked out, and fired for four and a half months from their jobs at Miami, New York City, Newark and Philadelphia.

These men are fighting a battle not only for themselves and their families, but for every member of the IAM. If an employer under IAM contract can ignore the union contract, evade Federal laws governing bargaining and escape without penalty, no IAM member is safe on his job.

Fortunately, National Airlines is not likely to get away with it. The union has put its case against National before the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. It has also brought the National Mediation Board into U.S. District Court at Washington, D.C., for its prolongation of useless mediation efforts. These legal efforts should bear fruit, but they take time.

Meanwhile, more than 1,000 union members and their families are barely subsisting on $25 a week strike benefits, plus food chits provided by contributions to their Lockout Fund. Donations are urgently needed on a continuing basis. Every IAM local has received an officially endorsed appeal. Make checks payable to A. C. Carter, Secretary-Treasurer, IAM District 145, 801 W. 49the St., Hialeah, Fla. 33012. It will be money well spent.

Current Issues

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
BAYARD RUSTIN, Chairman Executive Committee
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 phone 667-1780 • New York address: 55 West 42nd St., New York 10036, phone 564-3450

MEMO: No. 9-69
June 25, 1969

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A NEW THREAT TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The Federal guidelines for the desegregation of Southern public schools, under steady Dixiecrat attack in Congress, are now confronted by a new threat. This time high government officials are considering moves which would weaken them.

A perceptive story in the Washington Post last Friday describes the situation. We enclose a copy. We urge you to read it and this MEMO and start writing: to the President and to HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch, protesting this latest attempt to thwart the law and proper enforcement of it.

A Move To Abolish Deadlines

The immediate target in the new campaign is the provision in the guidelines that would require most Southern school districts to come up with acceptable desegregation plans by the start of the 1969-70 school year in September, or face a cut-off of Federal funds.

When representatives of the Leadership Conference met with Secretary Finch on March 16, the matter of the deadline was raised. The representatives felt they received assurances from Mr. Finch that the deadline would be respected and the guidelines would not be rewritten.

Now, according to reports and stories like the one in the Post, it appears that HEW's new General Counsel, Robert C. Mardian, and Jerris Leonard, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, are drafting a statement that would abolish any deadline. Southern school districts that have been resisting desegregation for 15 years would be given an indefinite time in which to come into compliance with the law.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN SOCIAL ACTION TEAM
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES — NATIONAL WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARKET DEVELOPERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
POALE ZION
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
USCC DIVISION FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

This move can only stiffen resistance to the laws of Congress and to the decisions of the Supreme Court, which declared in Green v. New Kent County, that each school board must "come forward with a (desegregation) plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now." (Emphasis in the original.) If this change in policy takes place, school officials in districts that have already complied with the law are going to suffer. These officials, who have simply done what the law requires, will very likely be attacked for giving in too early.

South Carolina Was The Tipoff

The first sign that the administration was easing away from strict enforcement of the guidelines came earlier this month. On June 2, HEW made public the desegregation plans it had developed for 21 school districts in South Carolina, Strom Thurmond country. These districts were under court order to desegregate promptly. HEW gave 18 of the 21 until the 1970-71 school year to desegregate instead of holding them to its own 1969-70 deadline.

Encouraged by this sign of leniency, other districts in South Carolina and elsewhere in the South - districts that have come up with acceptable plans for eliminating their dual school systems this year or next - are petitioning HEW for more time. They are using the treatment of the 21 districts as their precedent.

What You Must Do

Roy Wilkins, chairman of the Leadership Conference, responded to the news of the new threat to the guidelines by writing to the President. He asked for an opportunity to meet with Mr. Nixon before any change in the guidelines is made. He warned that if it were necessary to bring suits against the government to stop erosion of the school desegregation program, "we are prepared to bring them." The text of that letter is enclosed with this MEMO.

Please write your own. Write or wire President Nixon, urging him to stop this new attempt to weaken enforcement. But you must act at once. The new policy statement may be coming out any day now.

And send copies of your letter to HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch, c/o Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 330 Independence Avenue, S. W., Washington, D. C. and to U. S. Attorney General John Mitchell, c/o Department of Justice, 10th & Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The matter is urgent. You cannot act too quickly.

DRIVE FOR 1969 CIVIL RIGHTS LAW PICKS UP MOMENTUM

The campaign for new civil rights legislation in this Congress began to quicken last week. Senate sponsors of the omnibus civil rights bill (S. 2029) introduced earlier this session, (see MEMO: No. 7-69) reintroduced the four sections of that measure as separate bills.

You may remember the same approach was used in the last Congress in order to speed Committee consideration of the component parts of the civil rights package.

The four bills and their new numbers are:

1. S. 2453 - A bill to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, principally by giving it power to issue cease-and-desist orders against violators, should its efforts at conciliation fail;

2. S. 2454 - A bill to guarantee that juries in state court trials are chosen without discrimination as to race, creed, color, sex, national origin or economic status;

3. S. 2455 - A bill to remove the ceiling on appropriations for the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. (The existing law holds the appropriation to the figure approved in 1968, $2,650,000.);

4. S. 2456 - A bill to extend provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for another five years to 1975. Without the extension, states would be free after August 1970 to reimpose restrictive voting practices.

The last three bills are the same as the comparable titles in the omnibus bill. The Equal Employment Opportunities bill was introduced in amended form. Among other things, it would extend the EEO Commission's jurisdiction to include employers of 8 or more employees as well as employees of state and local governments. And it would consolidate equal employment opportunity enforcement by transferring to EEOC the Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance and the equal employment opportunity activities of the Civil Service Commission.

House Hearings on Voting Rights

Meanwhile, the House Judiciary Committee is continuing its hearings on a companion bill (H.R. 4249) to extend provisions of the Voting Rights Act another five years.

U. S. Attorney General John Mitchell has postponed his testimony on this legislation five times. He is scheduled to appear this Thursday, June 26. Clarence Mitchell, chairman of the Leadership Conference's Legislative Committee, is scheduled to testify at the same time. We shall report on this testimony once it is given.

- 30 -

Administration Eyes Softening Of Guidelines

By Peter Milius
Washington Post Staff Writer

Nixon Administration officials have drafted a policy statement that would give Southern school districts more time to desegregate than current guidelines allow.

The statement is still being argued about, and has yet to be officially adopted.

The guidelines contain desegregation deadlines. The deadline for complete desegregation in most Southern school districts is September.

There are two broad exceptions to this rule — Districts with Negro majorities and those that have to build schools before desegregating can have until September, 1970, to comply.

The proposed policy statement would simply do away with these deadlines.

The guidelines are based on Federal law as set forth by Congress and the courts.

Court Decision

One of the main bases for the 1969 and 1970 deadlines is the freedom-of-choice opinion handed down by the Supreme Court two years ago in Green v. New Kent County.

The Court rejected a freedom-of-choice plan that had not brought about much desegregation, declaring that "the burden on a school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now."

Elsewhere in the same opinion the Court said desegregation plans must have "real prospects for dismantling the state-imposed dual (school) system 'at the earliest practicable date.' "

The Johnson Administration seized upon this criterion and said it meant school districts had to desegregate entirely and right away.

The proposed Nixon policy statement takes a different view. It says a school district has to file a plan right away, and that the plan must promise complete desegregation. But if circumstances warrant, it says, the desegregation itself can come in stages.

The Nixon Administration has been under heavy Southern pressure all year to relax the desegregation guidelines in return for the support the South gave Mr. Nixon last November.

On several occasions the Administration has bent the guidelines, but so far it has not broken them.

Jerris Leonard, chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, said yesterday that the proposed policy statement is not a retreat by the Administration.

'Where Possible'

He said that, if the statement is adopted and issued, school districts will still be required to desegregate right away "where that is possible."

"The problem," he said, "is where it's not possible."

He pointed out that Federal civil rights officials cannot get around to all the remaining Southern school districts by this September, and that "it's wrong to set an arbitrary deadline we can't meet."

The guidelines, he noted are really just a statement of policy, and have been amended before. "We're simply attempting to draft a statement to set out what the law requires," he said, "and then enforce it according to the resources available."

Leonard is one author of the proposed statement. Another is Robert C. Mardian, general counsel in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The proposal has a good deal of support within the White House staff.

There is resistance within Leonard's own civil rights division, from HEW's Office of Civil Rights and from other aides to HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch.

Officials said yesterday they doubt the issue will be resolved before next week, when Finch returns from vacation.

TEXT OF WILKINS' LETTER TO PRESIDENT

Dear Mr. President:

Today the goal of equal education in a single school system is in peril; it now appears that the Federal government may be party to a flagrant denial of constitutional rights. News and other reports suggest that your administration is countenancing a delay. We understand the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is about to postpone the deadline for school desegregation indefinitely even though the Department's guidelines call for desegregation by the start of the school year, 1969-70. On this issue, representatives of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights were personally assured by HEW Secretary Finch on March 16, that the guidelines would not be rewritten or evaded.

Reports of the plans drafted by the Department of HEW for most of 21 school districts in South Carolina at the request of the Federal District Courts indicate the Department is ignoring its own guidelines in formulating its proposals. Under the guise of assisting the court, the Department is helping to thwart implementation of the Supreme Court's school decisions.

This is a shameful and discouraging state of affairs. If the reports are true, the Department will be betraying the trust placed in it by the Congress when it passed Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Repeatedly you have declared that your Administration is dedicated to law and order, and will not permit this evasion of the law.

There is no doubt anymore about what needs to be done. The Supreme Court in 1968 and 1969 clarified the law: desegregation must be effected in 1969; desegregation of school faculties must be effected; freedom of choice plans must be considered inadequate where they fail to bring about elimination of the dual school system.

The organizations united in the Leadership Conference are determined to stop erosion of school desegregation in the name of expediency. If this means suits against the government, we are prepared to bring them. We shall do all in our power to arouse the conscience of America to keep the nation from falling back.

Before any change in the guidelines is carried forward, we urgently request an opportunity to meet with you, Mr. President, to discuss the implications of such a move.

Respectfully,

Roy Wilkins

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

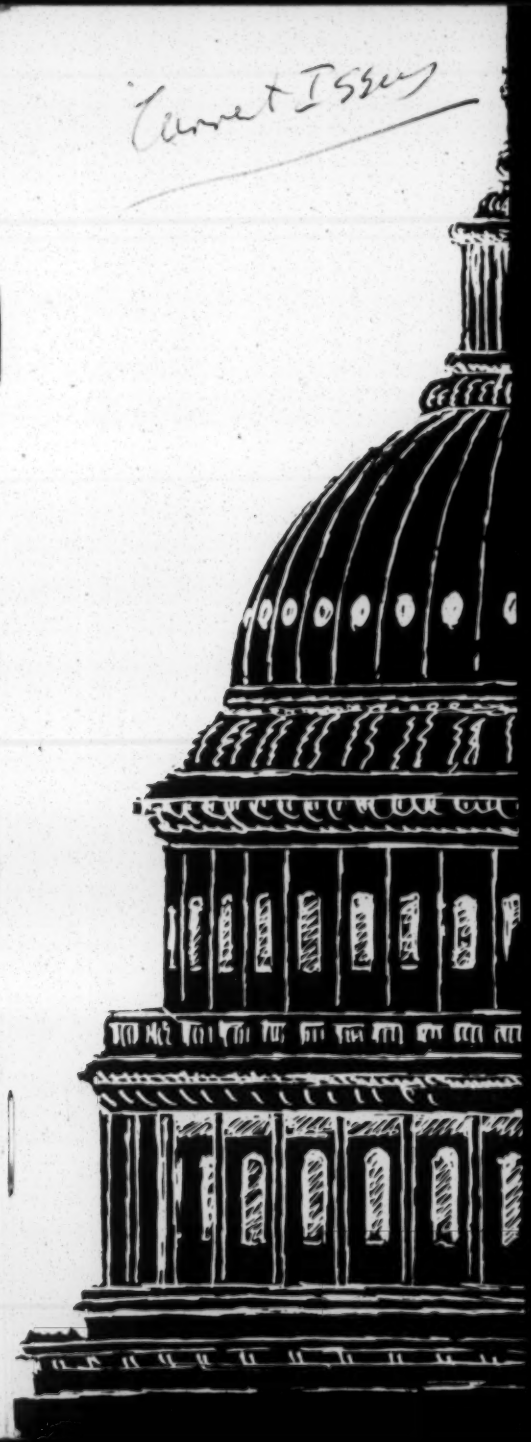
815 SIXTEENTH STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20006

GEORGE MEANY
President

LANE KIRKLAND
Secretary-Treasurer

17 17

Current Issues



Labor Looks at Congress 1969

An AFL-CIO Legislative Report

Current Issues

WE WANT TAX JUSTICE!

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006
GEORGE MEANY, President
WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

Let's suppose that you and your neighbor are at the check-out counter of a supermarket. You each buy a loaf of bread. But the price to you is 30 cents, while your neighbor only has to pay 12 cents.

When you buy shoes for your youngster, you are charged $8. Your neighbor, who has exactly the same income and family responsibilities, only has to pay $3.

"How come?" you ask the store manager.

"That's the law," he replies.

If there really were such a law, you

can bet it would be quickly changed. The American people wouldn't stand for such unfairness.

Yet, there are injustices just as glaring in our nation's income tax laws. Take this example:

A married worker whose sole income is $8,000 a year in wages and has a standard tax deduction will pay $1,000 in federal income tax.

But a married investor whose sole income in a year is an $8,000 profit from selling a stock or property at more than he paid for it will have to pay only $354 in federal income tax.

He pays less because the tax rate on "capital gains" is much less than the tax rate on earned income.

That's just one of many tax loopholes the AFL-CIO wants Congress to close.

Tax reform is a dollar and cents, bread and butter issue to every American family.

These tax loopholes, intended to benefit the rich, take money out of your paycheck.

If a store had to sell its shoes at less than cost to some customers, it would have to charge other customers more money to make up for the loss.

The same is true with taxes.

AFL-CIO economists figured out how much some of the most glaring tax loopholes were costing the federal government.

The answer was about $16 billion a year.

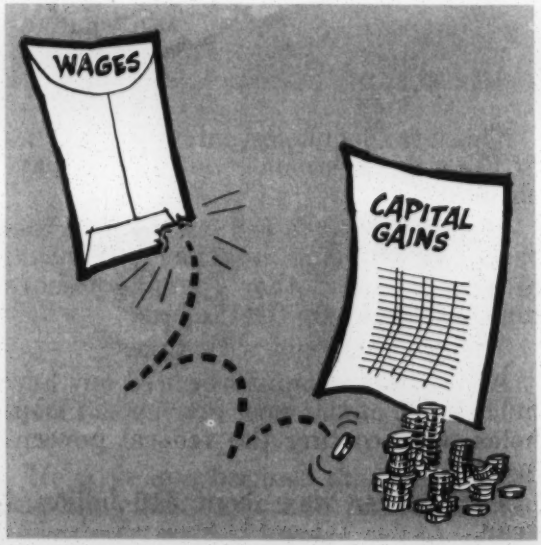
Just the one loophole we illustrated—the capital gains tax—means a loss of more than $6 billion a year in tax revenue.

Who benefits?

Well, one-third of all capital gains reported on tax returns went to persons with incomes over $100,000 a year.

Who loses?

Obviously, people whose income comes from wages and salaries. They have to



pay more in taxes because the money is needed to run the government, defend the nation and carry out programs to help all the people.

If tax loopholes were closed, part of the added revenue could be used to make taxes fairer for everyone. And there would be enough left over to finance government programs that are so urgently needed.

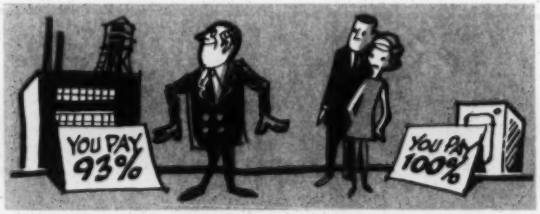
Let's take a look at a few more of these tax loopholes.

Did you know that the government in effect pays 7 percent of the cost of new equipment or machines for a corporation? And that's in addition to the normal tax deductions allowed for business expenses and interest charges.

It's called an investment tax credit and it costs the federal treasury $3 billion a year.

Just now, the government is trying to do everything it can to cool off the economy and curb inflation. It just doesn't make sense to continue the 7 percent investment tax credit which heats up the only source of inflationary demand in the economy.

Incidentally, if you buy a new washing machine for your home, you can't subtract 7 percent of the cost from your tax bill.



But that's because you're not a corporation.

If you're not a wealthy investor, chances are that terms such as oil depletion allowance and accelerated depreciation on real estate don't mean anything to you.

But they mean that the federal government loses more than $2 billion in tax revenues each year because of those loopholes. And whose taxes do you think make up for this loss?

The Wall Street Journal gave these examples of how some people with big incomes escape taxes:

- An investor reported an income of more than $1.4 million. But by taking advantage of both the real estate depreciation loophole and the capital gains loophole, he paid no tax at all.

- Another investor, whose money came from oil, took in more than $1 million—and paid only $397 in taxes.

According to the U. S. Treasury's latest report:

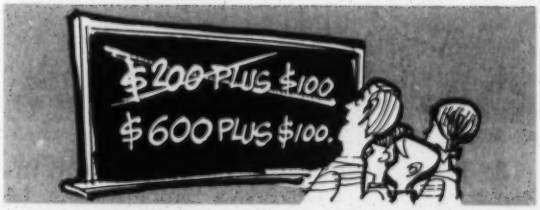
21 millionaires and another 134 Americans with incomes over $200,000 paid not a penny in federal income taxes.

But, 2¼ million Americans, whose incomes are below the government's poverty level, paid $100 million in income taxes.

One way to avoid paying any federal taxes is to invest your money in state and local bonds. The interest is tax-exempt.

This provision does help cities and states sell their bonds on more favorable terms. But the federal government could subsidize one-third of the interest cost for such bonds and still come out $100 million a year ahead if this tax loophole were closed. That's one of the reforms the AFL-CIO has urged.

There are other escape hatches by which the wealthy legally evade taxes. Big corporations can spin off smaller subsidiaries for tax gains. Wealthy people find it mighty profitable to lose money on a part-time farm, even if you don't actually lose anything. Charity begins at home, if you have a good tax lawyer.



Just using part of the added revenue from closing these loopholes—$6.7 billion out of the estimated $16 billion—Congress could enact these tax reductions urged by the AFL-CIO:

1. Raise the minimum standard deduction from the present $200 plus $100 for each exemption to $600 plus $100 per exemption.

This would exempt from federal income tax most people earning below the poverty level and reduce the tax on all low-income families.

2. Increase the standard deduction from the present 10 percent with a $1,000 maximum to 15 percent and a $2,500 maximum.

This would bring standard deductions closer to the actual deductions of most taxpayers. It would enable most people to use the simple short form tax return and would result in lower taxes for millions of people in the $5,000 to $20,000 income range.

3. Reduce the rate on the first two income tax brackets from the current 14 percent and 15 percent to 9 percent and 13 percent.

This proposal would provide $3.4 billion in tax relief to all taxpayers, but about 95 percent of the saving would go to those with incomes below $20,000.

These are the AFL-CIO's proposals for tax justice.

They make sense.

The graduated income tax is the fairest system of taxation ever devised anywhere in the world.

It is based on ability to pay, with the tax rate rising progressively as income goes up.

That's the system the United States started out with more than half a century ago.

But the tax structure has been badly rigged as, over the years, influential business groups managed to get special privileges written into the law. Today about nine-tenths of the voluminous, complicated tax code is devoted to exemptions for special interest groups.

These special interest lobbyists today are doing everything they can to block meaningful tax reform. The transcript of congressional hearings is filled with their testimony urging that the loopholes the AFL-CIO is trying to close be continued, even expanded.

It will take a mighty outpouring of public indignation to counteract their influence.

America's workers pay their taxes through the payroll deduction system. Every time our unions negotiate a pay raise, the federal government gets its share.

That's OK with us. We know taxes are necessary.

What's not OK is that we're paying more than our fair share because some taxpayers pay less than their share.

The AFL-CIO and the union you belong to have urged Congress to make the tax changes outlined in this pamphlet. We want real tax justice.

You can help by letting Congress know that millions of trade union families feel strongly that all income should be taxed fairly and equitably.

Let your congressman and senators know that you want the 7 percent investment tax credit repealed and the other tax loopholes closed.

Tell them that you support the AFL-CIO program for tax reform and tax justice.

It takes three letters to make your voice heard loud and clear.

One should be sent to your congressman. His address is U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Your state has two senators. Write to both of them, U. S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

The postage may be the best investment you ever made even if it isn't tax deductible. If you were a corporation you could deduct the postage.

Const'l
Const'l. Law

STATEMENT BY THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON THE ABE FORTAS NOMINATION

September 24, 1968

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights vehemently opposes the use of a Senate filibuster to block the nomination of Mr. Justice Abe Fortas to be Chief Justice of the United States.

Since the organization of the Conference, nearly 20 years ago, we have recognized how the filibuster has been used to block civil rights and social welfare programs essential to a democratic nation, and have sought to change Rule XXII in order to enable a majority of the Senate to work its will. Use of the filibuster against Mr. Fortas would only add the most ignoble chapter of all to the history of this parliamentary device. We urge all Senators who value the reputation of the Senate to vote for cloture whenever it is clear that opponents of the nomination have concluded fruitful debate and are simply talking to keep the body from acting.

We are shocked and concerned, too, at the manner in which some Senators have constituted themselves a board of review on Supreme Court decisions and appear to hold Mr. Fortas personally responsible for rulings they dislike. This is obviously improper; an incredible attempt to undercut the independence of the Judiciary.

It would be tragic if a minority of the Senate, including some of the leading opponents of civil rights legislation, were to so abuse the power of advise and consent as to attempt to intimidate the Court. Now, more than ever, we need the Court to speak for that national conscience that believes it is possible, through law, to correct the worst injustices of American society.

We therefore urge all Senators to support a cloture move and allow the nomination of Abe Fortas to come to a vote.

But enforcement of the law is in serious danger now because Congress will not appropriate any money for that purpose. The Senate allocated $9 million to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for enforcement. That would have enabled HUD to hire about 690 investigators to work nationwide. House and Senate conferees, however, deleted the $9 million and both House and Senate, as this MEMO is written, have accepted the report of the conference.

The Leadership Conference issued the following protest:

"Deletion from the budget of the Department of Housing and Urban Development of the $9 million appropriated by the Senate for the enforcement of the Federal Fair Housing Law is a shocking act. Those bent on destroying this country will undoubtedly point to it as an example of how democracy fails its citizens. The long Congressional debate on fair housing must not become a travesty through the denial of adequate funds for the enforcement of the law.

"Congress will still be in session for another week or so. It is a matter of urgent national necessity that some way be found to restore these funds. We call on all members of the House and Senate to make every effort to do so."

We likewise call upon all Conference organizations to issue their own protests against this shocking act. Only prolonged public protest will persuade Congress to restore funds before it quits.

HEADSTART TRANSFER DEADLOCKED

The proposed transfer of Headstart from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, is still a matter of intense behind-the-scenes discussion as this MEMO is written. The Vocational Education Act (H. R. 18366) contains a Senate amendment that would authorize the transfer. It is sure to be a matter of hot debate once the House-Senate conference on the bill gets underway.

At this moment only the Senate conferees have been named. They are Senators: Wayne Morse (D., Oregon), chief proponent of the transfer; Ralph Yarborough (D., Texas), Joseph Clark (D., Pa.), Gaylord Nelson (D., Wis.), Harrison Williams (D., N. J.), Jennings Randolph (D., W. Va.), Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.), George Murphy (R., Cal.), Peter Dominick (R., Colo.), and Winston L. Prouty (R., Vt.).

The conference may be underway by the time you get this MEMO. All Senators should be wired protesting any transfer that will deny participation in Headstart to the parents and the community and kill its innovative spirit.

- 30 -

Constitutional Law — Civil Liberties

Electrician Threw Switch on Judicial System

By WILLIAM B. WILLIAMS

In the early 1960s, Clarence Earl Gideon, a 60-year-old electrician with a penchant for burglary, rested quietly in a Florida prison cell.

Neither he, nor did anyone else, could know that the circumstances of his conviction would lead to the changing of the face of criminal justice in the United States.

For it was his case that led to the opening of a legal Pandora's box that would ultimately assure every American citizen the right to be represented by an attorney in a criminal case.

GIDEON had been accused of breaking into a Florida poolroom and appeared before a Florida state court for his trial. He had only a sixth grade education, and was unschooled in the law.

He asked the judge to appoint him an attorney. The judge ruled that he was not entitled to an attorney since his case was not a capital offense.

Under Florida law, the court was directed only to furnish free lawyers to persons charged with capital crimes.

Gideon, who maintained his innocence, conducted his own defense, made his opening statement to the jury, cross-examined state witnesses and declined to testify.

HE WAS no match for the skilled Florida prosecutors, and the jury found him guilty and he was sentenced to five years imprisonment.

In the Florida prison, he crudely sketched out a petition for a writ of habeas corpus to the Florida Supreme Court on the grounds that he was denied the right to counsel.

"No system worth preserving should have to fear that if an accused is permitted to consult with a lawyer he will become aware of, and exercise (his) rights." — U.S. Supreme Court, Escobedo v. Illinois.

The Florida Supreme Court denied the petition.

Since 1942, the U.S. Supreme Court had been operating under the decision of Betts v. Brady, a Maryland case. The case was almost identical to Gideon's.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Betts was not entitled to free counsel because the Sixth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees counsel, does not apply to states.

NEVERTHELESS, Gideon appealed the Florida case to the U.S. Supreme Court. His problem presented difficulties to the court, and to assure he got a fair hearing, the court appointed Abe Fortas, now a Supreme Court justice, to represent him.

Bruce Jacob, with the Florida attorney general's staff, represented the state.

Betts was riddled with exceptions, but the high court had never issued a blanket ruling that any defendant in a felony case had the right to counsel.

The case was argued, and on a windy March 18, 1963, the Supreme Court ruled that Gideon was illegally convicted because he had no counsel at his trial.

THE COURT ruled that the Sixth Amendment does apply to the states because of the due process clause of the 14th Amendment.

The Sixth Amendment states: "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right . . . to have the assistance of counsel for his defense."

This meant that in all of the states, the states must furnish free counsel to indigent defendants in felony cases.

"Any person hailed into court, who is too poor to hire a lawyer, cannot be assured a fair trial unless counsel is provided for him. This seems to us to be an obvious truth. . . . Lawyers in criminal courts are necessities, not luxuries," the Supreme Court ruled.

JACOB, who later became an Emory University law professor, is now doing graduate studies at Harvard University.

In a recent interview, he said that when the Gideon v. Wainwright case was handed to him, "I was shocked that every defendant did not have the right to counsel."

Jacob said he began researching the policies of Florida courts, and only a handful of Florida judges were not appointing attorneys in felony cases.

He said he had studied the exceptions to Betts in law school at Stetson University, and was of the opinion that every defendant in a felony case should have an attorney. He realized, however, that Betts was still law.

Jacob said a representative of the Florida attorney general's office went to Florida legislative leaders and told them they would have a hard time winning the Gideon case.

THEY ASKED the legislature for reforms, but none came. "I took the position that I was representing Florida, and the court was entitled to the strongest argument on both sides."

So he defended Florida, to the best of his abilities, realizing that Gideon probably was lost to the state.

Today, Jacob says he agrees with the Supreme Court on the Gideon case. "I knew it had to come."

He added that later decisions which have extended the right to counsel "haven't gone far enough. Every man is entitled to an attorney."

The Supreme Court had made an obvious ruling in Griffin v. Illinois when it said that the state must furnish a free trial transcript to indigent defendants who wish to appeal their convictions.

THE COURT ruled, "There can be no equal justice where the kind of trial a man gets depends on the amount of money he has. Destitute defendants must be afforded as adequate appellate review as defendants who have enough money to buy transcripts."

In Douglas v. California, the court was plainer: "There can be no equal justice where the kind of an appeal a man enjoys depends on the amount of money he has."

In Alabama arraignments, where the defendant appears before the judge, the defendant had to enter a plea. This, the court ruled in Hamilton v. Alabama, is a "critical stage" in the proceedings and he should have an attorney present. Hamilton was a capital case.

IN WHITE v. Maryland, the court advanced a similar view. In Gideon, White and Hamilton, it was clear that in felony cases there is a right of counsel from the time of the formal charging of a defendant through the trial.

Then, in Winston Massiah v. United States, handed down in 1964, the court went further.

In 1958, Massiah was a merchant seaman aboard the S.S. Santa Maria. In April that year, customs officials were tipped that Massiah was going to transport narcotics aboard ship from South America to New York.

When the ship docked at New York, customs officials searched the ship and in the afterpeak they found three and a half pounds of cocaine.

They arrested Massiah and a man named Colson. Both obtained attorneys, were indicted and released on bond. Colson secretly began to cooperate with government agents.

"There can be no equal justice where the kind of an appeal a man enjoys depends on the amount of money he has." U.S. Supreme Court, Douglas v. California.

HE ALLOWED an agent named Murphy to install a radio transmitter under the front seat of Colson's car. He then drove to see Massiah.

Colson and Massiah talked in the parked car on a New York street. Murphy was parked downstreet with a receiver and listened to the conversation.

At Massiah's trial, over defendant's objection, Murphy testified to the incriminating statements made by Massiah to Colson. His conviction was confirmed by the 2nd U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

The U. S. Supreme Court ruled that Murphy's testimony was inadmissable. They ruled that Massiah, although he was tricked, made the statements in the absence of his attorney and this violated his Sixth Amendment rights.

ANOTHER landmark decision came in the case of Danny Escobedo vs. Illinois. On Jan. 19, 1960, Escobedo's brother-in-law was shot fatally.

At 2:30 p.m. the next day, Escobedo was arrested but he made no statement. His lawyer, Warren Wolfson, obtained a writ of habeas corpus, and Escobedo was released

On Jan. 30, Benedict DiGerlando, who was later indicted with Escobedo, told police that Escobedo had fired the fatal shots. Escobedo was arrested about 8 o'clock that night.

Officers told him DiGerlando had named him. Escobedo asked for Wolfson, who, meanwhile, had wind of the arrest and hot-footed it to police headquarters.

Police told him he could not speak with his client. Wolfson went to the Homicide Bureau and was told the same thing. He waited outside the interrogation room.

About 11 p.m., the door opened and he saw his client and waved to him. The door shut.

POLICE, in effect, admitted they told Escobedo that Wolfson didn't want to see him. Escobedo, 22, had no record of previous arrest and was unschooled in the law.

DiGerlando was brought in the interrogation room finally, and Escobedo shouted, "I didn't shoot Manuel, you did."

The district attorney, Theodore J. Cooper of Chicago, came and took more statements.

What Escobedo probably did not know was that under Illinois law, complicity in a murder plot was legally as damaging as an admission of firing the fatal shots.

The Illinois court admitted the incriminating statements made by Escobedo during the interrogations conducted before Escobedo was indicted formally. The Illinois Supreme Court upheld the murder conviction.

The U.S. Supreme Court held that since the police investigation focused on one suspect they should have allowed him counsel. They said the police denied Escobedo of his Sixth and 14th Amendment rights and the statements he made should not have been admitted. The conviction was reversed.

"NO SYSTEM worth preserving should have to fear that if an accused is permitted to consult with a lawyer, he will become aware of and exercise (his) rights," the court said.

They said confessions have "often been extorted to save law enforcement officials the trouble . . . of obtaining valid and independent evidence."

Escobedo was interpreted in many ways by many states. It was in the case of Ernesto A. Miranda, an indigent Mexican ac[illegible]pe, v. Arizona that the court spelled out its policies further.

Miranda was arrested March 13, 1963, at his home and was taken to a Phoenix police station, where he was identified by a witness.

OFFICERS took him to an interrogation room. They admitted they did not inform Miranda he had the right to have an attorney present.

The U.S. Supreme Court described Miranda as a man who "was a seriously disturbed individual with pronounced sexual fantasies."

After two hours of interrogation, officers emerged from the room with a written confession. A paragraph in the statement said Miranda was informed of his legal rights and understood any statement he made could be used against him.

The confession was used in the trial and Miranda was convicted of kidnaping and rape. He was sentenced from 20 to 30 years.

The U.S. Supreme Court reversed the conviction.

IT RULED that suspects must be warned prior to questioning that they have a right to remain silent, that any statement they make may be used as evidence against them and that they have the right to the presence of an attorney, either appointed or retained.

The court said the confession was inadmissable because Miranda was not apprised of his right to counsel or was his privilege against self-incrimination effectively protected.

The court has ruled that it is the burden of police to show that proper safeguards to rights of defendants were taken to get confessions.

ATLANTA Police Chief Herbert Jenkins and DeKalb Police Chief Dick Hand agree with the Supreme Court decisions. Both say the decisions make investigations more essential to solving crime.

"The ultimate goal of the courts and the police are identical and they must always be," said Chief Jenkins.

"I have no criticism of the Supreme Court. The decisions do not handicap us because justice is essential to law and order," he said.

Both Chief Hand and Chief Jenkins said the decisions do not have any bearing in the cases of professional criminals.

WHEN THEY are arrested, they refuse to talk and demand to see their attorneys, they said.

But the uneducated, indigent defendant who knows nothing of the law is protected as much as the professional criminal, they said.

Chief Hand, who is a former U.S. assistant district attorney here, said he agrees with the Supreme Court policy. "I don't feel there has been any hindrance to law enforcement."

"I am acquainting all my officers of the decisions. Confessions cannot be a substitute for properly investigating a case. We will still get our men.

"If we do not give a suspect his rights, the case should be thrown out of court," said Chief Hand.

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

EV — Cons. Law

THE WALL STREET JOUR

The Bookshelf

A Vivid, Faithful Look At Founding Fathers

* * *

The framing of the Federal Constitution by the convention which met for that purpose during the hot summer of 1787 in Philadelphia marked the birth of the American nation. The first years of independence were the most critical for the young American Republic. Foreign rule had been shaken off; effective self-government had not been established. The Articles of Confederation, the political arrangement which prevailed until the Constitution of 1787 went into effect, resembled a rope of sand. The central executive authority was weak to the point of impotence, devoid of respect at home and abroad, starved of funds, unable to enforce observance of treaties, to honor debts, to create a valid national currency.

William Ewart Gladstone, outstanding British Liberal statesman, referred to the United States Constitution as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." How this document was struck off, how its framers met, argued, disagreed and finally came up with an agreement that was ratified, not without a hard tussle, by the majority of their fellow-citizens is a fascinating story of first-rate historic importance and interest.

And this story is magnificently told in "1787: The Grand Convention," by Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell, who has shown himself in earlier works as steeped in the atmosphere, the political science and general ideology of the American Revolution. His narrative combines the absorbing vividness of a contemporary newspaper account (there is no such account because the proceedings of the Convention were held in strict secrecy and with remarkably few leaks) with the credentials of authentic historical scholarship. By the time the reader has finished his work there is the satisfactory feeling that nothing really germane to the subject has been left out, from the nature of the United States at the time to the last years of the makers of the Constitution.

The 1787 Convention was composed of 55 delegates, elected by the legislatures of 12 states. Rhode Island, which had earned in conservative circles the nickname Rogue Island because of its cavalier attitude toward debts and its excessive issues of paper money, cantankerously stayed away.

* * *

The delegates, and the author gives a personality sketch of every one, accompanied by contemporary portraits, were a good cross-section of the leadership that had brought the revolutionary movement to victory. Such noteworthy figures as Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were absent, in Paris and London respectively. But George Washington was the inevitable and ideal President of the assembly and the aged Benjamin Franklin lent the aura of his many-sided fame and his diplomatic services.

James Madison perhaps had as much to do with the working out of the Constitution as any single individual, although his customary clear vision of what was politically feasible forsook him on the most difficult issue that came up for discussion: The adjustment of the interests of the more and less populous states.

The keystone of the arch of effective national sovereignty was in place when the inspired compromise was reached which gave the claims of population satisfaction in the makeup of the House of Representatives, while recognizing the identity of each state, large and small, by providing equal representation in the Senate. The author notes the underlying unity of the delegates, despite sharp differences of opinion on some issues, and also the favorable effect of the Convention's limited size with this comment:

"All the delegates were patriots, Whigs, republicans and men with Lockean views of property; all but two or three were nationalists who recognized the need for a new departure. . . . The Convention, for all its innate dignity and regard for form, operated as a large committee rather than a small assembly."

Mr. Rossiter vigorously disputes efforts to represent the framing of the Constitution as a conspiracy of haves against have-nots and the Founding Fathers as actuated by unworthy selfish motives. Their objectives, in his view, were closely linked with the public good: An end to disorder, a forestalling of despotism, protection for liberty, security for property, honor for the Republic.

* * *

The delegates were men adventurous enough to have pledged "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor" to a revolution in the name of republicanism, a form of government that seemed far more radical and experimental at that time than it does today. At the same time they were not cloistered doctrinaires, but men of practical experience; the majority, as the author shows in compiling an occupational roster, were planters and large-scale farmers, lawyers, merchants and state officials.

The Constitution, as it finally emerged, was a nice balance of reason and practical experience, with a series of compromises between large and small states, between North and South, between liberty and restraints on its abuse. Some issues that were to prove disruptive later, slavery and the right of states to withdraw from the Union, were passed over as impossibly disruptive.

But on balance the men of Philadelphia built soundly and deserved well of their country. It is interesting to recall that another body with the same name, Convention, came into existence during the stormiest period of the French Revolution. Its members indulged in prodigious feats of oratory. It was purged under the pressure of bloodthirsty mobs; many of its members perished on the guillotine and it passed into history without leaving any permanent imprint on French political institutions.

But America's Convention, meeting in the staid atmosphere of Quaker Philadelphia, conducting its discussions in privacy with no threat of mob violence or military pressure, produced a charter of government that has been amended (conditions of amendment were properly made difficult but not impossible) and sometimes bent and twisted, but that still stands as an object of cherished respect and affection in the eyes of most Americans. There is no better guide than Professor Rossiter to the creation of this historic document, to the men who worked on its framing, their personalities, backgrounds and motives and to the points of difference which were finally resolved in the compelling interest of national unity.

—WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

1787: The Grand Convention. By Clinton Rossiter. Macmillan. 443 pages. $7.95.

Court / Law

IN THE

United States Court of Appeals

FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

No. 22,304

ORZELL BILLINGSLEY, SR., C. HERBERT OLIVER, J. S. PHIFER AND ABRAHAM WOODS, JR. FOR THEMSELVES, JOINTLY AND SEVERALLY, AND FOR ALL OTHERS SIMILARLY SITUATED,

Appellants,

- VS. -

GEORGE W. CLAYTON, AS PRESIDENT OF THE JURY BOARD OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALABAMA; MRS. FRED BATSON, AS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE JURY BOARD OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALABAMA; WALTER E. PALMER, AS ASSOCIATE MEMBER OF THE JURY BOARD OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALABAMA; JAMES F. CHEATWOOD, AS CLERK OF THE JURY BOARD OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALABAMA; AND EACH OF THEIR SUCCESSORS IN OFFICE.

Appellees.

APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA

BRIEF FOR APPELLANTS

ORZELL BILLINGSLEY, JR.
PETER A. HALL
J. MASON DAVIS
OSCAR W. ADAMS, JR.
MELVIN L. WULF
JACK GREENBERG
NORMAN AMAKER

CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Attorneys for Appellants

Current Issue

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS 1965

A BRIEF EXPLANATION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

INTRODUCTION

The Social Security Amendments of 1965, which were signed into law by President Johnson on July 30, have made many important changes in the social security program—changes which will directly or indirectly affect every American family.

This is a brief report on these amendments and how they affect you.

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR THE AGED

Beginning July 1, 1966, nearly all Americans 65 and over will become eligible for two kinds of health insurance protection: hospital insurance and additional voluntary medical insurance for those who choose to take it.

YOUR HOSPITAL INSURANCE BENEFITS

Beginning in July 1966, the hospital insurance program will pay the cost of *covered* services for the following hospital and posthospital care:

- Up to 60 days in a hospital (except for the first $40.00) and all but $10.00 per day for an additional 30 days for each spell of illness. (There is a lifetime limit of 190 days on payments for treatment in mental hospitals.)
- Up to 20 days in an extended care facility (the facility may be a skilled nursing home or a convalescent section of a hospital which meets the requirements of the law) and all but $5.00 per day for an additional 80 days for each spell of illness. These services will be provided only after a hospital stay of at least 3 days. (This part of the program begins on January 1, 1967.)

- Up to 100 home-health visits by nurses or other health workers in the 365 days following your release from a hospital or extended care facility. (Doctors' visits are covered only under the voluntary medical insurance plan.)
- 80 percent of the cost of outpatient diagnostic tests in a hospital (after you pay the first $20.00) for each 20-day period of diagnostic testing.

Where Does The Money Come From?

Money to pay hospital insurance benefits comes from a special contribution which starts in 1966 at just over one-third of one percent (0.35%) each for workers, their employers, and self-employed people. For example, a worker who earns $4,000 will pay $14 in 1966, and his employer will pay an equal amount. In 1967 the rate will be 0.5 percent; thus the worker with $4,000 earnings will pay $20 in 1967. The tax gradually increases, until in 1987 and afterward it is eight-tenths of one percent each for employee, employer, and self-employed persons. On the maximum earnings of $6,600 yearly, a worker will pay $23.10 in 1966; $33.00 in 1967; and $52.80 in 1987 and thereafter.

The cost of the insurance for people not entitled to social security benefits will be met from general revenues.

YOUR MEDICAL INSURANCE BENEFITS

You will not be covered by the medical insurance plan automatically. You will receive this protection only if you sign up for it. When you enroll for medical insurance, you agree to pay a premium of $3 monthly, with the Federal Government matching this amount. This cannot be

changed before 1968. The rate can be adjusted later if medical and other costs covered by this insurance program rise.

Medical insurance will pay 80 percent of the reasonable charges[1] for the following services after the first $50 in each calendar year:

- Physicians' and surgeons' services.
- Home health services even if you have not been in a hospital—up to 100 visits a year.
- A number of other medical and health services, such as diagnostic tests, surgical dressings and splints, and rental of medical equipment.

ENROLLING FOR MEDICAL INSURANCE

If you reach 65 before January 1, 1966, you will have protection under medical insurance on July 1, 1966, when the program begins, only if you enroll before March 31, 1966.

If you reach 65 on or after January 1, 1966, you will have protection at the earliest possible date if you enroll during the 3-month period just before you reach 65.

Where Does The Money Come From?

Money to pay for medical insurance benefits comes entirely from the $3 per month which you pay and an equal amount which the government pays.

If you are receiving social security, railroad retirement, or civil service retirement benefits, and enroll for the medical insurance, the $3 a month will be deducted from your monthly benefits, beginning with July 1966.

The law provides that the $3 premium rate will be continued through 1967.

In each odd-numbered year beginning with 1967, the cost of the medical insurance program will be studied. If the premium rate, including the government's share, is not enough to cover the cost of the program for the next two years, the rate may be changed. The government will continue to pay half the cost.

When you enroll for medical insurance, you are not under any obligation to continue it beyond the end of the next odd-numbered year. Thus, if there is at any time an increase in the premium rate, you will at the same time have an opportunity to drop out of the program if you wish.

How To Qualify For Health Insurance Benefits If You Are 65 Or Over

Most people will **not** have to go to the social security office to qualify for protection under the hospital and medical insurance programs.

You will **not** need to go to your social security office **if**—

- **you are getting social security or railroad retirement benefits.** You qualify automatically for **hospital insurance,** and an application card for **medical insurance** benefits will be mailed to you by December 1965 with a leaflet explaining both of these programs.
- **you are receiving a Federal civil service retirement annuity.** You will get information and the necessary applica-

[1] For services provided by an organization on a prepayment basis and for certain other services, the medical insurance may pay 80% of the reasonable **cost** rather than 80% of the reasonable **charges.**

tions by mail. You will be told if it is necessary to go to the social security office later.

- **you are receiving public assistance payments.** In most cases, the public assistance agency will assist you in applying for **hospital insurance** and will advise you about enrolling for **medical insurance.**

You **should** go to your social security district office if you are not receiving any of the above payments and **if**—

- **you have worked under social security but have never applied for benefits.** The people in your social security office will help you apply for **hospital insurance.** They will also advise you on how you can enroll in the **medical insurance** program.
- **you have never worked under social security.** Get in touch with your social security district office between September 1, 1965, and March 31, 1966. If you are able to visit the office, take with you proof of your age.

These health insurance programs do not start until July 1, 1966. **Don't because of this new law cancel any hospital or medical insurance you may now have.**

For more information on health insurance for the aged, ask for leaflet No. 2.

SOCIAL SECURITY CASH BENEFITS ARE INCREASED

If you are receiving social security benefits, the amount will be increased by 7 percent, with back payment of the increase being made for January 1965 and following months.

You do not need to do anything to get this increase.

A special check to be mailed in the latter part of September will cover back payments due for January through August. Your first regular monthly check at the new rate will be mailed to you early in October 1965 for the month of September.

If your benefits have been temporarily stopped because you are working, you will receive any amount that is due you, including the increase, after you make the annual report of your 1965 earnings.

Those who first apply for benefits in the future will also get the 7 percent increase over benefits payable under the old law.

For those who retire or become eligible for social security disability or survivors benefits in future years, benefit amounts even higher than those resulting from the 7 percent increase will be possible. This is because the maximum amount of earnings that can count toward social security benefits each year will be increased to $6,600 in 1966. The chart on page 10 shows the new benefits payable.

BENEFITS MAY BE PAID TO STUDENTS UP TO AGE 22

If you are eligible for social security benefits as the unmarried son or daughter of a person receiving old-age or disability insurance benefits or a person who has died, you may qualify for benefits, if you are continuing as a full-time student, until you reach age 22.

If you were receiving social security payments which were stopped when you

reached 18 and you are a full-time student under 22 years of age and still unmarried, your benefits may now be started again. Payments may be made for months back to January 1965.

If you are receiving social security benefits and are approaching your 18th birthday, your benefits may be continued if you are a full-time student. For further information about this, or to get your benefits started again if you are eligible, you or your parent should get in touch with your social security office.

If you were already 18 or over when one of your parents became entitled to old-age or disability insurance benefits or died but you were not yet 22 in January 1965, you may now be eligible for social security benefits beginning with January 1965 if you have not married. Your social security office will need your own and your parent's social security account number and your birth certificate.

For more information about benefits for students up to age 22, ask your social security office for leaflet No. 4.

BENEFITS FOR WIDOWS AT AGE 60

If you are the widow of an insured worker, beginning with September 1965 you may start receiving benefits as early as age 60 if you decide to accept a reduced monthly amount. The first check, for September, will be payable early in October.

The amount of the reduction is five-ninths of one percent for each month a benefit is received before age 62 ($6\frac{2}{3}$ percent reduction for each year). The closer you are to 62 when you start receiving benefits, the smaller the reduction

will be. On the average, a widow who accepts benefits before age 62 will collect about the same value in total benefits over the years, but in smaller installments to take account of the longer period during which she will be paid.

For more information about benefits for widows at age 60, ask at your social security office for a copy of leaflet No. 5.

THE AMOUNT OF SOCIAL SECURITY CREDIT REQUIRED FOR PEOPLE 72 AND OVER TO QUALIFY FOR BENEFITS IS REDUCED

If you are 72 or over and have not been able to qualify for social security benefits because you (or your husband) did not work long enough under social security, you may now be eligible for payments up to $35 a month. Although some social security credit is still required, the amount of work required under the new law is less for certain people 72 and over than it has ever been in the past.

If you are 72 or over and are not receiving social security benefits, you should check with your social security district office if you (or your husband) ever received social security credit for work. Payments under this provision can begin for September 1965.

IF YOU WORK AFTER YOU APPLY FOR BENEFITS

After 1965 if you earn no more than $1,500 in a year, you may receive benefits for all months of the year. Under the law in effect through 1965, the payments you receive are reduced if you work and earn more than $1,200 in a year.

After 1965, if you earn more than $1,500 in a year, the general rule is that $1 in benefits will be withheld for each $2 of earnings over $1,500 and up to $2,700. In addition, $1 in benefits will be withheld for each $1 of earnings over $2,700.

There are two exceptions to this rule:

If in any month you neither earn more than $125 working for someone else nor do substantial work in a business of your own, there will be no deduction from your benefit for that month no matter how much you earn in the rest of the year.

For months after you are 72, there will be no deduction from the benefits because of work after you reached 72.

Another change in the law is important for people 65 or over who receive royalties because of copyrights or patents they obtained before they reached 65. After 1965, this income may be excluded in figuring your earnings.

If you work after applying for old-age insurance benefits, your additional earnings may increase the amount of your monthly payment.

The Social Security Administration will use its electronic computers to determine whether your recent earnings will increase your benefit amount. If so, the increase will be made automatically and you will not have to apply to have your benefit refigured.

On account of this change, you cannot lose by applying as soon as you are 65 for any benefits due you even though you continue to work.

EXAMPLES OF MONTHLY CASH BENEFIT PAYMENTS [1]

Average yearly earnings after 1950	$800 or less	$1800	$3000	$3600	$4200	$4800	$5400	$6600
Retirement at 65 / Disability benefits	$ 44.00	$ 78.20	$101.70	$112.40	$124.20	$135.90	$146.00	$168.00
Retirement at 64	41.10	73.00	95.00	105.00	116.00	126.90	136.30	156.80
Retirement at 63	38.20	67.80	88.20	97.50	107.70	117.80	126.60	145.60
Retirement at 62	35.20	62.60	81.40	90.00	99.40	108.80	116.80	134.40
Wife's benefit at 65 or with child in her care	22.00	39.10	50.90	56.20	62.10	68.00	73.00	84.00
Wife's benefit at 64	20.20	35.90	46.70	51.60	57.00	62.40	67.00	77.00
Wife's benefit at 63	18.40	32.60	42.50	46.90	51.80	56.70	60.90	70.00
Wife's benefit at 62	16.50	29.40	38.20	42.20	46.60	51.00	54.80	63.00
One child of retired or disabled worker	22.00	39.10	50.90	56.20	62.10	68.00	73.00	84.00
Widow age 62 or over	44.00	64.60	83.90	92.80	102.50	112.20	120.50	138.60
Widow at 60, no child	38.20	56.00	72.80	80.50	88.90	97.30	104.50	120.20
Widow under 62 and 1 child	66.00	117.40	152.60	168.60	186.40	204.00	219.00	252.00
Widow under 62 and 2 children	66.00	120.00	202.40	240.00	279.60	306.00	328.00	368.00
One surviving child	44.00	58.70	76.30	84.30	93.20	102.00	109.50	126.00
Two surviving children	66.00	117.40	152.60	168.60	186.40	204.00	219.00	252.00
Maximum family payment	66.00	120.00	202.40	240.00	280.80	309.20	328.00	368.00
Lump-sum death payment	132.00	234.60	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00

[1] Generally, in figuring average yearly earnings after 1950, 5 years of low earnings or no earnings can be excluded. The maximum earnings creditable for social security are $3600 for 1951-1954; $4200 for 1955-1958; $4800 for 1959-1965; and $6600 starting in 1966. Because of this, the benefits shown in the last two columns on the right will not generally be payable for some years to come. When a person is entitled to more than one benefit, the amount actually payable is limited to the largest of the benefits.

BENEFITS FOR DIVORCED WOMEN

Under the new law, a divorced woman may receive benefits on her former husband's account. To do so, however, she must have been married to him at least 20 years before the divorce and he must have been contributing (or obligated by a court to contribute) to her support when he became entitled to social security benefits or died. Under the old law, a divorced woman could receive benefits on her former husband's account only if she had in her care a child receiving benefits based on his earnings.

A woman who is divorced while she is receiving benefits based on her husband's earnings may continue to receive benefits if she and her husband had been married at least 20 years. Benefits payable under this provision can begin for September 1965.

DISABILITY PROVISIONS CHANGED

Under the old law, disability benefits could be paid only to a worker whose disability was expected to continue over a long and indefinite period or to result in death. The new law provides that an insured worker whose disability is expected to last for at least 12 months may qualify for disability benefits beginning with the seventh month of his disability. The first month for which payments can be made under this change is September 1965.

Workers whose applications for disability insurance benefits have been denied because their disability was not expected to continue indefinitely, but who are severely disabled, should get in touch with their social security office.

The new law also liberalizes the requirements affecting people who are disabled

by blindness. For more information about the changes in disability benefits, ask your social security office for leaflet No. 8.

SOCIAL SECURITY FOR DOCTORS AND MEDICAL AND DENTAL INTERNS

If you are a self-employed doctor of medicine, your professional earnings will count toward social security benefits for you and your family.

For taxable years ending on or after December 31, 1965, you must complete Schedule SE of your Federal individual income tax return to include your earnings in professional self-employment and pay the self-employment tax. Your net earnings will be counted toward social security benefits for you and your family for any year in which they amount to $400 or more.

Most medical and dental interns, and medical and dental residents in training, will receive social security credit for their professional salaries. If you are employed as an intern, be sure your employer has your social security account number. Leaflet No. 7 explains this provision of the new amendments in detail. Ask for it at your social security office.

CONTINUING BENEFITS FOR WIDOWS WHO REMARRY

If you could have qualified for benefits as a widow and remarried after reaching age 60, you will be eligible for whichever benefit is larger: either one-half the retirement benefit of your former husband, or a wife's benefit based on the earnings of your present husband.

Benefit increases and new benefits payable because of this change in the law will start with benefits for September 1965.

TIPS WILL COUNT

Cash tips you receive in your work for one employer, provided they amount to $20 or more in a month, will now count toward social security benefits for you and your family. Beginning in 1966, you will be required to report in writing to your employer the amount of tips you receive and to pay social security contributions on the tips. Your employer will include your tips in his social security tax reports and Form W–2 along with your wages, but he will not have to match your social security contribution on the tips. The law requires that you report to your employer the amount of your tips within 10 days after the month in which you receive them. Leaflet No. 6 explains in more detail how to report your tips for social security. Ask for it at your social security office.

NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR CLERGYMEN

Under the new law, all clergymen have at least until April 15, 1966, to elect to be covered by social security. The time allowed for the decision had expired for many ministers. Now they have another opportunity to become covered.

CHANGE IN COVERAGE FOR FARMERS

If you are a self-employed farmer and your gross earnings from farming in a year after 1965 are $2,400 or less, you may

report two-thirds of your gross earnings, instead of your net earnings, for social security purposes. If your gross income from farming is more than $2,400 and your net earnings are less than $1,600, you may report $1,600 for social security purposes.

FINANCING THE NEW BENEFIT PROVISIONS

To finance the changes in the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance programs, the social security contribution rate and the earnings base on which social security contributions are paid have been changed. The earnings base goes from $4,800 to $6,600 on January 1, 1966. The new contribution rate schedule for old-age, survivors, and disability insurance is shown below.

In addition, the law establishes a separate payroll contribution to finance the program of hospital insurance for the aged. These contributions will go into a separate trust fund in the U.S. Treasury.

Example of Total Contributions: An employee earning $4,000 a year will pay a total of $168.00 in 1966 for his regular social security tax contributions and hospital insurance. In 1967, his total would be $176.00; and in 1987 and thereafter, $226.00. An employee earning $6,600, the maximum credited under the law, will pay $277.20 in 1966; in 1967 he will pay $290.40, and in 1987 and thereafter he will pay $372.90.

The voluntary medical insurance plan, financed by $3 monthly premiums from enrollees and a matching payment from general revenues of the government, will have its own trust fund in the U.S. Treas-

CONTRIBUTION RATE SCHEDULE FOR EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS (EACH)

Years	Percent of Covered Earnings: For Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance Benefits	For Hospital Insurance	TOTAL
1966	3.85	.35	4.2
1967-68	3.90	.50	4.4
1969-72	4.40	.50	4.9
1973-75	4.85	.55	5.4
1976-79	4.85	.60	5.45
1980-86	4.85	.70	5.55
1987 and after	4.85	.80	5.65

CONTRIBUTION RATE SCHEDULE FOR SELF-EMPLOYED PEOPLE

Years	Percent of Covered Earnings: For Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance Benefits	For Hospital Insurance	TOTAL
1965	5.40	.00	5.40
1966	5.80	.35	6.15
1967-68	5.90	.50	6.40
1969-72	6.60	.50	7.10
1973-75	7.00	.55	7.55
1976-79	7.00	.60	7.60
1980-86	7.00	.70	7.70
1987 and after	7.00	.80	7.80

ury, also entirely separate from all other social security trust funds.

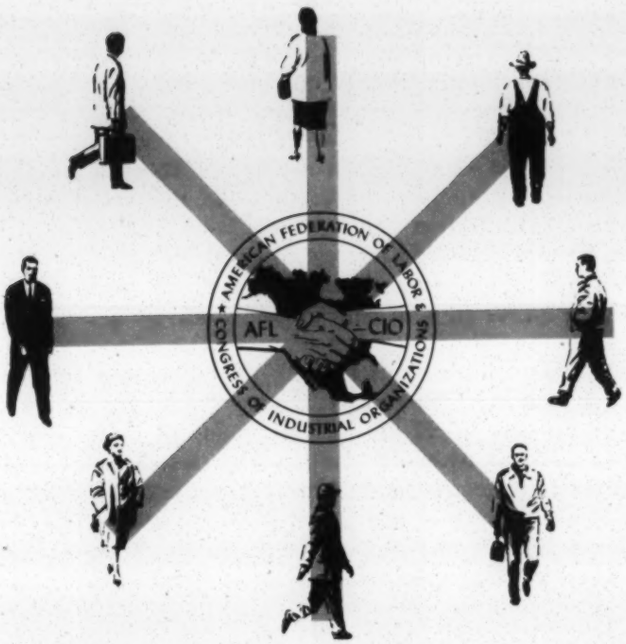
FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

For more detailed information about the new health insurance plans and the 1965 amendments, call, write, or visit your nearest social security district office. You may get its address from the telephone directory under "Social Security Administration" or from your local post office.

Third Edition

OASI—1965-1 ☆ GPO : 1965 O—784-861 AUGUST 1965

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402
Price 10 cents; $5.00 per 100



The New Challenges To Organizing

by William L. Kircher

As the labor movement resumes its long-term growth, it faces unprecedented challenges in its organizing efforts. In a long and often turbulent history, trade unions have been broken and have risen again despite depressions, company police, court injunctions, armed militia, political attacks and even such prosperity as the American Plan offered in the 1920s.

Today, with the labor movement solidly established, unions are finding they can progress only if they recognize the vast changes under way in American society. Rapid technological change, popularly called "automation," is remaking the workforce. The baby boom of the postwar years has come of working age. The civil rights revolution continues to ripple through every segment of American life. More women have become fulltime workers. The white-collar and technical occupations have emerged as the new growth areas. Education and training are clearly today's keys to advancement.

The new young look in the workforce has long been predicted. Experts say the average age in this nation will be 25 years by 1968. This means the "average person" will have been born in 1943. As far as the appeal of labor history is concerned, what can this young person be expected to know of the Great Depression, the sweatshops, the sitdown strikes, the union role in building the wartime "arsenal of democracy" and other early accomplishments? Most of the benefits for which union members struggled, bled and died were here when this young person arrived, so he may easily assume the benefits always existed.

To try to create in him an understanding and appreciation of days and conditions that existed before he was born as a means of exciting him towards embracing unionism just isn't going to get the job done. Before he accepts unionism, he is going to have to recognize it as a helpful method of getting at the things bothering him today.

Hardly anyone joined unions in the late thirties and early forties just because the Knights of Labor had a difficult time in the latter 19th century. It's just possible that the "good old days" of the thirties excite a desire in young workers to join unions today just about as much as the Knights of Labor excited the young fire-eaters in Flint or Gary 30 years ago.

Whether he is a technician or one of the working poor . . . a teacher or a drop-out in marginal employment . . . a Negro in the South or a Mexican-American in the West, one thing is certain—his receptivity to unionism is going to be in accord with his ability to see it as a device to help him with his problems today and to assist him in reaching the reasonable goals he has set for himself for tomorrow.

It is in facing these challenges as they exist today that the events of the past 10 years and an examination of how they contributed to the organizational dropoff become important. To face the fact that the categories of employment in which unions have traditionally grown are the areas where the least expansion is occurring, and at the same time to face the fact that the great expansion areas of the workforce are those in which unions have demonstrated the least organizational effectiveness, is to recognize the overwhelming need for some kind, perhaps many kinds, of change. Probably the greatest change is simply facing the fact that what the union stands for must be responsive to the needs of today's workers.

The growth rate of unions during the first 10 years of merger is a subject about which many writers have had a great deal to say.

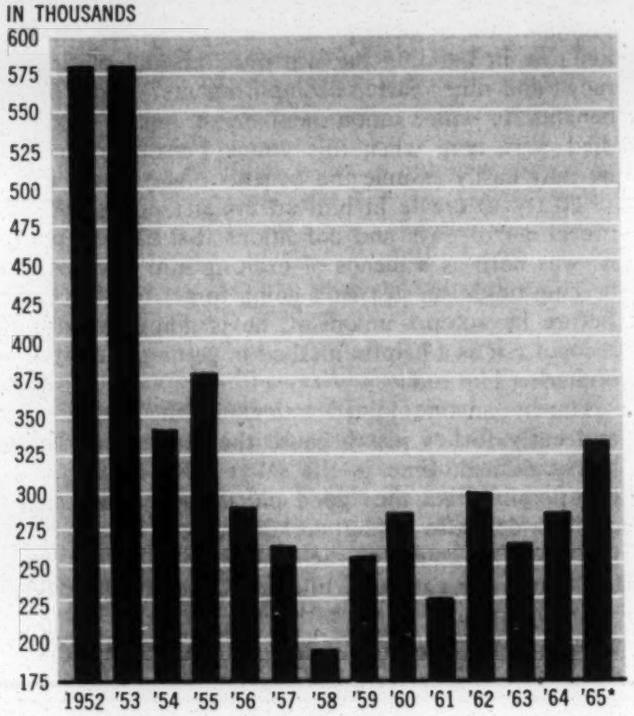
There are many different sets of figures available on the union potential among the non-union segments of the national workforce. There is an even greater variety of percentage figures.

The variation in the figures is sometimes a matter of manipulation. At other times it is the result of honest differences in statistical methods. Whatever use is made of the figures, and whatever the method of arriving at them, one thing is certain—organized labor's growth rate has not reached expectations. Over

WILLIAM L. KIRCHER was recently appointed Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Organization.

TRENDS IN UNION GROWTH

Employes in units which voted union in National Labor Relations Board elections.



Source: National Labor Relations Board annual reports.
*1965 total based on NLRB data.

the past decade, union membership levels have remained rather constant. Organizing efforts have produced substantial growth in terms of new members, but this has barely offset the loss of membership through plant shutdowns, automation-shrunk workforces, runaway plants, etc. Simply maintaining the numerical total has meant the relative size of union membership has gradually worsened over the past decade as the workforce grew.

At the time of merger, for every two workers with union cards in their pockets there were three who could have had cards but didn't. Those three without union cards are now four and the fourth one represents the increase in the workforce with which union organizing efforts have not kept pace.

Why it happened that way is something every union is studying today in an effort to discover clues for better growth performance in the future.

There are those outside the labor movement who would like everyone to believe that all this means workers no longer need unions or that they no longer are attracted to unionism. This is pure hogwash.

The annual average number of workers in units for which unions have gained bargaining rights during this 10-year period is nearly a quarter million and the rate of acceptance in the last six-month period of 1965 hit a new 10-year high.

There is a noticeable upsurge of interest on the part of such critical groups as teachers, government workers, retail sales persons and others. The current increase in favorable organizing results is not, significantly, limited to any one geographical area.

One of the best indications of the fact that workers still need and want unions is a recent article in the Wall Street Journal which details the accelerated efforts and highpowered methods of managements to resist unionization by their employes. Obviously, if workers were losing interest in organizing into unions, there would be no necessity for such an acceleration and proliferation of anti-union campaigning.

Still, it is important to look at the reasons for the deceleration in the rate of union growth over the past decade—and there are reasons, many of them. They probably fall within five basic categories: the economic climate, the legislative encumbrances, the massive management resistance campaign, internal problems of organized labor and the changing nature of work and of the working population.

The economic characteristics of the past 10 years were substantially different from those of the periods in which the great growth of unionism occurred. The worker today who has become an "owner"—either in fact or through the phenomenon of credit—is a far cry from the worker of those early days who owned precious little, if anything. The memory of the Great Depression has almost disappeared completely.

Many, if not most, paychecks are committed before they are received. The worker who is meeting house payments, television payments, car payments, education bills, etc., is "in hock" so far in advance that he is apprehensive about anything that might rock his personal economic boat. The forces who are not interested in seeing unions grow do a fairly good job of equating unionism with boat-rocking.

Much of the management community interpreted the merger of the AFL and CIO as a call to arms. Labor relations became the science of preventing union relations. A new creature came to flourish—the "labor consultant." His expertese in frustrating workers' efforts to unionize became a highly marketable commodity in the management community.

The company labor relations director who in earlier days often rose from the ranks and got the job because of his ability to understand shop problems and get along with the workers has been replaced in many cases by college-trained psychologists whose ability lies in keeping company employe relations policies from going beyond the point where the workers might become interested in organizing. "Do-it-yourself" kits on what to do when the organizer shows up are available from many sources.

The time was ripe in 1955. Taft-Hartley, passed in 1947, was being administered by a National Labor Relations Board tuned in to the big business wishes of the "Eisenhower age." In the very first year of the Board under the Eisenhower Administration, the number of employes in units which voted union in NLRB elections dropped to almost half of what it had been

averaging annually. At the same time, the percentage of all the unfair labor practice cases issued against unions doubled and then later doubled again. Whereas less than one of six complaints had been against unions prior to 1954, in 1956 over half of all the complaints were issued against unions, even though the ratio of charges against unions and against employers remained relatively constant.

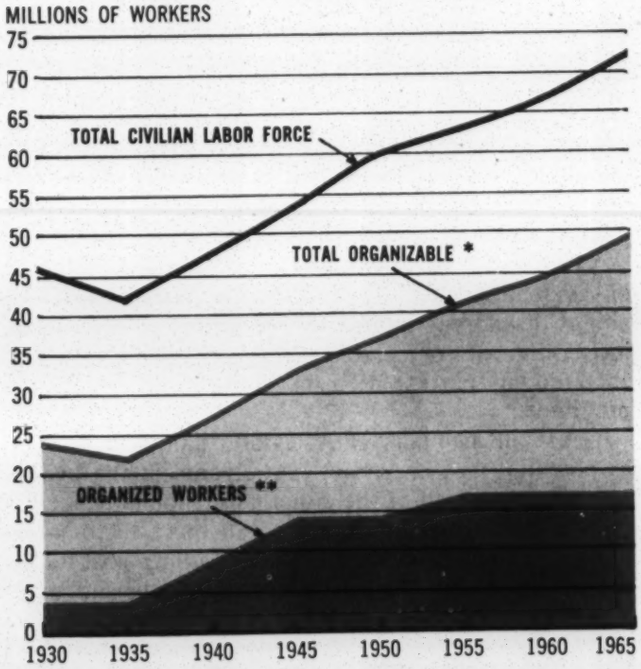
The McClellan hearings were daily grist for the opinion-making mills. Yet the AFL-CIO's voluntary accomplishments in the field of standards of conduct, labor's "Code of Ethical Practices," for example, received little more than passing reference.

The extra burdens placed on parent unions and their subordinate bodies by the Landrum-Griffin Act necessitated the assignment of manpower which normally would have been utilized in organizational efforts. The brush-fire wars carried on by "right-to-work" fanatics at the state level drained off money and manpower that otherwise would have been put into organizing.

Internally, there were the problems of "growing pains." Many unions were having to learn to "live together" with other unions under radically-changed circumstances. The problems of effecting a multitude of mergers at state and local levels were critical in many areas for several years. And through all these trying problems, the emphasis on autonomy, democracy and voluntarism was never lessened.

There never has been a recipe for successful organizing and there probably never will be. If such were

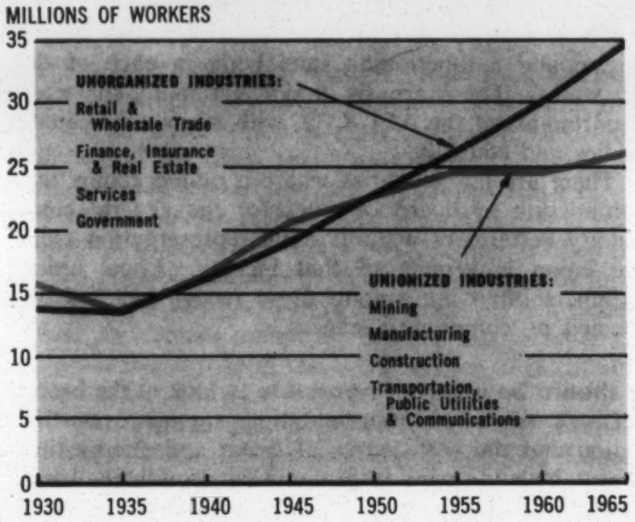
U.S. UNION MEMBERSHIP COMPARED TO POTENTIAL AND TOTAL LABOR FORCE



* AFL-CIO calculations based on U. S. Department of Labor data on non-supervisory wage and salary workers.

** Excludes Canadian members.

EMPLOYMENT GROWTH IN UNIONIZED AND UNORGANIZED INDUSTRIES,* 1930-1965



the case, it would have been written in the great growth periods and the rate would never have slackened off.

The fact is that organizing is a personal business. As people and their conditions change, the nature of the organizing task changes. The basic tools remain pretty much the same, but they must be sharpened and reshaped constantly to meet the challenges as they develop.

Essentially, organizing is a communications process and a two-way process at that. It is as important for an organizer to know what workers' attitudes are as it is for workers to know what the union program is.

Devising methods of penetrating the network of fear and misunderstanding that has been carefully woven around workers' attitudes toward unions by the events of the past decade is what makes the skill requirement in organizing one of the greatest of any task in the movement today.

There are those who think that change means the introduction of many new techniques and methods, perhaps turning to the highly trained social scientist or psychologist, or utilizing skills similar to those of Madison Avenue. It may well be that some of these very things will be needed to help unions to better condition the climate within which they organize and to more effectively formulate and direct their organizational programs.

In the main, however, the idea of unionism is still going to have to be conveyed to the non-union member by unionists. Further, it's going to be done with essentially the same kind of machinery that has been used in the past. A look at that machinery is far from discouraging. It is there and in good shape, except for a little dust here and there.

There are 128 national and international unions in the AFL-CIO, nearly all of them having regional or district offices in various sections of the country, all with manpower and facilities which can "beef up"

organizational efforts. There are in excess of 60,000 local unions of these affiliates, embracing nearly 14 million members. Many of these locals have offices, meeting halls and fulltime personnel.

There are about 800 local central bodies in the nation and a functioning state body in each of the 50 states. There are six major nationally-chartered departments of the AFL-CIO, with many subordinate bodies and councils.

There are few localities where a public committee, commission or board operates for the general community betterment without some representation from the union movement of that locality. Local union members often are among those recognized and respected as community leaders.

It should be utterly impossible to look at the broad network of union representation spread over this nation and the vast source of talent and energy that it contains and shrink from the union growth challenge as an unattainable task. This is so especially if we add to all these factors the unique effectiveness of collective bargaining itself as a means of meeting the needs of workers.

The flexibility of collective bargaining is limited only by the imagination of those who use it. A great deal of the economic fabric of this nation and the fringe benefit structure about which even the employer boasts today resulted from the ideas of union leaders—ideas considered strange when first proposed.

Workers need to see unions as the embodiment of the collective bargaining process. When they do and at the same time understand their role in directing this process toward their problems, they become very firm in their determination to organize.

Unfortunately, too many people have accepted the false characterization of unionism as an institution rather than as the form which workers with common problems and mutual interests assume in order to bring their collective effort to bear on these problems.

The greatest thrust of the management resistance campaign is the effort to psychologically separate the worker from the union, to make him think of the union as a third-party entity. It is almost as though the employer would like the worker to sit up in the grandstand while management fights the union.

When an employer—or a "consultant" who is guiding him—can create such a situation, he enhances the effectiveness of his speeches and letters about strikes, high dues, violence, loss of employment and the other classic fear-producing propaganda.

It is just this kind of management activity that has led two chairmen of the National Labor Relations Board to deplore the failure of certain segments of the business community to accept the national labor policy as established by the Congress and upheld by the courts.

Lest someone consider them prejudiced in these statements, one was a Republican, the other a Democrat; one was a conservative, the other a liberal; one was appointed by President Eisenhower, the other by President Kennedy. Yet both reached similar conclusions with respect to the manner in which many employers skirt the law in order to avoid the responsibility of bargaining with their employes.

Unionism is not an institution—it is a movement, a movement of people. It has been and always will be that despite its critics, friendly and otherwise.

The Sixth AFL-CIO convention analyzed the total organizing situation and laid down essential guidelines for the future. Stating that "nothing but total commitment and total involvement" can meet the "challenge, the opportunity and the obligation" to help the organizing efforts of American workers who are still without the benefits of union representation, the delegates resolved:

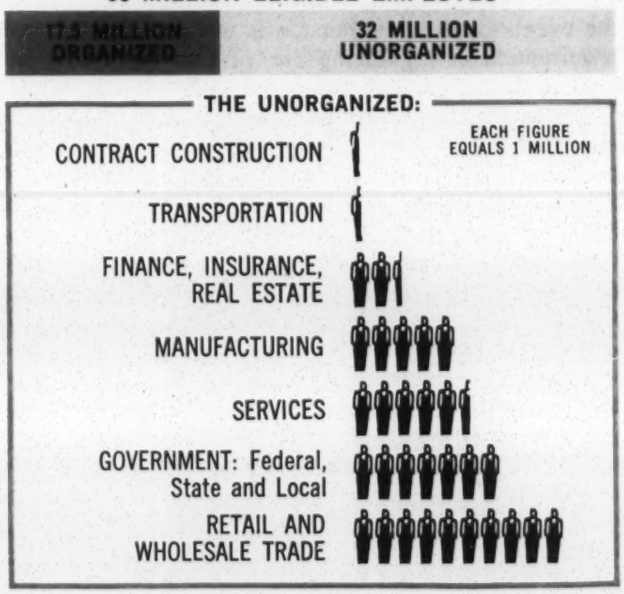
"That all affiliates adopt a continuing program of evaluating their organizing operations with the aim of developing more effective means of organizing, increasing the organizing skills of their staffs and encouraging participation in coordinated organizing programs.

"That all members of AFL-CIO unions be viewed as potential and important participants in the overall organizing mission of the American labor movement."

It is the bringing together of all these factors—an understanding of workers' attitudes as they exist today, the marshaling of the vast array of talents and manpower available and then the skill of relating collective bargaining to progress and advancement—which is today accelerating union growth. And this combination is certain to do it even more so in the years ahead.

THE ORGANIZABLE WORKFORCE

50 MILLION ELIGIBLE EMPLOYES*



* Of 60.5 million wage and salary employes in U. S. in 1965, 8.5 million are mainly supervisory personnel and so are ineligible; 2.5 million are considered beyond the practical reach of unions by reason of being in very small firms and in remote areas.

Source: AFL-CIO calculations based on U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data and exclude Canadian membership.

Reprinted from March 1966
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Reprinted from April 4, 1966 issue

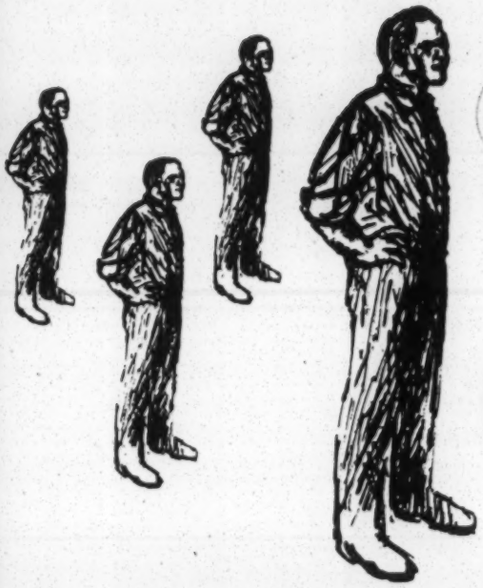
UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Congressman Charles Vanik answers Readers Digest attack on HR 8282, establishing federal standards for unemployment insurance



THE ISSUE

America's system of unemployment insurance is a patchwork of state systems, underfinanced and outdated. Workers in auto industry with seasonal ups and downs are among victims of poor state UC programs. McCarthy-Mills bill will correct most present UC shortcomings.

PROSPECTS

House Ways and Means Committee held hearings last year, expects to report out bill soon for floor action. Heavy mail is coming to Washington from employers against federal UC standards. Congress must hear from working people now stressing need for modernization of UC.

Elliott Erwitt, Magnum

A New Role For Unemployment Insurance

A Reader's Digest REPRINT

By Earl and Anne Selby

New Grab for Federal Power: Unemployment Benefits

FRAUD

If it passes, the unemployment [illegible] bill [illegible] before Congress will cost additional bill[illegible] on the states' traditional rights and [illegible] us all [illegible] nearer to the complete welfare state

A cabal of [illegible] leaders [illegible] Wash[illegible] for [illegible] bureaucrats [illegible] but w[illegible] determ[illegible] the gr[illegible] this [illegible] compensa[illegible] It is [illegible] shocking grab fo[illegible] power—doubly shocking bec[illegible] vehicle, House of Representat[illegible] No. 8282, if adopted, would [illegible] an open invitation to flagrant cheating. It would also put pressure on the states to surrender their traditional rights to determine who should get jobless pay, how long the payments should last and how much they should be.

This is nothing less than total revolution in our system for giving benefits to the unemployed. Historically, we have always let each state lay down its own rules for dispensing such compensation. H.R. 8282 invests this vast power in the federal government; Washington would set the standards which probably would become the accepted policy in each of the 50 states. For, although the new bill does not say that the states *must* adopt its standards, certain tax penalties would be imposed on employers in any state that did not meet every standard in 8282. These economic teeth could effectively force all the states to go along.

If these federal standards do become law, the benefit provisions involved would probably cost bil-

fraud \'frȯd\ *n* [ME *fraude*, fr. MF, fr. L *fraud-*, *fraus;* akin to Skt *dhvarati* he bends, injures] **1 a :** DECEIT, TRICKERY; *specif* **:** intentional perversion of truth in order to induce another to part with something of value or to surrender a legal right **b :** an act of deceiving or misrepresenting **:** TRICK **2 a :** one who is not what he pretends to be **:** IMPOSTOR **b :** one who defrauds **:** CHEAT **syn** see DECEPTION, IMPOSTURE

fraud·u·lence \'frȯ-jə-lən(t)s\ *n* **:** the quality or state of being fraudulent

fraud·u·lent \-lənt\ *adj* **:** characterized by, based on, or done by fraud **:** DECEITFUL — **fraud·u·lent·ly** *adv* — **fraud·u·lent·ness** *n*

From Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary

Federal standards for unemployment insurance is an issue important to every American wage-earner. Reader's Digest—which never runs letters to point out errors of facts—has flooded the nation with distortions about HR 8282. Cong. Charles Vanik of Cleveland recently set the record straight by citing point-by-point errors which Digest refuses to publish to enlighten its millions of innocent readers.

THE ARTICLE

The article characterizes the bill as "* * * a shocking grab for Federal power * * *" and "* * * nothing less than total revolution in our system for giving benefits to the unemployed."

This is nothing less than total revolution in our system for giving benefits to the unemployed. Historically, we have always let each State lay down its own rules for dispensing such compensation. H.R. 8282 invests this vast power in the Federal Government.

Washington would set the standards which probably would become the accepted policy in each of the 50 States. For, although the new bill does not say that the States must adopt its standards, certain tax penalties would be imposed on employers in any State that did not meet every standard in 8282. These economic teeth could effectively force all the States to go along.

THE COMMENT

There is no "grab" for Federal power, and 8282 is not a revolutionary federalization of the unemployment compensation system. The unemployment compensation system was created not by the States, but by the taxing power of the Congress when it passed the Social Security Act of 1935. Even in 1935 the Committee on Economic Security said that the requirements which State laws on unemployment compensation must fulfill could at any time be increased or altered by Congress, to achieve needed improvements in State laws.

There have always been certain standards in the Federal Statute that State laws must meet for employers in that State to receive almost 90-percent credit against the Federal tax. H.R. 8282 would now provide some additional standards that State laws must meet in the future for the full credit to be allowed.

The bill imposes no penalties—it just contains provision for tax credit. And as several independent scholars have pointed out, the Federal Government must be able to use some incentive to encourage the States to make needed adjustments within a reasonable length of time. And it should be noted that the new Federal "standards" allow, as now, great initiative and variations to be made by the States.

THE ARTICLE

If these Federal standards do become law, the benefit provisions involved would probably cost billions of dollars more than present compensation programs. And employers—who have always paid the bill—would be saddled with an estimated increase of 60 percent or more in payroll taxes.

Weekly compensation checks for many unemployed would double, or more, and in certain cases could be paid for as long as a year and a half.

In addition, H.R. 8282 would liberalize the ground rules for determining who's in or out of this benefit bonanza. It would open the floodgates for untold thousands of claims now outlawed by State statutes. It could make it easier for people to cheat in collecting benefits, and more difficult to punish the cheaters.

Reader's Digest

REPRINT

By Earl and Anne Selby

New Grab for Federal Power: Unemployment Benefits

If it passes, the unemployment compensation bill now before Congress will cost additional billions, cut the states' traditional rights and be a step toward the complete welfare state

FRAUD

THE COMMENT

This statement creates a false impression about both present and prospective costs. Actually, benefits under State laws in 1965 totaled about $2.2 billion. Proposed improvements would have added less than another half billion dollars. One additional advantage of unemployment insurance taxes is that they are greater than benefits in periods of high employment and, therefore, represent an anti-inflationary mechanism. In poor times benefits exceed outgo from the fund, and the effect is an antirecession stimulation. In both respects unemployment insurance helps to stabilize our economic system.

Only where a benefit is now so small that it represents less than a fourth of the worker's lost weekly wage could this possibly occur. In such a case, the change is desirable. The bill does not require any benefit greater than one-half the former wage, and only then within the limits set by the maximums. The duration of the benefit depends on the worker's previous work record and on whether he continues to be able and available for work and registered for work. If he refuses a suitable job or appropriate training, his benefits will be discontinued.

The bill would strengthen administration by providing for training of State personnel so they will be better equipped to prevent fraud, properly apply eligibility and disqualification provisions of State laws, and insure that payments go only to a qualified and eligible unemployed workers.

H.R. 8282 in no way limits a State's ability to detect, prosecute and obtain criminal convictions for fraud, nor does it affect in any such provisions in State laws. In addition, H.R. 8282 allows for a benefit disqualification for fraud up to 3 years—greater than most States now impose.

Because of a long history of increasingly restrictive and punitive State qualification laws (which, for example, in some States prevent a person from receiving benefits while attempting to go through training school in the evening!) it is the purpose of 8282 to open the doors for more legitimate and honest claims.

THE ARTICLE

Such largess could further encourage a growing class in America—the voluntarily unemployed. Why keep on working, when it would be so easy to collect pay for not working? Especially since jobless benefits—in contrast to earned income—are not subject to any income or social security taxes, cannot be attached by creditors and are not subject to union dues.

Weekly, there are still about 1 million pending claims. In a year the cost runs about $3 billion.

At present, not one State meets all the standards laid down in H.R. 8282.

In fact, many abuses would get the sanction of law if the bill is adopted. For instance: Workers who voluntarily quit their jobs for any reason, including just plain laziness, could still get benefits.

Even most employees dismissed for outright misconduct could get compensation.

Any jobless person offered a new job with both suitable wages and working conditions could turn it down—and still get compensation.

Reader's Digest

REPRINT

By Earl and Anne Selby

New Grab for Federal Power: Unemployment Benefits

FRAUD

Millions of workers would be able to take a year's "vacation" by quitting their jobs and collecting benefits at half their pay. After that, with just 1 more day's work, the job-shirker could be eligible for a further 26-week round of benefits at half pay.

In some States, certain older workers could actually make more money—for a time—by retiring early and adding tax-free unemployment compensation to their company pensions and social security benefits.

At present, all States put a ceiling on weekly benefit checks. Alaska's top, for example, is $45. Under the new bill that State, by 1971, would have a maximum of $110 weekly, by the Labor Department's estimate.

THE COMMENT

In no circumstance would a claimant receive compensation for more than half his own weekly wage as a result of H.R. 8282. In addition to losing half his wage, he loses fringe benefits (under new contracts in the auto industry these add up to about $1 an hour) and all the amounts regularly added to one's social security accounts. And, of course, the right to collect unemployment compensation is only earned by working and by seeking work when unemployed.

The total amount of benefits paid varies greatly and with the number of persons unemployed. Only in 1958 and 1961 have benefit costs reached $3 billion. Under such circumstances, 2¼ million persons a month file claims. On the other hand, in recent months only about 1 million persons file claims weekly. Thus, while the system is needed and used in times of high economic activity as well as in times of recession, the state of the economy influences directly the extent to which it is used and the level of benefit costs. Wage insurance is responsive to need as well as stabilizing to the economy.

Nor is there any provision or change in H.R. 8282 which has not or is not being tried in some of the States.

H.R. 8282 does not require any State to pay benefits to any individual worker unless he is available for work, seeking work and willing to work, and provides further: Workers who quit jobs without good cause could be denied benefits for 7 weeks, a longer period than many States now provide.

Employees dismissed for misconduct could be denied benefits for 7 weeks, a longer period than many States now provide.

Claimants refusing suitable jobs without good cause could be denied benefits for 7 weeks, a longer period than many State laws now provide.

Even after 7 weeks, the disqualified worker will not receive benefits unless he is available for and seeking work, is willing to accept suitable work, and is eligible in all other respects.

H.R. 8282 neither requires nor contemplates the payment of benefits to any worker on "vacation." It requires payment only to workers with substantial past employment, and contains no provision that "1 day's work" qualifies an individual for benefits.

H.R. 8282 contains no proposal relating to older workers or those receiving pensions. Whatever effect there would be on the eligibility and benefits of such workers would be attributable only to provisions in State laws.

Regardless of the maximum, the bill does not require that any worker in Alaska (or in any other State) receive more than half pay. It does not require that any individual be paid $110 maximum unless his own regular weekly pay was $220 or more.

THE ARTICLE

H.R. 8282 is equally generous in the duration of payments. A common State-prescribed minimum now is 10 or 12 weeks—with 26 the usual maximum. The new bill would set a usual minimum of 26 weeks for everybody covered by compensation.

Some claimants could qualify for 26 more weeks by working just 1 day between the 1st and 53d weekly benefit checks—which comes to 78 weeks of tax-free payments.

To be eligible for the first 26 weeks of benefits, the new bill says a claimant must have worked 20 weeks "or the equivalent." Here is where the fancy footwork comes in. Actually, as Gordon W. Winks, a Chicago lawyer representing the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, told Congress:

In 36 States a claimant being paid the statewide weekly average could satisfy the definition of equivalency by working only 5 weeks in a year, provided no more than 3 were in 1 quarter.

THE COMMENT

It certainly seems necessary to establish a minimum of 26 weeks, when 25 percent of the claimants in 1963 exhausted all their benefits before finding work.

As an example of the options left open to the States, if a worker does not accumulate enough weeks of work to qualify for 26 weeks of benefits, the States may pay him benefits on a graduated basis of their own determining.

The present provisions of State laws can be met occasionally by a person with an unusual work record of limited duration. In providing qualifying requirements in State laws, State legislatures obviously discounted the likelihood or frequency of such odd situations, and similar provisions in H.R. 8282 are merely adapted to existing State statutes.

To avoid substituting a uniform Federal formula for the individual State approaches, H.R. 8282 was drafted in terms of equivalents in order to accommodate the States' basic types of systems for determining benefit entitlement.

Under present laws in 21 States, he could now meet the qualifying requirements for benefits and in 39 States he could do so by working 5 weeks for somewhat higher than average wages.

HIGHLIGHTS OF McCARTHY-MILLS BILL

Proposed Employment Security Amendments of 1966

1. Increases Benefits

Higher weekly amounts would be required of the states. Maximums must be raised in steps until they reach two-thirds of each state's average weekly wage. Benefit floor will be half of each unemployed worker's weekly wage loss, subject to the new maximums.

Example: If the average wage in a state is $100, the statewide maximum must be set at $67. Then an $80-a-week worker must receive at least $40 (half of his wage loss), a $100 worker $50 and so on until the $134 a week worker hits the maximum of $67. All higher wage workers also are limited to $67.

2. Extends Duration

Long-term adjustment benefits would go to those who use up all their state allowances. Payments continue at the state weekly amount and for six more months, if needed, so long as the unemployed worker maintains his eligibility. Benefits also are payable during an approved training period.

Example: A jobless worker draws $35 a week for 26 weeks when his benefits expire under state law. If his past earnings record and continued availability for work make him eligible, he applies for federal adjustment benefits (through the state employment office). He is entitled to his first check on the 27th week of unemployment, also at $35, and continues drawing until he finds work or until the 52nd week. If, during this time, he participates in an approved training program, he continues to draw benefits. If he refuses approved training or suitable work he can be denied benefits for six weeks.

3. Expands Coverage

Protection would be extended to 5 million more workers, including those in small establishments, in nonprofit organizations, on large farms and in agricultural processing companies.

4. Sets Fair Penalties

Fair limits would be set on disqualification penalties. Benefit denial for voluntary quit, discharge for misconduct and refusing suitable work or training is limited to six weeks in state and federal plans. No reduction in benefit amount will be permitted when a worker leaves the state in search of work (now practiced in three states).

5. Strengthens Financing

Up-to-date financing would be achieved through a higher tax base (to be raised from $3,000 to $5,600), federal grants-in-aid to states with abnormally high benefit costs and repeal of federal experience rating requirement. The long-term adjustment benefits and grants-in-aid are to be financed both from general revenues and employer contributions which are to be raised 15/100ths of one percent.

From The Federationist

Reader's Digest

SUPPLEMENT

By Earl and Anne Sears

New Grab for Federal Power: Unemployment Benefits

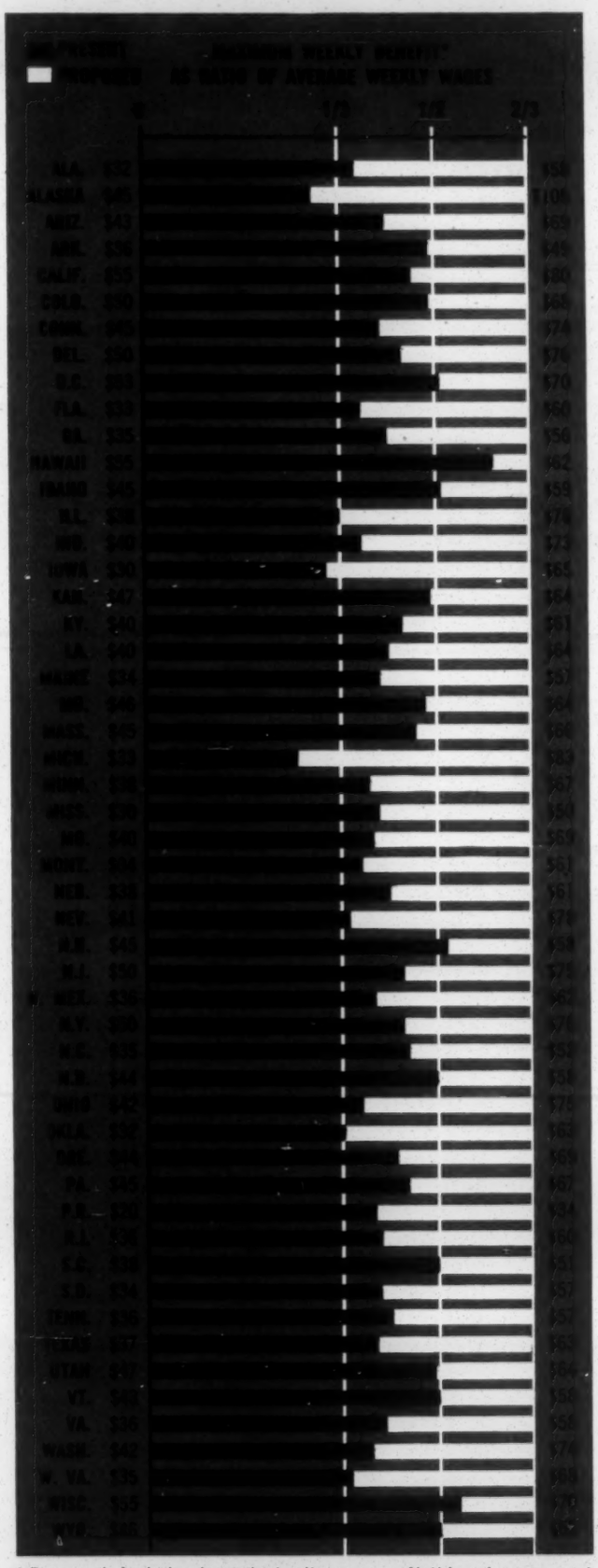
If it passes, the unemployment-compensation bill now before Congress will cost additional millions, [illegible] the states' traditional rights and help [illegible] to the complete welfare state

FRAUD

THE ARTICLE	THE COMMENT
Many part-time workers could satisfy the requirement by working only 2 days a week for 20 weeks.	This would satisfy present qualifying requirements in 12 States, 6 of which require less than 20 weeks.
A well-paid entertainer could satisfy all the requirements by working one day in one quarter of the year and one day in another.	This could meet present qualifying requirements in 40 States. For example, under the present Illinois law to be eligible a person must earn a total of $800 in his base period, with $175 in a quarter other than his high quarter. The entertainer could meet this requirement by earning $600 for 1 day's work and $200 for another day in a different quarter.
In the first place, the new bill would skyrocket the amount of payroll taxes earmarked directly for the Federal Government. This flat tax, levied on business, is now a maximum of $12 annually per worker; under 8282, this maximum would rise to $36.30, making an overall increase of $995 million per year. Payroll taxes for State compensation funds would also jump astronomically—to pay for the liberalized benefits and to cover the voluntarily unemployed pensioners and others now disqualified by State laws. Nobody really knows how much the whole works would add, but guesses range up to $2 billion—on top of the billions we are already spending on unemployment compensation.	The cost impact is grossly overstated. Actually, unemployment compensation protection is provided at bargain rates. In 1964 and 1965 the combination of State and Federal taxes averaged about 1½ cents per payroll dollar. Had H.R. 8282 been in full effect, the cost would have been about 2 cents. The Federal share of the tax would rise to $36.30 by 1971.
All States now have a system for a sliding scale of taxes on employers. In most States an experience rating is kept for each company, to record how many compensation claims are filed by its former employees. Firms with a steady employment record pay less taxes than those with a high labor turnover.	H.R. 8282 merely surrenders to the State legislatures full control of their traditional rights to regulate State taxation and removes Federal restrictions on this process. It is a "giant step" away from the domination of the States, and it is a reduction of the monolithic government in Washington.
H.R. 8282 does not go the whole way in giving the union leaders what they want in this respect. It would not abolish the experience-rating system, but it would make it possible to abolish experience rating with considerable ease. Under the provisions of the new bill, employers with a high labor turnover doubtless would join with the unions in pressuring their legislatures for uniform taxation of all employers. A system in which everyone paid at the same rate would of course reduce the high payroll taxes now paid by firms with bad experience ratings.	H.R. 8282 permits a State to keep its present experience-rating system if the State legislature wishes to do so. But the article does not trust State legislatures to evaluate experience rating on its merits, or to resist pressures of unions and some employers for another system. The writers apparently believe that it should defend at all cost, including the fullest use of Federal authority, maximum tax savings through experience rating for some employers, but that even minimum Federal protection for workers encroaches on the States' traditional rights.
A cabal of labor leaders and Washington bureaucrats is now trying, quietly but with determination, to ram through the greatest raid ever aimed at this country's unemployment-compensation system.	The comments above should clear up some of the fallacies and distortions concerning unemployment compensation and H.R. 8282. Public understanding of the issues will come from a more rational debate of the issues than is reflected in the opposite opening sentence of the Reader's Digest article.

CLOSING THE BENEFITS GAP

How State Benefits Compare With Proposed Federal Standard



* Does not include dependent allowances. Nothing in proposed federal standards bill would prevent state from continuing dependent allowances in addition to basic maximum.

This chart shows how unemployment insurance benefits would rise state by state if McCarthy-Mills bill is passed.

Notice where your own state benefits stand now, and see how much more UC you would get if federal standards would be established.

Also note the wide gap in average benefits now.

When a state pays low benefits it pulls down the whole UC structure. Low benefits like low wages are a drag on everybody, and they penalize states with higher benefits.

Keep this chart as a reference to show your Congressman or Senator why your state will be helped by passage of McCarthy-Mills bill.

"Unemployment insurance has not kept pace with the times. . . . Improvements are essential if the program is to exert a strong stabilizing effect on the economy and provide people with adequate income when out of work."

—President Johnson

√ "Coverage under unemployment insurance should be extended to all employees who receive wage income without regard to the size, nature, or place of the employing unit; payment of unemployment insurance benefits should be adequate in amount to sustain human dignity, with federally established minimum standards aimed at the payment of at least one-half of his average weekly earnings up to an established maximum related to the statewide average weekly wage."

—General Board of the National Council of Churches

√ "With all the limitations in state laws—in coverage, eligibility, duration, and weekly benefit amount—only one out of every five dollars due to unemployment is compensated. This seriously limits the value of the jobless pay system to working families and to the economy dependent on their spending. This situation would largely be corrected by enactment of H.R. 8282."

—AFL-CIO Executive Council

√ "Benefit levels must be increased; benefit periods must be lengthened; coverage must be extended; federal standards must be provided to assure that workers unemployed by factors incident to a national economy, receive adequate protection regardless of the state of residence; a permanent federal program for protection of the long-term unemployed must be added."

—National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress

√ "This bill (H.R. 8282) remodels the federal-state unemployment insurance system established in 1935 to meet the changed needs of a changed economy. It writes the teaching of thirty years' experience into the law."

—W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor

√ "We believe that unemployment compensation must be increased, coverage must be expanded, and standards modernized and made more uniform along the lines of the McCarthy-Mills bill. This is essential to provide employment security for the American people and to meet the new problems of the technological revolution. While the majority of those whose living conditions will be improved by the new legislation, and the country as a whole, stand to benefit, Negro Americans are among those who desperately need the legislation."

—Clarence Mitchell, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

√ "Why do we now so urgently need minimum standards provided in this bill? Because, in the absence of these standards, we have been slipping backward since 1939. The need has been becoming more urgent year by year. Lack of these standards has cost individual workers, their families, and the national economy dearly."

—Hon. Frank M. Karsten Congressman from Missouri

√ "The federal-state program of unemployment insurance was initiated 30 years ago with the passage of the Social Security Act. Since then significant changes have occurred in the composition of the labor force, in the character of unemployment, in wages and working conditions, and in the structure and technology of the economy. The unemployment insurance program, however, has not been properly adjusted to meet the present and prospective needs and problems in its field. . . . Remedial action along the lines we recommended has been long overdue."

—Thirty-eight professors from major American universities

√ "Perhaps the most significant contribution of the current proposals to make the UI system a more effective weapon in preventing poverty is the recognition that unemployment is a national problem requiring nationwide standards of remedy."

—Elizabeth Wickenden, Technical Consultant on Public Social Policy, National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.

EVC – Current Issues

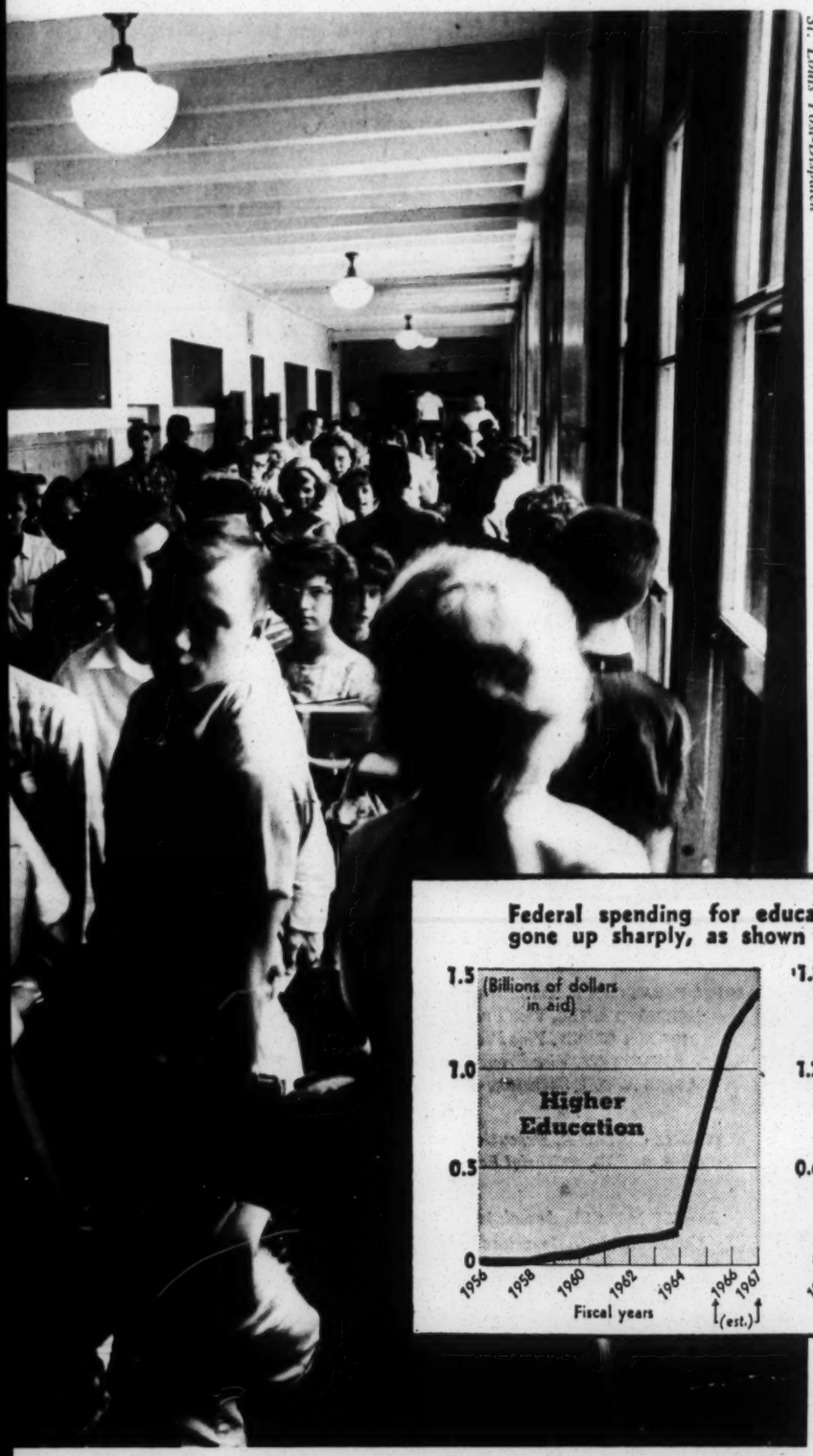
UAW – Wash Report 9/29/66

Issues/66

EDUCATION

"Too many people, for too many years, argued that education, and health and human welfare were not the government's concern. And while they spoke, our schools fell behind, our sick people went unattended, and our poor fell deeper into despair. But now, at last, in this year of our Lord, 1965, we have quit talking and started acting. The roots of change and reform are spreading, not just throughout Washington, but throughout every community in every State of this great Nation.

—President Lyndon Johnson, November 8, 1965



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Great, fabulous," is just one of the superlatives President Lyndon Johnson has used to praise the achievements of the 89th United States Congress.

Swept into office on the waves of his 1964 landslide, the "new" Democrats have served him, and their country, well—chalking up an unparalleled record of legislation for social progress.

On January 12, 1965, President Johnson urged Congress to "push ahead with the number one business of the American people, the education of our youth in pre-schools, elementary and secondary schools, and in the colleges and the universities"—and the 89th responded.

Forming the backbone of Congress' historic efforts to mark down education's price tag are three inter-locking programs:

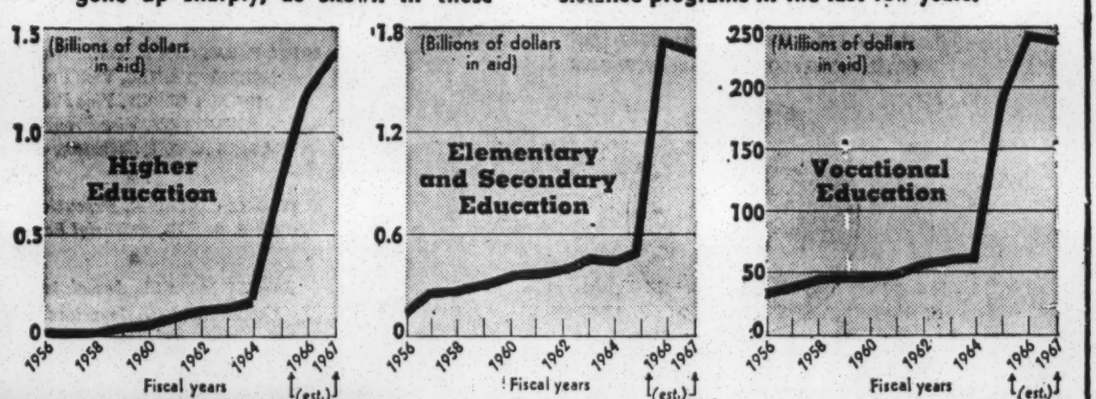
- **Pre-school programs like Headstart**
- **The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965**
- **The Higher Education Act of 1965**

Taken together, and backed up by two dozen other legislative triumphs, this network of federally financed programs means that any American—child or adult, rich or poor—can now afford a complete education.

It also promises to shore up the alarmingly low quality of education in most of our cities—without gouging larger chunks out of the workers' paychecks for local property, sales, and income taxes.

In 1956, city and suburban schools spent almost equal amounts to educate each of their children. During the last ten years, however, the flight of middle-income families to the suburbs has dangerously weakened the tax base most city school systems depend on for financial support. This

Federal spending for education has gone up sharply, as shown in these charts, since the passage of major assistance programs in the last few years.



—New York Times Chart

year suburban schools will spend between $150 and $300 more per student than city schools will.

And, for the most part, city schools can do little to close the ever-widening gap. More than 80 percent of their operating income must be raised at home, and their budgets are only mildly supplemented by state or federal funds. Most urban school districts reply on handouts from general city funds. Few have the legislative power to increase their tax income, or float bond issues for school construction, without the specific approval of already over-taxed voters.

Aggravated by teacher shortages, and burdened by the cultural or economic handicaps the children of the poor bring to school with them, the fiscal ills of the city school systems seemed incurable—until the 89th stepped in.

Leading off with the $1.1 billion Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Congress cut right to the heart of the financial dilemma. ESEA allocates most of its funds to improving educational opportunity for children from low income families.

But, because of a liberal formula for determining which schools may benefit, 95 percent of the Nation's counties are eligible for assistance.

The bill also authorizes a five-year school book purchasing project, stimulates experiments with new teaching methods, finances an extensive teacher-training program, and strengthens state education departments.

Backstopping this effort to graduate more and better-trained high school students is the $800 million Higher Education Act. HEA authorizes $70 million in college scholarships to 140,000 students from poor families.

In proposing the program, the President pointed out that "higher education is no longer a luxury, but a necessity." The bill also provides low-interest student loans and earmarks $494 million for a work-study program to give students part time employment.

Overseeing the pre-school preparation of the students who will reap ESEA's and HEA's fruits is the Office of Economic Opportunity. Officially charged with conducting the war on poverty, OEO has siphoned off a large share of its precious funds to ensure that poor children start off their school careers on an even footing with their more fortunate classmates.

This summer OEO's project Headstart invested $100 million in the futures of 600,000 children who otherwise would have begun school faced with almost insurmountable social and cultural handicaps.

Also included among the multitude of new programs are: basic education for adults, school construction assistance, huge vocational education and rehabilitation projects, a massive manpower training effort, and education for older Americans.

Using federal prestige and resources as a spur to local education initiative, the Democratic-led 89th Congress has done more to equalize opportunity for all Americans than, as President Johnson put it, "all the previous 176 regular sessions of Congress, put together".

"This bill is only one of the more than two dozen education measures enacted by the first session of the 89th Congress. And history will forever record that this session—the first session of the 89th Congress—did more for the wonderful cause of education in America than did all the previous 176 regular sessions of Congress did, put together. I doubt that any future Congress will ever erect a prouder monument for future generations."

—President Lyndon Johnson at the signing of the Higher Education Act, November 8, 1965

Inge Morath for Magnum

BVC Current Issues

(NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE) 10

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 112 WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1966 No. 181—Part 2

House of Representatives

REPUBLICAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS—2D SESSION, 89TH CONGRESS

SAVING THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Under the Johnson-Humphrey administration the once vital Small Business Administration that had been created as an independent agency in 1953 by a Republican President, was downgraded and nearly destroyed. The Office of Administrator was left vacant, the business loan program was gutted, and there were disturbing and recurrent rumors that this independent agency was to be transferred to the Commerce Department. Thanks to Republican efforts, this disastrous trend was reversed. In a series of statements and releases, the plan to eliminate the spokesman for small business in big government was exposed. As a result, the proposed transfer was killed, an Administrator was appointed, and the loan functions were reactivated. See February 23, 1966, policy committee statement.

RESCUING THE MARITIME INDUSTRY

For some unfathomable reason, the Johnson-Humphrey administration has chosen to ignore our steadily deteriorating maritime industry. Our shipbuilding program is lagging, our World War II reserve fleet is growing older and the expanding war in Vietnam is putting the U.S. merchant fleet under tremendous pressure. Even so, the administration's total maritime budget for 1967 set a 7-year low. While we have dropped to 12th place among the shipbuilding nations, Russia has risen from 12th to 7th place. Faced with this serious situation, the Republican members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the Republican policy committee set out to alert the American people to the perils of the administration's course. Although we have been unable to reverse this trend entirely, some significant gains have been made. A bill that would establish the Maritime Administration as an independent agency has been reported from committee. Also, an attempt to bury the Maritime Administration in the newly created Department of Transportation was defeated. Finally, the Appropriations Committee increased the funds for ship construction by $21.6 million.

Our national survival may depend upon the shipping that should be under construction but which the Johnson-Humphrey administration has scuttled Additional steps must be taken to correct this disastrous situation. If the present trend continues, this country that once boasted the greatest merchant fleet in the world will be left on history's shore waiting for ships that never come in. See April 20, 1966, policy committee statement.

PROTECTING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO KNOW

In an effort to conceal and coverup, Federal agencies have adopted 24 ways to keep administrative information from public view. Bureaucratic gobbledygook used to deny access to information has included such gems as "Eyes Only," "Limited Official Use," "Confidential Treatment," and "Limitation on Availability of Equipment for Public Reference." In order to pierce this "paper curtain," Republican Members sponsored and worked hard for the adoption of Freedom of Information legislation.

Due to the opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey administration, this proposal was bottled up in committee for over a year. However, as a result of pressure from Republicans, publishers, and representatives of the press, radio, and TV, it was finally reported and enacted into law. Now this legislation can help to blaze a trail of truthfulness and accurate disclosure in what has become a jungle of falsification, unjustified secrecy, and misstatement by statistic. Hopefully, the saying "Would you believe?" can once again become a line for comedians rather than Government press officials. See May 18, 1966, policy committee statement.

URGING ELECTION AND CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION REFORM LEGISLATION

Republican members have responded to one of the great challenges of our times—the reformation of our election and campaign contribution laws. In the past, there have been a number of excellent studies and reports on this subject. President Kennedy appointed a special Commission on Campaign Contributions, and in 1962 the report of this Commission sparked the introduction of several bills. President Johnson sent a message to Congress recommending that something be done, but the administration bill, which was finally introduced, proved to be defective and inadequate.

Alert to the importance of this legislation and the need for prompt action, the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives introduced an election reform bill that incorporated a number of the President's proposals, but also included many significant improvements and additions. For example, the Republican bill established a five-member Federal Elections Commission that would receive reports and statements regarding campaign contributions and expenditures and investigate allegations of wrongdoing. All contributions and expenditures of $100 or more would have to be reported. A $100 income tax deduction for campaign contributions is provided.

The Republican members of the House Administration Committee pressed for and obtained committee hearings and consideration of this bill. As a result, the Elections Subcommittee reported an election reform bill that contained many of the Republican suggestions. Every Republican member of the subcommittee voted for this bill and at the following meeting of the full committee, all Republican members were present and ready to vote to report the bill for immediate floor consideration. Unfortunately, the Democratic members would not join the Republicans. So, for this session, this important bill has been killed. However, in the public interest, this legislation must be enacted into law before the 1968 presidential campaign. Republicans will press for its adoption during the next Congress. See May 26, 1966, policy committee statement and reprint of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 30, 1966.

ASSISTING THE VETERANS

During the 89th Congress, action on two major veterans' bills resulted directly from Republican leadership.

The Republican-supported Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966—Public Law 89-358—provided educational benefits for veterans of current military service. This essential legislation was enacted over the determined opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey administration. For example, in March 1965, an administration spokesman told a Senate committee that enactment of such legislation would not be in accord with the program of the President. Again in September 1965, administration spokesmen reiterated to a House committee their opposition to pending veterans' education bills.

Recognizing the need for this legislation, the House Republican policy committee in June 1965 urged Congress to provide educational benefits for Vietnam veterans "as quickly as possible." Again in January 1966, the policy committee called for "the immediate enactment of a bill that will authorize a program of eduction and training for veterans of military service," and urged the administration to support this legislation. Such a bill became law on March 3, 1966. The President, in approving the bill, said that he would sign it notwithstanding the fact that it went further than he was willing to ask for this year.

The Republican-supported Veterans' Pension Act of 1966—H.R. 17488—provides an average 5.6-percent increase in monthly pension payments to 1.8 million veterans. As early as October 1965, Republican Members of the House were calling for hearings on proposals to liberalize the pension program. When hearings were held in July 1966, an administration spokesman testified in opposition to all of the 188 pension bills pending in the House. After rejecting Republican-sponsored amendments to liberalize the bill by increasing the income limitations that control the monthly rate of pension, the Veterans' Affairs Committee reported H.R. 17488.

On September 14, 1966, the House Republican-policy committee endorsed H.R. 17488, and criticized the Johnson-Humphrey administration for the continued opposition to legislation that would provide a much needed cost-of-living rate increase for veterans. At the same time, they called for an increase in the income limitations of the existing pension laws. See January 26 and September 14, 1966, policy committee statements.

REORGANIZING CONGRESS

On July 28, 1966, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress filed its final report with Congress. This report contained a number of important recommendations that would materially strengthen and modernize Congress. Concerned by the apparent decline of congressional initiative and independence under the Johnson administration,

the Republican policy committee joined the Republican members of the joint committee in urging the immediate consideration of the committee recommendations. A bill, entitled "The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1966, H.R. 17873," that would implement these recommendations was introduced by the ranking Republican member of the joint committee. Republicans believe that if Congress is to be a more effective institution for carrying out its basic modern functions—legislative review, and representative—it must be updated. Authority that has been unwisely delegated to the executive must be regained. The continued dilution of its historic role must be stopped. However, this cannot take place until the organizational effectiveness and internal operation of Congress has been improved. The recommendations of the joint committee provide a giant step in the right direction.

The Republican members of the House of Representatives long have been interested in congressional reform. At the outset of this session of Congress, a task force of the House Republicans on congressional reform and minority staffing was appointed to study the matter of congressional reform in depth. As a result of the work of this task force, a book, entitled "We Propose: A Modern Congress," has been published. The conclusions and recommendations contained in this book were presented in full to the joint committee and many of the recommendations of the committee stemmed from the work of the task force. See October 10, 1966, policy committee statement.

HELPING COLLEGE STUDENTS

One of the most successful programs designed to help students complete their college education is the student loan program of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Under this Republican-sponsored legislation, more than 968,000 students have borrowed $834 million.

This year, the very existence of this vital program was threatened by the Johnson-Humphrey administration's recommendation that the program of direct loans to students by participating colleges be scaled back and finally terminated in favor of insured loans. Sensing that this course of action would be disastrous for the many students who depend upon the loans, the Republican Members of Congress insisted that the student loan program be fully funded. Over the continued opposition of the administration, this was done. As a result, nearly half-a-million students at 1,600 colleges and universities will be able to obtain loans and $179 million in Federal funds will be allocated to the participating institutions for this purpose.

The wisdom of the Republican efforts on behalf of the student loan program has been underlined by recent events. One of the first casualties of the Johnson inflation and soaring interest rates was bank-made student loans. In many areas, banks have stopped accepting applications for Government-backed student loans. The 6-percent-interest rate on a student loan is no longer attractive when banks can charge their best credit risks 6 percent for short-term loans. If the administration's attempt to sabotage the student loan program had not been blocked, many students today would be out of money, out of luck, and out of school.

INCREASING SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

Republican Members of Congress have demanded that social security benefits should be increased now, not in January 1968 as belatedly proposed by President Johnson. This would have been the case if the Democratic majority in Congress had acted upon a Republican proposal that would have provided an automatic increase in benefits whenever there is a stated increase in the Consumer Price Index.

Great Society spending, and the accompanying budget deficits, and certain labor settlements have spiraled living costs to a point where elderly citizens are hard pressed to make ends meet. There are nearly 40 million retired Americans who do not enjoy the benefit of rising wages and income to cope with rising prices. They are painfully aware that the purchasing power of our currency has eroded so that the 1957–59 dollar is today worth 88 cents and the 1940 dollar is worth only 43 cents.

The Republican proposal would have provided an across-the-board, 8-percent-average increase in benefits effective January 1, 1967, for approximately 22 million elderly persons eligible for social security payments. It would have been financed from the social security fund reserves without raising the social security tax rate or the annual earnings base on which it is levied. The entire House Republican membership urged Congress to stay in session until a benefits increase could be worked out. Unfortunately, our pleas on behalf of the people hurt the most by inflation, were not heeded by the Democratic majority.

STRENGTHENING PUBLIC LAW 480 AND THE FOOD-FOR-PEACE PROGRAM

In 1954, Public Law 480 was enacted into law under the leadership of President Eisenhower and by a Republican Congress. This is the cornerstone of food for peace. It has meant the difference between life and death for millions of people in a world where much of the population is engaged in a race between food production and population growth. This year the Republican Members of the House of Representatives not only supported the extension of Public Law 480 but were instrumental in adding a number of amendments that improved the legislation as follows:

First. Congressional review of the operation and administration of the program was insured by limiting the extension to 2 years.

Second. The basic concept of friendly countries was retained.

Third. The effectiveness of the Public Law 480 Joint Congressional-Executive Advisory Committee was improved.

Fourth. A 5-percent cash payment in title I sales agreements will be insisted upon when possible.

Fifth. Food sold for foreign currencies will be identified as being provided through the generosity of the American people.

Sixth. Technical assistance in friendly developing countries was expanded through a farmer-to-farmer program.

Over the determined opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey administration, Republicans also were successful in obtaining a ban on subsidized sales to nations that trade with North Vietnam. Republicans believe that when Americans and their allies are fighting and dying in the defense of freedom, nations that trade with those with whom we are joined in combat should not receive special treatment and assistance. See June 8 and September 27, 1966, policy committee statements.

UPDATING AND IMPROVING THE UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION LAWS

Under the leadership of the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee, a bill was reported and passed by the House of Representatives that preserved the highly successful system of autonomous State programs of unemployment insurance. In contrast to the Federal dictation and controls contained in the rejected administration bill, the Republican-sponsored measure updated and improved the present law as follows:

First. Thirteen weeks of extended unemployment compensation is provided during periods of recession.

Second. Coverage is extended to those workers who can be generally considered regularly employed and for whom there can be reasonable standards of availability for work.

Third. Nonprofit organizations are given the option of participating as "self-insurers."

Fourth. The wage base is increased from $3,000 to $3,900 beginning in 1969 and to $4,200 beginning in 1972.

Fifth. A judicial review of determinations by the Secretary of Labor with respect to qualifications of State plans is provided.

The House rejection of the Johnson-Humphrey administration bill and the acceptance of the Republican measure would have meant that the present program of unemployment compensation, while continuing to provide necessary and essential assistance to the involuntarily unemployed, would not become a federalized system that permits abuse and encourages the unemployed to remain idle the maximum period of time rather than accept suitable employment or enter training programs as quickly as possible. See June 21, 1966, policy committee statement.

IMPLEMENTING WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACTIVITIES

Although the Federal Government has played a leading role in the improvement of our rivers and harbors, it was not until 1956 under the Eisenhower administration that the first comprehensive Federal Water Pollution Control Act was enacted. This act was a good beginning and laid a firm foundation for future action. However, to be completely successful, there had to be greater State financial participation in the construction of sewage treatment works. Thus, since 1959, the Republican members of the Committee on Public Works have insisted that any increase in funds authorized for Federal grants must be used to accelerate needed construction by offering an inducement to the States to participate in the cost of treatment plants. The Water Pollution Control Act of 1966 that was supported by the Republican members and enacted into law accepts this principle. It contains substantial inducements to the States to participate in the cost of projects under both the accelerated existing program and the proposed clean rivers program.

Through the adoption of a Republican amendment, this law also provides the foundation for future industrial pollution abatement. Under this measure, the Secretary of the Interior is directed to conduct an appropriate study of methods for providing incentives to assist in the construction of facilities and works by industry. Tax incentives, as well as other methods of financial assistance, are provided. Seventy percent Federal grants for research and demonstration projects for prevention of pollution of waters by industry are made available also.

Water pollution poses a serious problem that must be solved. The legislation sponsored and supported by the Republican members of the House of Representatives will do a great deal to assist in finding a solution. Moreover, the States, cities and the communities will be encouraged to do their share in combatting the common problem of water pollution. See September 14, 1966, policy committee statement.

COMBATING FEDERAL CONTROLS

When the Defense Production Act was brought to the House floor for extension, the Democratic members of the Banking and Currency Committee included in the legislation a provision that would give the President standby authority to impose consumer credit controls. Although faced with a serious inflationary situation, the 89th Congress under its Democrat leadership was either unwilling or unable to control the real cause of the inflationary problem—the Great Society spending. Instead, they sought to impose governmental controls as a means of stemming the inflationary tide.

The Republican membership in the House of Representatives rejected and opposed this radical and unnecessary proposal. They recognized that in a period of rising inflation, it is the individual with a limited or fixed income that suffers the greatest hardship. Without question, the real casualty of such controls would be the family with substantial needs but moderate means. These individuals do not have the resources to pay cash or make a large downpayment when they purchase an automobile, a refrigerator, or some other household appliance.

Fortunately, a sufficient number of Democrat members joined the Republicans and the standby authority to impose consumer credit controls was striken from the legislation. In this instance, the control philosophy was voted down. Thus, extreme and unwarranted powers were kept from the hands of the very individuals whose spending policies have caused the inflationary problem. See June 14, 1966, policy committee statement.

FIGHTING WASTE, BUNGLING, AND SCANDAL IN THE POVERTY PROGRAM

During the past year, efforts by the Republican members of the Education and Labor Committee to gather information which would be helpful in drafting effective antipoverty legislation were hampered and handicapped at every turn. The Democrat majority on the committee repeatedly promised a full-fledged study and was given $200,000 for this purpose. However, field hearings did not materialize and an ever-changing investigative staff was confused by changes in direction, canceled trips, and recalls from investigations. The reports which were issued were sketchy and contained statistics and percentages rather than material needed to draft corrective legislation. Moreover, some reports were intentionally withheld from the Republican members.

The hearings that were finally held on the antipoverty legislation developed into an 8-day parade of administration spokesmen and apologists for the poverty program. The Republican members of the Education and Labor Committee recommended 62 witnesses who were knowledgeable in all aspects of the antipoverty program. However, these recommendations were ignored and the hearings were abruptly terminated. When Chairman POWELL, of the Education and Labor Committee, was asked why this had been done, his only reply was "Because I am the chairman."

In spite of this arbitrary and woefully inadequate action, there was no real attempt made by the Democrat leadership to correct the many abuses and gross mistakes that plagued the present program and $1.75 billion for fiscal year 1967 was ultimately authorized.

Fortunately for the American public, the Republican members of the Education and Labor Committee conducted an independent investigation of the poverty program. Abuse after abuse was documented and exposed. A solid basis for an overall reform of the antipoverty program was established. In order to effectuate the essential reforms and changes, the Republicans introduced substitute legislation, entitled "The Republican Opportunity Crusade." Unfortunately, this bill, and the reforms that it would impose, was rejected. However, a good start on an eventual cleanup of this scandal-ridden program has been made. Republicans will continue to press for needed controls and reforms in the next Congress. See July 19, 1966, policy committee statement.

IMPROVING PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

In supporting the establishment of a new Department of Transportation, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives continued the historic policy of the Republican Party of encouraging the development of American transportation. The need for better coordination among the various governmental agencies that deal with transportation has been apparent for many years. In his final budget message to Congress, President Eisenhower stated:

> A Department of Transportation should be established so as to bring together at Cabinet level the presently fragmented federal functions regarding transportation activities.

The Republican Members were concerned that in the administration's rush to create a Department of Transportation certain safeguards and considerations might be overlooked. They found that the bill that was originally proposed by the Johnson-Humphrey administration would have granted the Secretary of Transportation broad authority that invaded the policymaking authority of Congress. It would have scrambled the now independent accident investigation functions of the CAB with the regulation and control of the airways. Also, the Maritime Administration would be buried deep within the bureaucracy of the new Department.

Due to Republican efforts, the legislation creating the new Department has corrected these defects in the original administration bill. As a result, the Department of Transportation, as it has now been established, will be able to perform efficiently and effectively. See August 10, 1966, policy committee statement.

ATTACKING TIGHT MONEY PROBLEMS

Although the big company with a large net profit may have little trouble borrowing money, the individual who wants to buy a car, obtain a college loan, or purchase a home has a terrific problem due to the present inflationary situation. If he is lucky enough to find a lender, he may have to pay an extremely high rate of interest to obtain a loan. Long before the Johnson-Humphrey administration was willing to even admit that a problem existed, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives recognized that the average person was being hurt in the present tight money market and set out on a course of action that would afford this individual meaningful relief.

They called for an immediate slash in nondefense, nonessential domestic spending—not just in regard to appropriations as the President urged, but also with respect to new Great Society program authorizations that trigger the appropriations process. The sought a reduction in point discounts on FHA and VA home financing through an administrative adjustment of rates to a more realistic level. Republicans opposed the enactment of the Sales Participation Act scheme, noting that a program of this type could only mean additional Government competition for the already scarce investment dollar.

The administration subsequently recognized its error in enacting this proposal and suspended the sale of participations. Republican Members also called for the removal of FNMA's $15,000 administrative limitation on purchases of mortgages under its secondary market operations. This, too, has been implemented by the administration. Finally, in order to cool off competition for savings among the financial institutions, Republicans pressed for and obtained sound remedial legislation.

It is unfortunate the Johnson-Humphrey administration has been slow to awaken to the dangers of this situation. Interest rates are now at the highest point that they have been in over 40 years. These high interest rates have added tremendously to the cost of financing the ever-mounting Federal debts. The rising demand for credit by the Federal Government and business has drawn credit away from credit-sensitive industries such as homebuilding. As a result, homebuilding and home buying, one of the Nation's largest industries, is now faced with a major crisis. Private housing starts in September were down 26 percent from September 1965. Applications for FHA-insured mortgages on existing homes were down 34 percent from a year ago.

In the next Congress, Republicans will continue to press for appropriate remedial action. They will do all they can to help the pensioner, the social security recipient, and the individual with a fixed income or a fixed wage who has become the forgotten man of the Great Society. See May 10, June 8, and July 27, 1966, policy committee statements.

MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER

Republicans of the 89th Congress have stood vigilant in protecting the public's interest in, and demand for, measures assuring increased protection for law and order in our society.

Of primary significance was the National Criminal Law Revision Commission bill introduced by Representative POFF, Republican of Virginia, and 20 of his Republican colleagues in June of this year. This bill was drafted and introduced when the President's so-called crime package of legislation was found to be wanting. The Poff bill was substituted for an unimaginative proposal in the President's package, received bipartisan acclaim and support, and was passed by the House by a unanimous vote on September 6, 1966.

Republicans again answered the growing demand for increased responsibility in the streets and urban centers of our land when Representative CRAMER, Republican, of Florida, proposed and won approval for an antiriot measure. This measure prohibited the interstate travel of professional demonstrators and troublemakers. It ultimately prevailed over a watered-down administration substitute but failed in the Senate. Subsequently, approximately 80 Members of the House, Republican and Democrat, introduced this antiriot measure as separate legislation. Unfortunately, this legislation was bottled up in the Democrat-controlled Judiciary Committee and failed of passage before the end of the session.

In another and vital area of criminal law reform, the Narcotics Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966, House Republicans again remained vigilant to the cause of law and order. Republican-backed amendments were successful in turning back an administration attempt to weaken the penalty structure of present law as it applies to sellers of narcotic drugs. Mandatory minimum sentences, which nearly all witnesses at the hearings had agreed upon as an effective deterrent to narcotics traffic, were thereby maintained to assist law-enforcement officers in the war on narcotic traffickers.

REPORT OF REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE POSITIONS AND FLOOR VOTES, 2D SESSION, 89TH CONGRESS

1. January 26, 1966. Urged the immediate consideration and enactment of legislation that would establish a Commission on Reorganization of the Executive Branch (Hoover Commission).

2. January 26, 1966. Urged the immediate enactment of legislation that would authorize a program of education and training for veterans of the Vietnam conflict.

H.R. 12410 final passage: Yea 125, nay 0, not voting 14, percentage 100.

3. February 18, 1966. In connection with the Tax Adjustment Act of 1966, H.R. 12752, recommended a reexamination of the current budget and a reduction of government expenditures.

4. February 23, 1966. Adopted a statement opposing the transfer of the Small Business Administration to the Commerce Department and urged the Administration to continue the Small Business Administration as an independent agency and spokesman for the small businessman of the country.

5. March 2, 1966. Adopted a statement pointing out that the deep division within the Democratic Party over American policy in Vietnam is prolonging the war, undermining the morale of our fighting men, and encouraging the Communist aggressor.

6. March 9, 1966. Opposed Reorganization Plan No. 1 which would transfer the Community Relations Service from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Justice.

Resolution of Disapproval: yea 109, nay 18, not voting 13, percentage 85.9.

7. March 15, 1966. Opposed the authorization of an official residence for the Vice President of the United States, S. 2394.

Final Passage: yea 6, nay 125, not voting 9, percentage 95.4.

8. March 22, 1966. Adopted a statement with respect to the Second Supplemental Appropriations bill for fiscal 1966 which opposed the appropriation for the Federal Teacher Corps and the Rent Supplement program.

Motion to Recommit: yea 125, nay 6, not voting 8, percentage 95.4.

9. April 20, 1966. Adopted a statement pointing out that America is facing a crisis of major proprotions due to the deterioration of the Merchant Marine fleet and urged the Administration to take immediate action to correct this disastrous situation.

10. April 26, 1966. Adopted a statement on the Equal Employment Opportunity Act

of 1965, H.R. 10065, which noted that this bill would transform the Commission into an agency that would rival the old National Labor Relations Board under the Wagner Act and that it would diminish the role of the States in unfair employment practice cases.

No record vote on motion to recommit.

11. May 10, 1966. Opposed the Participation Sales Act of 1966, H.R. 14544. Under this bill, the Administration could sell participations in a pool of government-held financial assets or loans which could total $33.1 billion. The money acquired through these "sales" would be paid directly to the pooling agency and used to offset expenditures that normally appear in the budget.

Final Passage: Yea 0, nay 126, not voting 13, percentage 100.

12. May 18, 1966. Adopted a statement supporting the Freedom of Information legislation, S. 1160. This bill clarifies and protects the right of the public to information that the various agencies and departments now refuse to disclose.

Final Passage: Yea 100, nay 0, not voting 40, percentage 100.

13. May 26, 1966. Adopted a statement urging the enactment of appropriate election reform legislation.

14. June 8, 1966. Opposed H.R. 15202, a bill that would increase the temporary limit on the public debt to $330 billion.

Final Passage: Yea 1, nay 121, not voting 17, percentage 99.1.

15. June 8, 1966. Supported the Food for Freedom Act of 1966, H.R. 14929, which extended and amended P.L. 480, but urged the rejection of the Committee amendment that would permit long-term dollar-credit sales.

Committee Amendment: Yea 2, nay 121, not voting 16, percentage 98.3.

Motion to Recommit: Yea 118, nay 6, not voting 15, percentage 95.1.

16. June 14, 1966. Supported the Extension of the Defense Production Act of 1950, H.R. 14025, but opposed the Committee amendment that would give the President standby authority to impose consumer credit controls.

Committee Amendment: Yea 2, nay 113, not voting 24, percentage 98.2.

17. June 21, 1966. Supported the amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act contained in H.R. 15119. This bill rejected the Federal standards contained in the Administration bill, H.R. 8282, and preserved the present system of autonomous State programs of unemployment insurance.

Final Passage: Yet 121, nay 3, not voting 15, percentage 97.5.

18. July 19, 1966. Opposed the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1966, H.R. 15111. This bill authorizes the expenditure of $1.7 billion for fiscal year 1966 without attempting to correct the many abuses and mistakes that plague the present so-called War on Poverty. Urged the adoption of a Republican substitute bill that would correct the most serious abuses.

Motion to Recommit: Yea 115, nay 5, not voting 19, percentage 95.9.

19. July 27, 1966. Adopted a statement on the home building industry which called attention to the fact that home building and home buying, one of the Nation's largest industries, is facing a major crisis. In order to correct this serious situation, the Administration was urged to undertake immediately a six-point program. Opposed H.R. 14026, a bill that would place a ceiling of 4½ percent on the interest that commercial banks are allowed to pay on time deposits. No record vote on the adoption of a substitute bill.

20. August 1, 1966. Opposed title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1966, H.R. 14765, as proposed by the Administration and as amended and reported by the Committee.

Motion to Recommit: Yea 86, nay 50, not voting 3, percentage 63.2.

21. August 10, 1966. Supported the establishment of a Department of Transportation as proposed in H.R. 15963, but urged the adoption of amendments which would retain the independence of the accident investigation function of the Civil Aeronautics Board, delete section 7 of the bill which would permit the Secretary to adopt national transportation investment standards and criteria without seeking Congressional approval, include the urban mass transportation program within the newly-established Department, and establish the Maritime Administration as an independent agency.

Delete Maritime Admin.: Yea 111, nay 11, not voting 17, percentage 90.9.

Motion to Recommit: Yea 117, nay 5, not voting 17, percentage 95.9.

22. August 16, 1966. Opposed the Rural Community Development Act of 1966, S. 2934.

23. August 23, 1966. Adopted a statement regarding the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1966, H.R. 13161, which pointed out that obvious defects in the present Act had been ignored totally and urged the adoption of certain corrective Republican amendments.

Motion to Recommit: Yea 93, nay 13, not voting 33, percentage 87.7.

24. September 14, 1966. Supported the 1966 Amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, H.R. 16076.

Final Passage: Yea 101, nay 9, not voting 38, percentage 100.

25. September 14, 1966. Supported the Veterans Pension Act of 1966, H.R. 17488.

Final Passage: Yea 101, nay 2, not voting 36, percentage 98.

26. September 27, 1966. Adopted a statement on the Food for Peace Act of 1966 urging the rejection of the conference provision and the adoption of the strong and effective restriction on trade with the enemy contained in the House bill.

Motion to Recommit: Yea 118, nay 1, not voting 20, percentage 99.1.

27. September 28, 1966. Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, S. 3708. Recommended that the authorizations requested for the various programs, with the exception of the $24 million for planning funds, should be deferred until such time as the state of the economy will permit the consideration of the enormous increases visualized by this bill and realistic guidelines and standards can be prepared.

Motion to Recommit: Yea 85, nay 11, not voting 43, percentage 88.5.

28. October 6, 1966. Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Compact. Adopted a statement in support of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Compact, H.J. Res. 110.

No record vote.

29. October 10, 1966. Issued a statement urging the immediate consideration of the Legislative Reorganization recommendations contained in the final report of the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress.

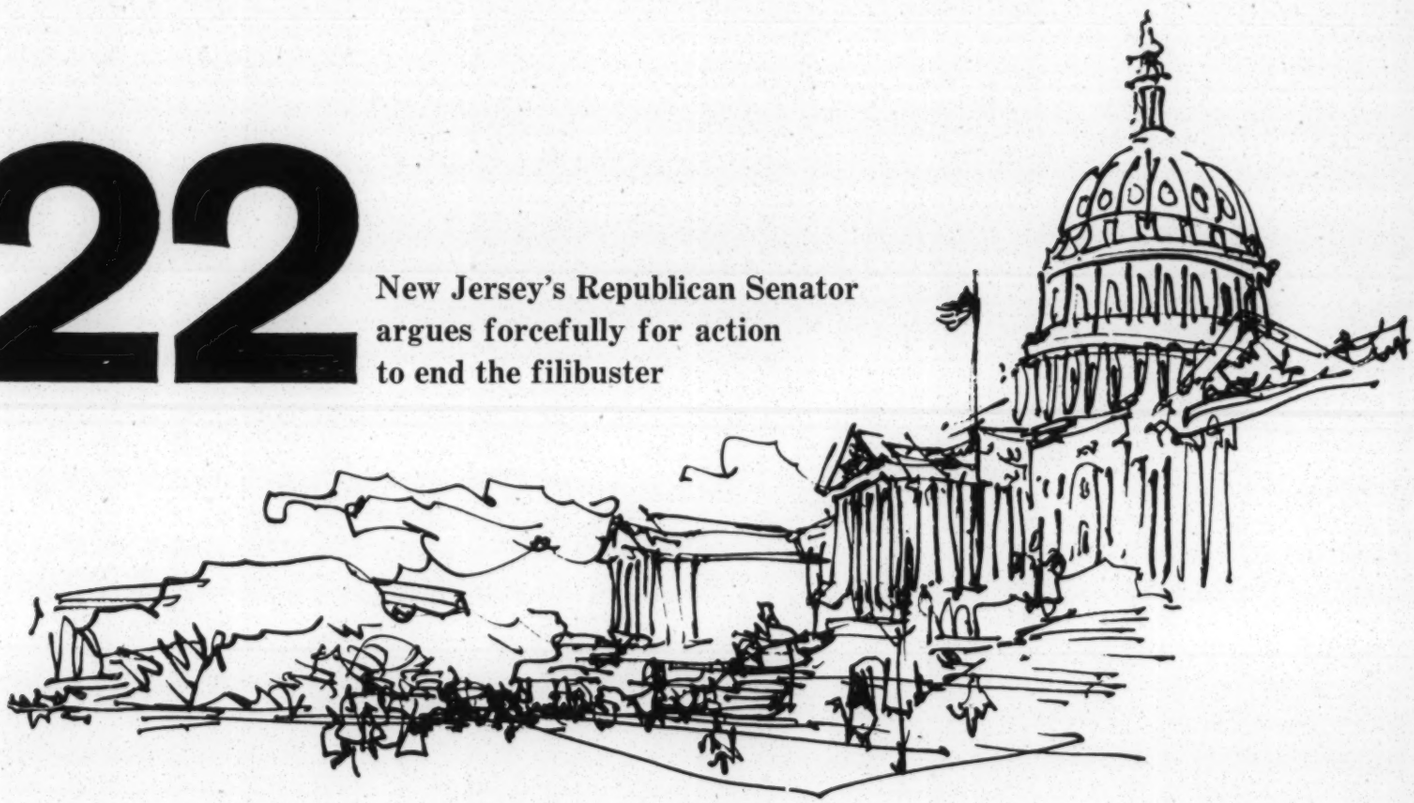
Total Average: 94.4.

Current Issues

EV2

22

New Jersey's Republican Senator argues forcefully for action to end the filibuster



By Senator Clifford P. Case

The opening of the 90th Congress will set off a renewed battle in the Senate over Rule 22—the notorious filibuster rule.

As in previous years, I expect to be in the middle of it. For along with Senator Douglas, Senator Humphrey before he became Vice President, and Senator Javits, I have been one of the bipartisan group which has led the effort to break the stranglehold of filibuster.

What is Rule 22 and why is it important?

Rule 22 is the rule that allows a handful of Senators to talk a bill to death even though the majority of the Senators want to vote on it. They can do so because the rule specifies that only two-thirds of the Senators present and voting can put an end to a determined talkathon.

At times, and especially near the end of a session, the mere threat of filibuster has stopped a bill cold. The last two years provided several examples of the power of filibuster. The most dramatic was the inability of the Senate to reach a vote on repeal of 14(b). Despite the professed support of the Administration, we were unable to secure the necessary two-thirds vote to enable the Senate to vote on the measure.

Even a weak filibuster can kill a bill unless the leadership is determined to get to a vote.

Just a few weeks ago, for example, the Senate leadership, after only a few days of talk on the civil rights measure passed by the House, scheduled a vote on cloture. The leadership moved far too hastily,

PAGINATION INCORRECT

those of us who were for a civil rights bill thought, and the result could have been predicted—again the necessary two-thirds were lacking and the bill was dead for this Congress.

Only a few days before the Congress adjourned, the bill to provide Home Rule for the District of Columbia was disposed of even more summarily. After only a few hours of discussion, the leadership moved for cloture knowing it could not possibly succeed. And it did not.

To an observer it seems strange that the Senate continues to permit itself to be strangled by a rule which so often frustrates the will of the majority of its members. The explanation lies in the parliamentary quagmire in which the Senate as a whole has been pushed over the years and from which it has been unable to free itself in the absence of leadership and Administration support.

It is ironic that such measures, which President Johnson himself has recommended, have been defeated in large part because of the part played by Lyndon Johnson, first as Majority Leader and then as Vice President, in the biennial struggle over Rule 22.

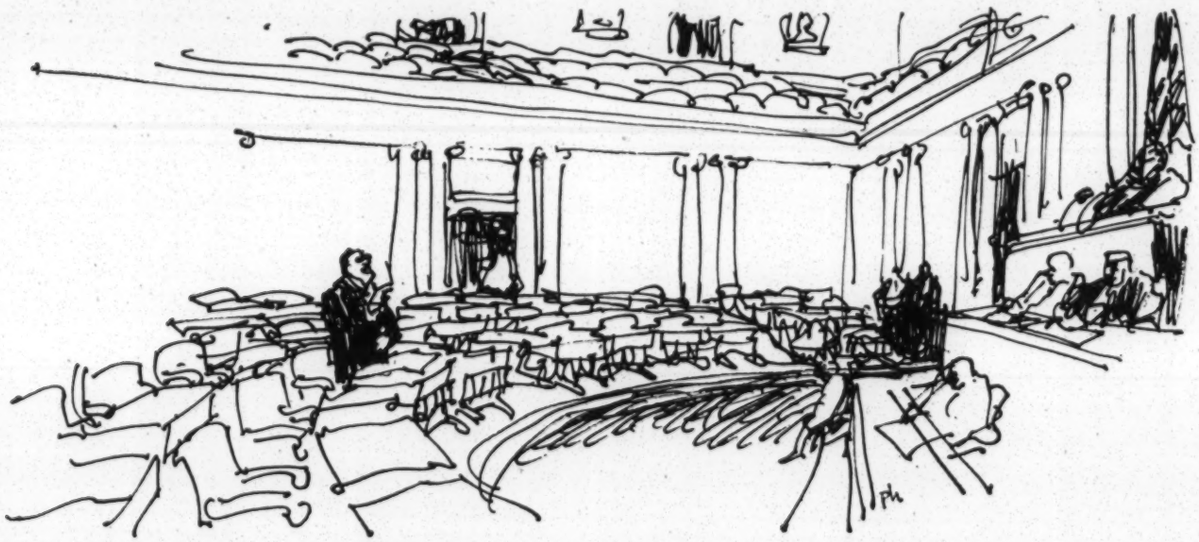
The history of Rule 22 is studded with examples of frustration of the majority. The ever present threat of Southern filibuster was sufficient to bar consideration of any civil rights legislation for decades. Moreover, the subtle and pernicious effects of allowing a handful of men to exercise veto power over the action of the whole Senate has been seen time and again with regard to legislation involving housing, education, labor, and social welfare.

Many a time the leadership has argued for striking a provision from a bill simply because its retention would bring a filibuster that would kill the entire measure. The availability of a filibuster has provided a lever by which a minority has been able to defeat, delay or compromise progressive legislation without ever submitting the issue to a vote of the whole Senate.

Even the matter of Congressional reform has been influenced by the threat of filibuster.

For example, in the Congress just concluded, the price for getting a Committee on Congressional Organization was to exclude any question of changes in the rules from the scope of the Committee's jurisdiction. That truly effective reform and modernization of Congress is hardly possible without some revision of the rules made no difference.

Before the leadership would bring the resolution establishing a Committee on Congressional Organization to the floor, it sought an agreement that possible changes in rules would be no part of the Committee's responsibility.



No reasonable person believes in "choking off debate" or "trampling on the rights of the minority." But that is not what those of us who have been pressing for a change in Rule 22 have proposed.

Rather we have urged a rule that will permit fair application of majority rule as set out in the Constitution. Specifically we have urged that a majority of the total Senate, that is 51 Senators, should be sufficient to limit debate after a reasonable time, say, 15 days of discussion. Thereafter, each Senator would be entitled to one hour to speak so that a total of 100 additional hours of debate would be possible.

At the opening of the last Congress, more than 50 Senators signed a statement indicating their support of a change in Rule 22. Despite the fact that a

majority favored action on a change, the issue never came to a vote. The reason that it did not is necessarily complicated because it involves a series of parliamentary technicalities.

Parliamentary complexities aside, however, the essence of the problem of doing something about Rule 22 boils down to this:

It is uncontested that under the Constitution each House may determine its own rules. This means, according to proponents of majority rule, that at least at the beginning of each new Congress, a majority of the Senate can adopt rules as it proposes.

Not so, says a minority of Senators, any change in the rules can be made only if it is made according to the rules of the previous Senate. Thus, they say, any attempt to change the rule to do away with filibuster is subject to the rule permitting filibusters.

How to resolve this issue is the crux of the matter.

In 1957, the then Vice President, as Presiding Officer of the Senate, rendered an advisory opinion that, under the Constitution, a rules change could be adopted by majority vote at the beginning of the session, any rule of the previous Senate notwithstanding. This was only an advisory opinion, however, and the then Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson referred the question to the Rules Committee, from which it never emerged.

In 1963, Senator Anderson of New Mexico, long a proponent of rules change, offered a motion which, in effect, called upon the then Vice President Lyndon Johnson to rule that the Senate could change its rules by majority vote at the beginning of each new session.

But Vice President Johnson refused to make any rule whatever, even an advisory one, and simply submitted the whole question to the Senate. This amounted to giving a green light to endless debate over the question, for the only way the Senate could decide the question was a ruling by the Chair, which could then be voted upon without debate.

Without a ruling, there was literally no way for the Senate to exercise its right to determine its rule-making power. Thus, while the leadership talked of the will of the Senate as decisive, it refused to make it possible for the Senate to express its will.

The 1965 result was no better. This time the resolution for change was submitted by the leadership to the Rules Committee with instructions to report back in March. The Committee duly did so and its recommendations were placed on the calendar. They were still there when the Senate adjourned a few weeks ago.

January 1967, when the new Congress convenes is only a few weeks away. We are readying now for another effort to change the rule.

What success we will have depends on what, if any, ruling the Vice President may make when the Constitutional question is again raised.

Whether the Administration will encourage a ruling which will permit a clear-cut vote on the rules change, I do not know. I hope so, because the time has long since come to unshackle the Senate from an archaic rule which has been used to the detriment of millions and millions of Americans.

First as a Representative, then as a Senator, Clifford Case of New Jersey has compiled a solid record of legislative achievement and a reputation as a consistent and outspoken liberal.

NEW DIRECT

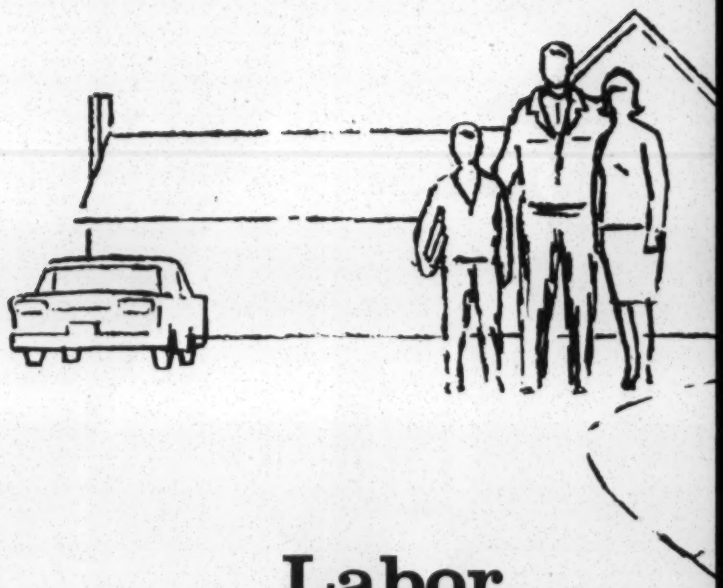
How will the civil rights movement remember 1966?

Most likely in two ways: as the year in which the steady legislative advances of the past decade were interrupted and even suffered setback; and as the year in which it became more evident than ever before that the drive for full equality and the War on Poverty must be carried on together.

In the long run, the second [illegible] to prove more significant. Yet at the moment the more vivid impression is made by the loss of sympathy for the civil rights movement in the white majority, the electi[illegible] victories of segregationists and the reflection of th[illegible] mood in the second session of the 89th Congress [illegible]here the Civil Rights Act of 1966 was defeated and [illegible] strenuous and not unsuccessful attempt was m[illegible] to cut back on advances already sanctioned.

Despite these disheartening developments, the year saw the production of two important documents: the "Freedom Budget" produced by the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the Report of the White House Conference of this past June, when about 3,000 Americans gathered in Washington to consider how best "To Fulfill These Rights."

EUC
Current
Issues



Labor Looks at Capitalism

Published by

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20006

GEORGE MEANY
President

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

Reprinted from
AFL-CIO American Federationist
December 1966

Labor Looks at Capitalism

by George Meany

I do not know how to define an economic system that is constantly changing and that differs greatly from one time and place to another. Our American system has changed substantially in the past half-century. Moreover, despite some similarities, our American economic system differs from that of other nations generally regarded as "capitalistic" in character.

Some may attempt to define our system in terms of private investment in corporate enterprise, where goods are produced for sale at profit.

But, as I see it, the distinguishing feature of the American system is its emphasis on people, on freedom, on free institutions and on the opportunity for betterment. The Bill of Rights, the Constitution and our educational system are all integral parts of our economic order and more essential to it than the stock exchange or any corporate board.

The founders of the American labor movement saw the great potential for improvement within the system, through the exercise of the right to organize trade unions for collective bargaining and political education. They saw that potential in the dark days of the 1870s and 1880s, when wages were miserably low, when poverty was widespread, when Pinkerton agents were experts in breaking unions, when court injunctions were commonly used to break strikes.

And they continued to see that potential—and continued to work for improvements—in the 1920s and 1930s, before the Wagner Act established the promotion of collective bargaining as national policy.

The American labor movement had the vision to accept the challenge of America—the opportunity to utilize the constitutional rights of individuals and free institutions to seek and achieve improvements within the basic structure of our society.

In the process, trade unions have served to humanize the economic system. And, in humanizing it, they have made it stronger and more prosperous through the development of broader mass markets for the sale of the products of industry.

GEORGE MEANY, President of the AFL-CIO, delivered this address to the 50th Anniversary World Convocation of the National Industrial Conference Board in New York City in September.

It is useful to recall that only 37 years ago the American economy came close to collapsing. At the lowest point of the Great Depression, about half of our productive capacity was idle. About 25 percent of the labor force was unemployed and many more were working part-time for miserably low wages. Farmers were bankrupt and banks closed down.

The seeds of depression were sown in the unbridled "prosperity" of the 1920s. Profits and dividends had skyrocketed. Speculation had been rampant. The workers' share of national production had declined. The AFL—battered by employer attacks—had less than three million members. In that top-heavy, lopsided economy of the 1920s, workers and the consuming public in general had been left behind in the speculative frenzy.

The goverment's economic philosophy of that period was stated bluntly by President Calvin Coolidge when he declared: "The business of government is business." Such a statement caused little surprise at the time. It was just a candid expression of the dominant view in both business and government for most of the previous 60 years.

The New Deal sought to revive the economy by restoring social and economic balance. Most of the New Deal reforms—with their emphasis on people and public welfare—actually should have been undertaken many years before.

I think history now supports the view that the New Deal, far from undermining the American system, actually saved it, despite the bitter opposition that emanated from the business community. The New Deal redefined the role of government as the protector of the total public interest. And it tried to promote the welfare of all the people—workers as well as business.

Its innovations improved and strengthened the economic system. But at each step of the way, they were denounced as the wild-eyed ideas of dangerous radicals.

The same kind of resistance has greeted the new programs of the 1960s—medicare, the war on poverty, aid to education, health and community rehabilitation.

Only recently, the AFL-CIO was accused of trying to plant the seeds of communism by espousing Medicare. Thirty years earlier, the same charge was hurled when the trade unions supported the original social security and minimum wage laws. And long ago, unions heard the same claim when they dared to seek the 8-hour day and passage of child labor, factory-inspection and workmen's compensation laws.

We heard these charges a long time ago. We hear them now and I guess we will hear them in the future.

Organized labor is hardened to negative opposition.

The AFL-CIO will continue its efforts as a free institution to advance the cause of democracy under freedom. Day by day and year by year, we will continue to seek a better life for workers and for the nation as a whole.

I take a great deal of pride, as President of the AFL-CIO, in our role in national affairs. We have served as the advocate—the lobby, if you please—not only for organized workers, but for those without voice, power or privilege who have no other effective spokesman in the decision-making process.

Take an old issue—workmen's compensation. It is on the statute books of every state. It is an achievement of the trade union movement. But it benefits every person who works for wages, not only union members. And our economic system is stronger for it.

Or take a current issue—minimum wages. The AFL-CIO has fought for the much improved federal minimum wage law that extends protection to millions of low-wage workers and increases the minimum above $1.25 an hour.

My union doesn't need this law. Nor do the Auto Workers or the Electricians. But there are millions of people, who are not members of unions, who need the protection of the minimum wage and an increase in the minimum wage. They have no other spokesman. We are proud to represent them in this effort—the most important single step that can be taken to wipe out poverty.

Of course, trade unions have other basic functions as well. In tens of thousands of workplaces across this land, they bring democracy to the job. Whenever workers participate in deciding the issues that affect their working lives, a sense of personal dignity is achieved and their regard for freedom is enhanced.

The first-class citizenship on the job that only unionism confers helps create first-class producers and makes first-class Americans as well.

And it is too often forgotten that the reward for most work was little more than a subsistence wage not many years ago. In "prosperous" 1929, the average wage in manufacturing in this country was 56 cents per hour. Who then had heard of a standard 40- or 35-hour workweek, overtime pay, shift differentials, paid vacations, health plans, life insurance or pensions?

Organized labor has played a vital part in helping to lift the living standards of the average American worker to the highest level in the world. And, if I read corporate profit statements correctly, this rise in workers' earnings has not impaired the vitality or affluence of American industry.

American business has prospered through mass markets.

Unless the ever-rising tide of goods that American enterprise can produce is matched by the increased real earnings of workers, these goods cannot be sold. Our mass production system must be matched and supported by mass consumption. The higher take-home pay that unions seek is indispensable to the sustained growth of production, jobs and profits in this ever more productive American economy.

Nevertheless, it has been claimed that unions are too successful; they are just too strong. To weaken them, it has been proposed that collective bargaining be restricted to the local scene—each local union with its local employer—and that any other kind of union activity should be outlawed.

This totally ignores the essential facts of life about collective bargaining in the American economy. Collective bargaining reflects the changing character of the business enterprise with which unions negotiate—the changing nature of the American economy.

This economy has long since passed the day when the dominant form of enterprise was a small farm or a small, local business. Most of our industries are national in scope—they produce for national or at least regional markets. Vast, multi-unit corporations increasingly dominate the American scene. A recent article in Fortune magazine points out that the 500 largest industrial corporations account for 60 percent of all industrial employment and sales and for 70 percent of all profits.

In this kind of economy, legal restrictions to limit collective bargaining to local unions and local plants would simply undermine, if not destroy, the effectiveness of the collective bargaining system. Obviously, that is what the advocates of such proposals want.

But there is no alternative in a free, industrial society to free trade unions and collective bargaining. I do not maintain, of course, that trade unions have achieved perfection or that the system of collective bargaining is without flaws. No human institutions are in that category. However, I know of no substitute, in a free society, for the right of workers to belong to trade unions that can bargain effectively with employers.

Take free trade unions and free collective bargaining out of the picture and you no longer have the American economic system or a free social order.

There is no uniform way, in these United States, in which unions and employers bargain. There is no centralized authority on collective bargaining methods and practices.

There are over 14 million members of AFL-CIO unions. But collective bargaining policies are wholly decided by the 129 autonomous, self-governing national and international unions affiliated with the federation and by their 60,000 local unions. These 129 national unions and 60,000 local unions bargain with tens of thousands of employers throughout the land. And they negotiate about 150,000 collective bargaining agreements.

The large number of agreements is the result of the great diversity in bargaining practices. This variety of collective bargaining methods is largely a mirror of the variety of economic structures in the nation. Each union obviously developed after the establishment of its trade or industry and it has patterned its collective bargaining methods on the facts of life in each different industry.

This process of collective bargaining between free trade unions and employers involves the right to strike. Collective bargaining means that workers join together to say, in effect, to the employer: "We don't like the conditions, we don't like the wages, we don't like the hours, we want a better deal." And if collective bargaining is meaningful, it presupposes the right to strike—the right to stop working for the profit of another under conditions the workers don't like.

That is part of the collective bargaining process. Without it, there is no free collective bargaining. Moreover, if the government takes away the right to strike by forcing free men to work against their will, the government also destroys the basis on which the enterprise or industry operates for the profit of private investors.

No trade union leader worthy of his salt prefers a strike to an orderly and peaceful settlement. And very few workers prefer strikes and the sacrifice of income that is involved. Actual experience indicates that strikes are almost always a collective bargaining weapon of last resort, when workers and their unions decide that there is no other choice.

Look at the record. In recent years, only two percent of collective bargaining agreements have been affected by strikes and only about two-tenths of one percent of total work-time has been lost as a result of work stoppages. Eight times as much has been lost from accidents and illness.

The record proves that 98 percent of collective bargaining negotiations in recent years resulted in peaceful settlements.

That's not a bad record at all. Obviously, we should try to improve it, to do a little better. We all want to make the collective bargaining process work better than it does. But it is utterly destructive of economic freedom itself to destroy the right to strike.

Does the right to strike—and the exercise of that right—mean that unions want to put the employer out of business? Obviously, no. Does it mean that we want to do away with profits? Once again, the answer is no. All it means is that unions want a fair share for workers who make their contribution to the economic system, And it means that unions are going to continue to seek a fair share through every legal method, including strikes, when necessary.

In other words, we think that the American economic system, with its potential for progress, works quite well. We see no better system anywhere in the world today or in the history of the past.

This does not mean that we of organized labor believe we have reached the millenium. There are many unresolved problems—there always are and always will be.

One of these problems today is the continued failure to achieve full employment of the labor force. True enough, we are now doing much better than in the decade after 1953. Unemployment is now lower than it has been in many years. But there is still a hard-core of jobless people—particularly among the young, among the unskilled with little, if any, education or training and among Negroes.

Moreover, certain trends present a serious threat to the kind of balance required for sustained economic growth. Business investment in new plants and machines is in the third year of a super-boom that cannot continue. The installation of these new and automated plants and machines is increasing productive capacity much faster than the demand for goods and services can grow under ordinary conditions. So the potential for a big gap between the economy's ability to produce and its ability to buy is developing.

In a misguided attempt to slow down this boom, the Federal Reserve's policies have raised interest rates to the highest levels in more than a generation. These rates do not seem to have slowed down business investment in new plants and machines. But they are increasing the cost of loans and they are increasing prices all along the line. And they have cut home building down to the lowest level since 1961 at a time when we really need a vast effort to rebuild our cities.

At the same time, the fires that feed this unbalanced capital goods boom continue. From 1960 to 1965, corporate profits rose 52 percent before taxes and 67 percent after taxes—while total wage, salary and fringe benefit payments increased only 33 percent.

Another group of problems arises from the rapid and radical changes that are taking place all around us—in technology, in the growth of metropolitan areas, in race relations.

With the spread of automation, productivity is rising at a very rapid pace—50 percent faster in the postwar years than in the period between the two world wars. The technological revolution is reducing manpower requirements, changing the location of industries and the character of the workforce.

In the first half of this year, there were 2.2 million fewer people working on American farms than in 1953, only 13 years ago. In the wake of the technological revolution, hundreds of thousands of farmers, farmworkers and their families left the rural areas to seek homes and jobs in the cities at a time when automation was reducing labor requirements in other key parts of the economy. Many of them were Negroes, with poor education and confronted by discrimination in housing and employment. So our metropolitan areas expanded rapidly, with growing pockets of poverty and unemployment.

At the same time, mining and railroad employment fell sharply. The number of soft coal miners has dropped almost 160,000 from 1953—a drop of over 50 percent. And railroad employment has declined almost 50 percent or close to 600,000.

After 1953, factory employment also declined. The sharp pick-up of industrial production in the past three years brought a substantial improvement. And in recent months, factory employment has finally bounced back to where it had been 13 years ago.

This is only a small part of the story. It leaves out the changes in skills and materials, the upgrading of some jobs and downgrading of others. It also leaves out the continuing spread of automation at a fast pace, while the number of youngsters entering the labor force is greater than ever before.

We are also confronted by the vast growth of metropolitan areas and the pressing need to rebuild our cities.

Each year, the population increases by 2½ million or more, the size of a very large city. And, each year, tens of thousands of people move off the farms, out of the rural areas, into the cities.

In 1955, less than 60 percent of the population lived in the 212 major metropolitan areas, occupying less than 10 percent of the land area of the country. Today, that figure is about 70 percent. By 1985, it is expected to reach 80 percent of a far greater population. Moreover, by 1985 almost one-half of all Americans will live in three super-metropolitan regions of the country—between Boston and Washington, between Buffalo and Milwaukee and between San Diego and San Francisco.

The need for housing, schools, mass transit, clean air and water, recreation and other facilities and serv-

ices demands progressive legislation and far heavier public expenditures for such facilities and services than have ever been provided in the past. We of organized labor insist that such massive efforts are a vital, necessary public investment in the future of America and its people.

The Negro citizens of this country also are demanding their full civil right to enter the mainstream of American society and to share fully in the abundance that the economy can produce.

Decades of neglect, prejudice and discrimination have left a massive problem, particularly when automation is wiping out large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in farming and industry.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are giant steps in the struggle for true democracy and for the redemption of America from the shame of discrimination and injustice. The right of every citizen, regardless of creed or color, to equal access to public accommodations, equal opportunity for employment and the equal exercise of voting rights, free of intimidation or evasive devices, is now the law of the land.

I am proud to say that the AFL-CIO was in the forefront of the campaign to secure enactment of these laws and was in the forefront of the unsuccessful effort to enact the new civil rights bill of 1966. The AFL-CIO will stay in the front of the fight to improve and perfect those laws and to ensure that they are fully and vigorously enforced.

Adjustments to these social and economic changes—and achievement of full employment as well as a better balance in the economy—are needed if we are to preserve the American system. In the world of the 1960s, we cannot afford to sit and wait for a crisis to compel us to do what should be done, now.

But no one group alone can meet these problems. Government action and cooperative efforts of all sectors of the population are required.

The successes of the past indicate the continued great potential of the American system. And I am convinced that organized labor, with all of its weaknesses, imperfections and occasional mistakes, has contributed much to the flexibility and strength of this system.

However, we have to move ahead. There is no canned ideology—communist, fascist or other—that can give us workable solutions, within a free society, to the problems of today and tomorrow.

Yet I have faith and confidence that these challenges can be met successfully—through the exercise of our liberties, our free institutions, our wisdom and our hopefully growing mutual tolerance.

Trial of Bobby Baker May Illustrate Dealings Of Politics & Business

• • •

Government Says S&Ls' Cash Ended Up in His Pockets; Kerr-Baker Relationship

By JERRY LANDAUER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Whether or not the Bobby Baker case broadens into a wider influence-peddling scandal, the trial may—if the Government proves its case—wind up portraying the former secretary to the Senate's Democrats as an artful bluffer who enriched himself by $100,000 in political contributions intended for lawmakers from bigwigs of the savings and loan industry.

Robert G. Baker's trial started yesterday in Federal district court here before a jury of six men and six women who will be locked up overnight and on weekends to shield them against prejudicial publicity. The jury will determine whether the onetime "barefoot boy" from Pickens, S.C., (he shed the given name Bobby Gene while moving up the political ladder to become Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson's top aide at age 30) committed fraud, theft, conspiracy and income tax evasion in parlaying his $20,000-a-year job into claimed assets of $1.5 million.

The nub of the Justice Department's case against Mr. Baker involves the $100,000 that allegedly came from savings and loan executives in California.

According to the indictment, the money started flowing in the fall of 1962, just a year before disclosure of Bobby's outside business activities forced Democratic Senators to bounce him. On Oct. 21, 1962, Mr. Baker assertedly received $50,000 from Stuart Davis, then a director and now chairman of Great Western Financial Corp. Ten days later, the indictment states, John F. Marten, then president of Great Western, came East with $17,000 more, again in cash. Finally, it's charged, on Nov. 9, 1962, Bobby flew West to receive $33,000 more from S. Mark Taper, then and now chairman of First Charter Financial Corp.

Government-Business Relations

Why did the business executives give the cash to Bobby and what did he do with it? Some answers to those questions are available and will be forthcoming as the trial unfolds. Quite aside from Mr. Baker's guilt or innocence, the answers will illuminate Government-business relations and, more specifically, shed light on what certain businessmen believe can be done to influence Government decision-making.

It happens that in the summer of 1962 the California capital stock savings and loan associations felt they were in deep trouble. (The stock associations are owned by their stockholders, unlike the more common mutual associations, which are owned by their depositors; Great Western and First Charter are among the biggest stock S&L holding companies.) President Kennedy's big tax reform bill that year proposed to end the near-exemption from Federal taxes they and other thrift institutions were enjoying; it sought to reduce the amount of earnings that could be transferred to tax-free bad-debt reserves.

As the complex tax measure moved through Congress, a special problem cropped up for the California stock associations. While the House bill granted equal tax treatment to the stock and mutual associations, in the Senate Finance Committee the late Sen. Robert Kerr of Oklahoma attached an amendment that would, so the stock associations protested, have crippled them.

Chance of Higher Taxes

Under his amendment, mutual S&Ls would have been permitted to place 60% of taxable income in a tax-free, bad-debt reserve; stockholder-owned associations could not have transferred more than 50%. If put into law, this discriminatory treatment would have cost the stock companies at least $10 million a year more in taxes.

The bill containing the Kerr amendment cleared the Senate on Aug. 7, 1962, and headed for a conference with House tax-writers to resolve differences. On Sept. 25, the conferees knocked out the Kerr amendment, restoring the stock associations to parity of treatment with the mutuals. The House and Senate approved the bill's final version Oct. 2 and President Kennedy signed it Oct. 16. Five days later, the Government's indictment states, Great Western's Mr. Davis came to Washington with the first bundle of cash for Bobby Baker. Mr. Davis is a registered Republican.

The Justice Department doesn't accuse Messrs. Davis, Marten or Taper of wrongdoing, and the executives or their attorneys emphatically reject suggestions that Bobby was paid for services rendered. "He came to collect a political contribution," First Charter's Mr. Taper will testify, speaking of the $33,000 Bobby picked up from him in Los Angeles; according to the Government, this

Please Turn to Page 10, Column 2

Trial of Bobby Baker May Show Dealings of Politics and Business

Continued From Page One

sum was passed on or about Nov. 9, three days after the 1962 Congressional elections.

Mr. Taper explains that the political kitty, to which various S&L executives contributed, was "for a Senatorial campaign fund for a lot of Senators on both sides," meaning Republicans and Democrats. Mr. Taper declines to identify the intended recipients, and he cuts off further conversation when asked why the secretary to Senate Democrats collected campaign cash for Republicans, too.

"The Way Thing Are Done"

Mr. Taper's attorney, Joseph A. Ball, insists there's nothing at all unusual about making contributions to political campaigns in hard cash; "that's the way things are done," he confides. "I've known Mark Taper for 15 years," says Mr. Ball, a highly regarded Los Angeles attorney who was senior staff counsel to the Warren Commission investigation of President Kennedy's assassination. "If Mark gives less than $1,000 he does it by check. If he gives more, it's with cash."

Mr. Ball adds that eight or 10 Senators were supposed to benefit from Mr. Baker's collections; "the Government knows their names and everything else about it." It's possible Mr. Baker may have told the donors this story, but whether the Senators knew they were tabbed for political contributions from unexpected sources seems questionable. In opening his presentation to the jury yesterday, chief prosecutor William O. Bittman said the Government expects to show that at least $80,000 of the $100,000 went into various Baker bank accounts and stayed there.

As Mr. Bittman recalled, Bobby Baker was particularly hard-pressed for money in that fall of 1962, chiefly to finance construction of the Carousel Motel, an Ocean City, Md., hostelry that a score of Senators helped Bobby open shortly thereafter amid popping champagne corks.

About this time, in the prosecutor's words, Bobby told this story to Kenneth Childs, then the president of Home Savings & Loan Association, a $2 billion holding company: "The savings and loan business isn't making political contributions the way it should. Why don't you get on the bandwagon so you'll have friends in Washington? Go back and talk to your people." Apparently that suggestion found favor in California, much to Bobby's satisfaction. According to the prosecutor, when Mr. Davis handed the first $50,000 to Bobby in a Washington hotel, the Senate majority secretary thanked him and said, "The Senators will really appreciate it."

What lent weight to Bobby's words was his well-known intimacy with Sen. Kerr, the uncrowned king of the Senate. Mr. Kerr's political influence expanded steadily after Lyndon Johnson left as Democratic leader to become Vice President in January 1961, and as Sen. Kerr's power swelled so did Bobby Baker's.

Fred Black, one of Mr. Baker's business associates, has described the relationship between the hulking Oklahoma Senator and the slim secretary to the Democratic Senators. "Sen. Kerr told me that there wasn't anything in the world he wouldn't do for Bobby Baker if he had the power to do it."

The Kerr-Baker relationship flowered further in the summer of 1962 when, according to some Senate liberals, Bobby helped the Senator defeat the Kennedy Administration's medicare bill by a cliff-hanging 52-48 vote. The Oklahoman fought medicare stubbornly, for it would have replaced the Kerr-Mills Medical Assistance Program, the only law that carried the Senator's name. In turn, perhaps, Mr. Kerr returned the favor on the big tax bill, which he guided through the Senate.

One ranking savings and loan executive who was privy to what occurred says the tax amendment Mr. Kerr aimed at the stock associations was intended at least in part to spur the flow of political money from the industry in California. "It was a 'cinch amendment,'" this executive says, "put in to hurt people who could afford to get it knocked out."

CORPORATE DARWINISM reveals how managers can become masters, rather than victims of their organizations. It describes the evolution of today's corporate life from Entrepreneurial to Mechanistic to Dynamic. $8.50

BRENTANO'S

586 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10036. PL 7-8600.
Open evenings until 10, Saturdays until 7. Dept. WSJ45.
Mail orders add 20¢ shipping plus 5% sales tax.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT
WM. F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER

WALTER P. REUTHER
DAVID DUBINSKY
JOSEPH D. KEENAN
RICHARD F. WALSH
JAMES A. SUFFRIDGE
PETER T. SCHOEMANN
JOHN J. GROGAN
DAVID SULLIVAN
GEORGE BURDON
GEORGE M. HARRISON
JOSEPH CURRAN
JACOB S. POTOFSKY
LEE W. MINTON
KARL F. FELLER
PAUL HALL
I. W. ABEL
HUNTER P. WHARTON
A. J. DeANDRADE
HARRY C. BATES
M. A. HUTCHESON
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
JOSEPH A. BEIRNE
PAUL L. PHILLIPS
HERMAN D. KENIN
P. L. SIEMILLER
PAUL JENNINGS
RALPH HELSTEIN

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

January 12, 1967

TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION:

Dear Friend:

Because of your interest in political and legislative affairs, I am sending you the enclosed copy of "Labor Looks at the 89th Congress," an AFL-CIO legislative report on the two-year record of the most progressive, productive, outstanding Congress in our nation's history.

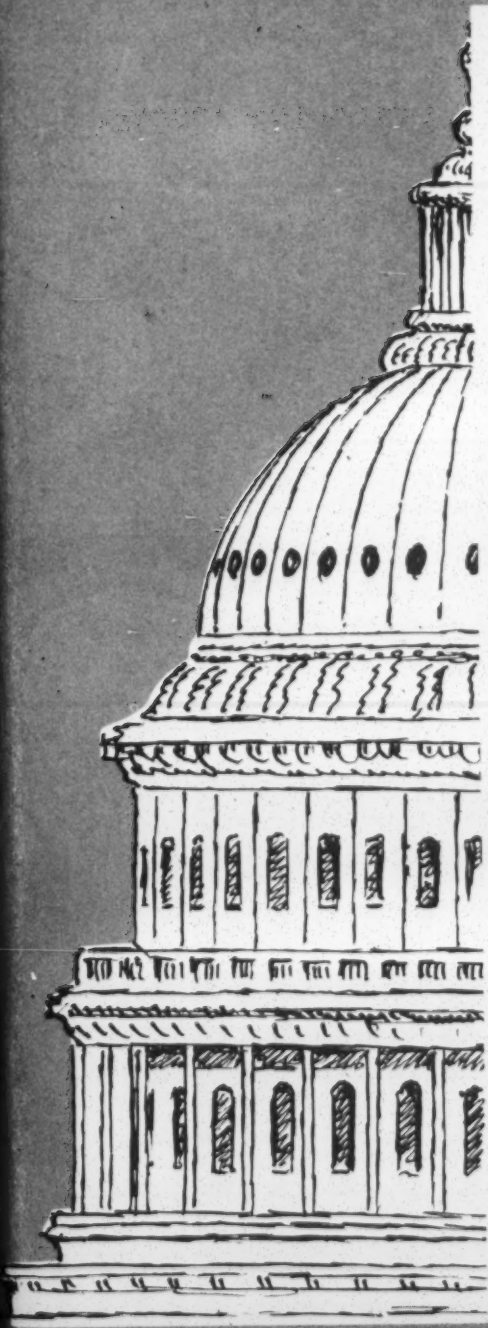
The report covers a wide variety of issues in which the AFL-CIO has an interest -- labor legislation, reapportionment, general welfare problems, civil rights, employment and the economy, natural resources, and congressional reform.

If you would like to have additional copies of this pamphlet, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Andrew J. Biemiller

Andrew J. Biemiller, Director
DEPARTMENT OF LEGISLATION



Labor Looks at the 89th Congress

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

An AFL-CIO Legislative Report

LABOR LOOKS AT THE 89th CONGRESS

AN AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE REPORT

Prepared by

AFL-CIO DEPT. OF LEGISLATION

Andrew J. Biemiller, Director

November 1966

Publication No. 77H

17 17

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword 2

Labor Legislation 3

Repeal of Section 14(b) 3
Fair Labor Standards 8
D. C. Minimum Wage 13
Airlines Strike 14
Bonding of Union Officials 16
Service Contracts 17
Situs Picketing 18
Joint Industry Promotion 20
Railroad Disputes and Grievances 21
Railroad Work Rules Dispute 21
Florida East Coast Railway 21
Federal Pay Raise 22
Life Insurance for Federal Workers 23
Civil Service Protections 24
Hatch Act Review 24
Farm Labor 25

Reapportionment 27

One Man—One Vote 27
Congressional Districting 29

Civil Rights 31

The Right to Vote 31
The Civil Rights Bill of 1966 33
Equal Employment Opportunity 36

Community Relations Service 37
Immigration Reform 38
Home Rule for the District of Columbia 39
Lie Detectors 41
Public Records 41
Presidential Campaign Funds 42

Health, Education, and Welfare 43

Medicare-Social Security 43
Railroad Retirement 46
Health Legislation 46
Aid to Elementary and Secondary Schools 49
Higher Education 51
Library Services and Construction 54
Vocational School Loans 54
Vocational Rehabilitation 55
Cold War G.I. Bill 55
Veterans' Disability Benefits 56
Federal Employees' Compensation for Injury 56
Mine Safety 56
Auto Safety - Highway Safety 57
Truth in Packaging 57
Electric Power Rates 59
Arts and Humanities 60

Employment and the Economy 61

Investment Tax Credit 61
Excise Taxes, Tax Withholding 62
Area and Regional Development 63
War on Poverty 65
Unemployment Compensation 67
Manpower Development 69
Housing-Urban Development Department 70
Transportation Department 71
Housing-Demonstration Cities 72

Housing-Rent Subsidies 73
Mass Transit 76
High Speed Transportation 77
D. C. Rapid Transit 77
Patent Policies 78
Wheat Shipping 78

Conservation and Natural Resources 80

Clean Water 80
Clean Air 81
Park-Recreation Areas 82
Indiana Dunes 83
Highway Beautification 83
TVA Borrowing 83
Dickey-Lincoln Power 84
Bonneville Power 85
Westlands Acreage Limits 85

Congressional Reform 87

House Rules Committee 87
House Labor Committee Rules 88
Senate Filibuster 90
Congressional Reorganization 91

FOREWORD

The 89th Congress was the most progressive Congress in history. What it accomplished in the last two years will enrich the lives of all Americans for generations to come.

These accomplishments must be both protected and broadened.

It will be the responsibility of all who cherish this record to insist that the 90th Congress protect all of these new legislative accomplishments and, in particular, safeguard them against the strangulation of inadequate appropriations. In addition, the 90th Congress should complete the unfinished business of progress which the historic 89th Congress left undone.

The election results will make these goals more difficult to achieve. But the trade union movement has never shirked, nor will it shirk, difficult jobs.

The election results have not changed the problems that still face America—such problems as poverty in the midst of affluence; as the persistence of racial discrimination; as the still-unmet needs of the educational system; as the inequities in federal labor laws; as the vast and complex challenges posed by urban America, and many more.

These problems will face the 90th Congress just as they faced its predecessor, for while some of them have been ameliorated, none of them has been solved.

The American people, we firmly believe, are committed to the solution of these problems. Certainly we in the AFL-CIO are so committed, for we are dedicated to the endless quest for the ultimate perfection of American society. We will work with undiminished vigor toward that end, and we are confident that the cause of progress will prevail.

Statement Adopted Nov. 15, 1966
By the AFL-CIO Executive Council

LABOR LEGISLATION

Repeal of Section 14(b)

Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act authorizes state "right-to-work" laws prohibiting union security agreements reached through free collective bargaining between labor and management. Such laws exist in 19 states.

In 1965 the House passed a bill to repeal Section 14(b). However, the Senate, blocked by a Republican-Dixiecrat filibuster, failed to complete action on the bill during the 89th Congress.

The House Labor Subcommittee headed by Rep. Frank Thompson (D-N.J.) held hearings May 24-June 8, 1965 on the Thompson bill to repeal 14(b), HR 77. On June 9 the subcommittee approved the bill, 6-3, for action by the full House Education and Labor Committee. The six Democratic members of the subcommittee voted for the bill; the three Republican members voted against it.

The full House Education and Labor Committee approved HR 77 on June 10 and reported the bill on June 22 for House floor action. The 21-10 vote in the committee closely followed party lines. Voting for the bill were 19 Democrats and 2 Republicans. Voting against were 8 Republicans and 2 Southern Democrats.

The chairman of the House Rules Committee was Dixiecrat Congressman Howard Smith (D-Va.). To bypass his roadblock to repeal of Section 14(b), Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, filed a resolution June 23 to bring HR 77 directly to the House floor under the 21-day rule. (See House Rules Committee.) On July 26 Chairman Powell brought up on the House floor a rule for consideration on HR 77 with five hours of debate. Under the House rules, only germane amendments are allowed.

The first test vote came on a motion by Powell to stop debate on the rule and bring it up for a vote.

On a roll call vote July 26, 1965 the House adopted a procedural motion for consideration of the 14(b) repeal bill.

Voting for consideration of the bill 248
(236 Democrats, 12 Republicans)
Voting against consideration of the bill 171
(45 Democrats, 126 Republicans)

The rule was then adopted by voice vote. House debate on the bill continued until June 28. Various amendments were offered but all except one were ruled out of order as non-germane. Voted down was an amendment to postpone the effective date of the bill.

On July 28, at the conclusion of debate, the House rejected a motion by Rep. Robert Griffin (R-Mich.) to recommit and thus to kill HR 77.

On a roll call vote July 28, 1965 the House defeated the recommittal motion.

Voting against recommittal, thus for repeal 223
(204 Democrats, 19 Republicans)
Voting for recommittal, against repeal 200
(80 Democrats, 120 Republicans)

The third key House vote came the same day on final passage.

On a roll call vote July 28, 1965 the House voted passage of the 14(b)-repeal bill.

Voting for repeal of Sec. 14(b) 221
(200 Democrats, 21 Republicans)
Voting against repeal of Sec. 14(b) 203
(86 Democrats, 117 Republicans)

In the Senate, hearings on S. 256, a bill identical to HR 77, were held June 22 to June 25, 1965 by the Senate Labor Subcommittee headed by Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.), the bill's sponsor. On August 12 the subcommittee approved HR 77 by a 7-1 vote after adding an amendment permitting an individual or member of a religious sect opposed to union membership to be exempted from union membership requirements if the individual agreed to pay the equivalent of union dues into a charitable fund. The full Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee approved this amended version of HR 77 by a 12-3 vote on Sept. 1 and reported the bill out on Sept. 9 for Senate floor action.

Senate debate started Oct. 4, 1965 on a motion by Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mich.) to make HR 77 the pending business of the Senate. From the outset, Senate Republican Leader Dirksen made it clear that the anti-14(b)-repeal coalition of conservative Republicans and conservative Democrats would filibuster against this motion and against the bill itself.

To draw the lines more clearly between the anti-repeal and pro-repeal forces in the Senate, Mansfield moved on Oct. 8 to kill his own motion to make HR 77 the pending business of the Senate. However, Dirksen and his anti-repeal coalition voted against the Mansfield motion. Thus, the 94-0 vote on the motion was turned into a meaningless vote by Dirksen, who feared a majority vote against killing the Mansfield motion would show that a majority of the Senate favored repeal of Section 14(b). Senator Mansfield then filed a cloture petition.

On a roll call vote Oct. 11, 1965 the Senate failed to break the filibuster against repeal of Sec. 14(b).
Voting to break the filibuster 45
(40 Democrats, 5 Republicans)
Voting to continue the anti-labor filibuster 47
(21 Democrats, 26 Republicans)

The votes of two-thirds of the senators present and voting are necessary to invoke cloture and cut off a filibuster. On Oct. 11 the 45 pro-repeal votes were far short of the maximum 67 votes needed for cloture. However, some senators who voted against cloture supported repeal of Section 14(b) and a number of pro-repeal senators were absent at the time of the cloture vote.

The day after the Oct. 11 cloture vote, the Senate Democratic leadership gave up the effort to pass HR 77 in the 1965 session. Pro-repeal senators reiterated their determination to get a vote in 1966 on repeal of Section 14(b) and President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey made it clear that repeal of Section 14(b) would have high administration priority in the 1966 session of the 89th Congress.

Early in 1966 President Johnson again called for repeal of Section 14(b) in his State of the Union message and in his budget and economic messages to the Congress.

On Jan. 24, 1966 the Senate started debate on a Mansfield motion to make HR 77 the pending business of the Senate. The Dirksen-led Republican-Dixiecrat coalition immediately began a filibuster and used other obstructionist parliamentary maneuvers to prevent a vote on the Mansfield motion. After two weeks, the Senate was still 15 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to cut off the filibuster.

On a roll call vote Feb. 8, 1966, the Senate again failed to break a filibuster against repeal of Sec. 14(b).

Voting to break the filibuster 51

(45 Democrats, 6 Republicans)

Voting to continue the anti-labor filibuster 48

(22 Democrats, 26 Republicans)

The third and final cloture vote two days later likewise was unsuccessful. Senator McGovern (D-S.Dak.) was the only senator whose position changed—from pro-cloture to anti-cloture.

On a roll call vote Feb. 10, 1966 the Senate made a final unsuccessful attempt to break the anti-labor filibuster against repeal of Sec. 14(b).

Voting to break the filibuster **50**
(44 Democrats, 6 Republicans)
Voting to continue the anti-labor filibuster **49**
(23 Democrats, 26 Republicans)

The Dirksen-led Republican-Dixiecrat filibusters against repeal of Sec. 14(b) were the first filibusters in the history of the Senate against taking a bill that had come to the Senate calendar after going through all the normal, orderly committee processes of the Senate.

Prior to the Feb. 10 vote, Senator Mansfield announced that defeat of his motion would kill HR 77 in the Senate for the rest of the 1966 session. After the Feb. 10 cloture vote there was no further Senate action on legislation to repeal Sec. 14(b).

Veto of Guam R-T-W Bill—On October 17, 1966 President Johnson vetoed a "right to work" law passed by the legislature of Guam. The governor of Guam had previously vetoed the bill, but the legislature on July 12 passed it again over his veto.

In a letter explaining his veto, President Johnson declared:

"For more than 30 years it has been the expressed national policy of the United States government to encourage free collective bargaining between employers and organizations of their employes. Such free collective bargaining has helped to raise wage and employment standards, lower working hours, improve safety practices, and in many ways assist the advancement of the economic condition of working men and women. It is fair to say that one of the strong foundations of the prosperity which has been enjoyed by working men and women and their employers in the United States over the past 30 years is the existence of an effective labor movement.

"In my opinion, the bill before me will inhibit development of the free collective bargaining which our national policy seeks to encourage. The development of free collective bargaining in Guam will tend to protect and advance the economy of Guam and the welfare of working men and women in Guam."

Fair Labor Standards

In 1966 the 89th Congress passed the best Fair Labor Standards bill since the federal wage-hour law was passed in 1938. AFL-CIO President George Meany called the measure "the most potent single weapon in the war on poverty" enacted during the 89th Congress.

President Johnson, on May 18, 1965, called for action by the 89th Congress to improve the Fair Labor Standards Act by: (1) extending FLSA protections to an additional 4.5 million workers and (2) requiring payment of double-time for hours worked per week in accordance with a schedule starting at 48 hours and ending 4 years later at 45 hours per week. He also proposed, but left to Congress the amount of, a minimum wage increase.

The AFL-CIO supported the President's proposals on extension of coverage but urged substantially broader coverage. The AFL-CIO urged Congress to establish a $2 an hour minimum wage as the most effective means of fighting poverty. Even if Congress did not move in one step to $2, the AFL-CIO urged that it be made a goal to be achieved in a few quick steps.

In regard to overtime, the AFL-CIO recommended that the double-time premium be paid after 40 hours rather than after 48 or eventually 45 hours. The AFL-CIO estimated that the increase in the overtime penalty to double-time, coupled with extension of coverage of FLSA, would result in making available to unemployed workers as many as a million additional jobs.

The AFL-CIO also urged a shorter workweek—specifically, a 35-hour week—to help solve problems of continued high unemployment, technological displacement, and a rapidly growing labor force.

The House Labor Subcommittee, then headed by Representative James Roosevelt (D-Calif.), reported FLSA legislation on Aug. 4, 1965, to the full House Education and Labor Committee. The subcommittee bill brought agricultural labor under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act for the first time.

The bill, as reported by the House Labor Committee on Aug. 25, 1965, was a good, liberal bill. It would have raised the basic minimum wage in steps to $1.75 an hour, with a minimum wage of $1.25 by July 1, 1968 for farm workers, and it proposed FLSA

protections for an additional 6.6 million non-agricultural workers, and 1.3 agricultural workers.

At the time the House Labor Committee report was filed, Chairman Adam Clayton Powell filed a resolution for consideration of the bill by the House to be brought up in the event the House Rules Committee should fail to give the bill a rule for its consideration on the House floor. When the House Rules Committee failed to act, consideration of the proposed rule was scheduled under the 21-day rule procedure for Oct. 11, 1965.

Rep. Roosevelt resigned from Congress Sept. 30, 1965 to accept appointment to the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Rep. John Dent (D-Pa.) became chairman of the House Labor Subcommittee previously headed by Roosevelt. Because the House leadership believed the Roosevelt bill lacked the necessary votes in the House, further action on the bill was postponed until the 1966 session.

To win the votes needed for House passage, the Dent Labor Subcommittee approved a revised minimum wage bill sponsored by Dent and Rep. Alphonzo Bell (R-Calif.). As approved by the Dent subcommittee on Mar. 16, 1966, and by the full House Labor Subcommittee on Mar. 21, the bill called for step-ups in the minimum wage for currently covered workers from $1.25 an hour to $1.40 on Feb. 1, 1967 and to $1.60 on Feb. 1, 1968. For newly covered non-farm workers the bill called for 15 cents an hour annual step-ups from a $1 minimum starting Feb. 1, 1967 to $1.60 an hour starting Feb. 1, 1971. For farm workers, annual step-ups were proposed raising the minimum from $1 starting Feb. 1, 1967 to $1.30 starting Feb. 1, 1969.

Before House approval of the committee bill, three major votes were taken. The first was on an amendment proposed by Rep. John Anderson (R-Ill.) to deny wage-hour protections to 1½ million retail and service workers.

On a roll call vote May 26, 1966 the House rejected the Anderson proposal.

Voting to protect retail-service workers 200

(186 Democrats, 14 Republicans)

Voting against protecting retail-service workers 195
(84 Democrats, 111 Republicans)

A second vote was on an amendment proposed by Rep. William Ayres (R-Ohio) and Rep. Thomas Morris (D-N. Mex.) to delay the effective date of the $1.60 minimum to Feb. 1, 1969. The AFL-CIO strongly opposed this stretch-out amendment.

On a key roll call vote May 26, 1966 the House passed the Ayres-Morris amendment.
Voting for the minimum wage stretch-out 205
(95 Democrats, 110 Republicans)
Voting against the minimum wage stretch-out 194
(178 Democrats, 16 Republicans)

The third major vote was on a motion by Rep. Dave Martin (R-Neb.) to knock out of the bill the new coverage for farm workers and to weaken overtime protections for agricultural processing workers.

On a roll call vote May 26, 1966 the House defeated the Martin motion.
Voting for minimum wage protection for farm workers 231
(195 Democrats, 36 Republicans)
Voting against wage protection for farm workers 168
(77 Democrats, 91 Republicans)

After these three major votes, the House passed the bill, 303-93, on May 26, 1966.

The Senate Labor Subcommittee headed by Senator Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) completed hearings on minimum wage legislation in July 1965, but the subcommittee deferred further action pending House passage of the minimum wage bill. Senator Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex.) became chairman of the Senate Labor Subcommittee after the death of Senator McNamara on April 30, 1966.

The Senate Labor Subcommittee on July 15, 1966 and the full Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee on Aug. 23 approved a version of the minimum wage bill which was substantially similar to the House-passed version, although the Senate committee stood firm against the two-year stretch-out to reach the $1.60 minimum.

Senate floor action on the minimum wage legislation started Aug. 23, 1966. More than 20 amendments were considered and voted on during the four days of Senate debate. Two key amendments supported by an anti-labor Republican-Dixiecrat coalition were defeated.

One of these amendments was proposed by Senator Paul Fannin (R-Ariz.) to restore the two-year stretch-out approved by the House. This would have postponed the $1.60 minimum until Feb. 1, 1969. It was an effort to reverse the Senate Labor Committee action.

On a roll call vote August 25, 1966 the Senate rejected the Fannin amendment.

Voting for the minimum wage stretch-out 40
(19 Democrats, 21 Republicans)

Voting against the minimum wage stretch-out 42
(35 Democrats, 7 Republicans

The second key amendment was proposed by Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.) to take away FLSA coverage from 1 million workers in retail and service enterprises with a gross annual sales of less than $500,000. The Dirksen amendment was defeated by a tie vote.

On a roll call vote August 26, 1966 the Senate rejected the Dirksen amendment.

Voting to protect more retail-service workers 41
(34 Democrats, 7 Republicans)

Voting to cut protection for retail-service workers 41
(21 Democrats, 20 Republicans)

The Senate voted passage of the bill, 57-17, on Aug. 26. The Senate-House conference committee report, including the Feb. 1, 1968 starting date for the $1.60 minimum, was approved by the House, 260-89, on Sept. 7, 1966. Before approval of the conference report, the House rejected a Republican proposal by Congressman Ayres to stand fast for the stretch-out to Feb. 1, 1969 for the $1.60 minimum.

On a roll call vote September 7, 1966 the House rejected the Ayres stretch-out proposal.

Voting for the minimum wage stretch-out 163
(62 Democrats, 101 Republicans)

Voting against the minimum wage stretch-out 183
(165 Democrats, 18 Republicans)

The Senate approved the conference committee report, 95-38, on Sept. 14, 1966. President Johnson signed the bill into law on Sept. 23, 1966.

Summary—For 29½ million currently covered workers, the federal minimum wage goes up from $1.25 an hour to $1.40 on Feb. 1, 1967 and to $1.60 on Feb. 1, 1968. This raises total FLSA coverage to 38 million workers.

For some 7½ million newly covered non-farm workers, the minimum wage will be $1.00 an hour, starting Feb. 1, 1967. The minimum will rise 15 cents an hour each year until it reached the $1.60 on Feb. 1, 1971.

mum wage will start at $1.00 an hour on Feb. 1, 1967, go to $1.15 on Feb. 1, 1968, and increase to $1.30 on Feb. 1, 1969. The legal

For some 390,000 newly covered agricultural workers, the mini-minimum wage stops at this level for farm workers.

The volume of business test for enterprises covered by FLSA was cut from $1 million a year to $500,000 a year starting Feb. 1, 1967 and to $250,000 starting Feb. 1, 1969. Laundry and cleaning enterprises and construction firms are covered without regard to this test.

Also covered are public and private hospitals, public and private schools, colleges and universities (except for teachers and administrative personnel), and retail and service enterprises. Hotels, motels, restaurants, and food services in retail and service establishments are covered under the minimum wage provision, but not yet under the maximum hours provision. Taxicab companies and local transit operations are covered by the minimum wage, but their operating employees are excluded from maximum hours protection.

Farm workers will get minimum wage protection if the employer used more than 500 man-days of hired farm labor in any calendar

quarter during the preceding calendar year. Wage-hour protections for workers in agricultural processing are broadened.

The logging crew wage-hour exemption was cut from 12 to 8 employes.

Federal "blue collar" wage board employes and workers in non-appropriated fund activities under armed services jurisdiction are covered, as are workers under service contracts or subcontracts with the federal government.

D.C. Minimum Wage

The 89th Congress passed a minimum wage law for the District of Columbia, thus giving wage-hour protection to some 70,000 workers in jobs not covered by FLSA, plus more than 200,000 newly covered under federal law, but at a lower wage rate. The AFL-CIO had long sought enactment of an effective minimum wage law for the District.

The new law sets the District of Columbia minimum wage at $1.25 an hour, starting Feb. 1, 1967, at $1.40 a year later, and at $1.60 starting Feb. 1, 1969. The timetable for hotel and restaurant workers will be six months later. For D.C. workers in jobs covered by FLSA the federal minimum will apply whenever it is higher than the D.C. minimum.

The new law allows industry wage boards to set some rates higher than the minimum. It requires, with some exceptions, overtime pay for more than 42 hours of work a week, starting Feb. 1, 1967, and 40 hours starting Aug. 1, 1967.

Minimum wages for women and children in the District have been set previously by industry wage boards under a 1918 law. The new D.C. minimum wage law extends protection to men for the first time. Domestics remain unprotected by the new D.C. minimum wage law.

The House on June 28, 1965 passed a very modest bill which would have taken three years to reach the $1.25 minimum. The Senate passed a more liberal version Jan. 20, 1966. The Senate-

House conference committee compromise bill was approved by both houses on Oct. 4, 1966. President Johnson signed the bill into law on Oct. 17, 1966.

Airlines Strike

On July 8, 1966, after ten months of negotiations between the International Association of Machinists and the management of five major airlines, 36,000 airline mechanics and ground crew members went on strike against the companies which carry some 60 percent of the nation's commercial air transportation.

An earlier walkout had been postponed April 23, 1966 after President Johnson invoked the Railway Labor Act to delay strike action for 60 days. The President appointed a special emergency board to mediate the airline dispute, with Senator Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) as chairman. IAM negotiators rejected the board's proposals. This ended the pre-strike, 60-day "cooling-off" and mediation procedures available under the Railway Labor Act, which applies to railroads and airlines.

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee met July 25 and voted to hold hearings to determine whether a national emergency existed. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, speaking for the Johnson Administration, said that a national emergency did not exist.

Machinists President P. L. Siemiller warned the Senate Labor Committee that any law designed to break the strike of airline mechanics would impair and weaken free collective bargaining. The chief negotiator for the airlines called for congressional legislation to break the machinists' strike.

AFL-CIO President George Meany urged the Senate to reject proposals for legislative strike-breaking. "If there is no right to strike, then there is no free collective bargaining," President Meany declared.

However, the Senate Labor Committee, after one day of hearings, voted 11-5 on July 28 to approve a bill sponsored by Senator Morse. The Morse bill, as approved by the committee, gave the President

discretionary authority to order the striking machinists back to work for 60 days, plus authority to order two more 60-day no-strike periods. The original Morse bill would have ordered the striking workers back to their jobs for a 180-day period pending strike settlement efforts by a special board appointed by the President.

President Johnson called union and management negotiations to the White House July 29 for intensified bargaining. The negotiators reached an agreement which the President announced later the same day. IAM members rejected the settlement July 31 by a secret ballot vote of 17,251 to 6,587, a margin of nearly 3 to 1.

The Senate Labor Committee approved, 10-6, a revised bill which the Senate took up the same day, Aug. 1. The revised committee version authorized the President to order strikers back to work for a period or successive periods not to exceed 180 days. However, the Senate voted 51-36 to substitute another Morse compromise version for the committee-approved bill.

The bill passed by the Senate Aug. 4 was a compromise between those senators who wanted the Congress to break the strike and those senators who wanted the President to have the responsibility for breaking the strike. The bill contained (1) a 30-day back-to-work order, (2) a 60-day extension of the order at the President's option, to be triggered by his appointment of a special mediation panel, and (3) another 90-day no-strike period, if the special panel so advised and the President so decided.

On a key roll call vote August 4, 1966 the Senate passed the airlines anti-strike bill.

Voting for the bill 54

(30 Democrats, 24 Republicans)

Voting against the bill 33

(27 Democrats, 6 Republicans)

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee held hearings Aug. 5-10 on the Senate-passed measure and ordered it reported on Aug. 12 by a vote of 17 to 13.

"The right to strike is not an abstract theory," AFL-CIO President Meany declared during congressional consideration of anti-

strike legislation. "Anyone who believes in the right to strike must accept the proposition that strikes will take place. It is not enough to believe in the right to strike in every case except the strike that is going on at the time or the strike that inconveniences articulate citizens.

"The AFL-CIO is unalterably opposed to any legislative measure forcing free men to work against their will for the profit of private investors," he declared. "No national emergency faces the United States. No evidence of any delay in moving national defense material has been offered. A vote for any such proposal can only be considered as anti-labor in character and a retaliation against the machinists, who acted as free men have every right to act."

During House Commerce Committee consideration of the bill IAM and airline negotiators resumed negotiations and agreed on a contract. Union airline mechanics and ground crew service workers employed at 231 airports approved a new three-year contract settlement by a secret ballot vote of 17,727 to 8,235 on Aug. 19, 1966, thus ending the 43-day airline strike. Following this settlement the House Rules Committee took no action on the Senate bill.

The airline anti-strike bill passed by the Senate and approved by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee included a provision directing the Secretary of Labor to report to the Congress by Jan. 15, 1967 on possible changes in the emergency labor dispute provisions of the Railway Labor Act and the Taft-Hartley Act. A similar provision sponsored by Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and Senator Morse was included in the minimum wage bill by voice vote on Aug. 24, 1966, but the provision was dropped by the Senate-House conference committee.

Bonding of Union Officials

To stop discriminatory treatment of labor unions resulting from bonding requirements for union officials under the Landrum-Griffin Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act and the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act, the 89th Congress passed an AFL-CIO supported bonding bill.

The new bonding legislation cuts the cost of bonding union officials by correcting certain deficiencies in the bonding provisions of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act. The bill amends the act by substituting for the present "faithful discharge" standard for bonding labor union officials a standard based on "acts of fraud or dishonesty." It permits the Secretary of Labor to exempt a union from a requirement of the act that its bonding must be placed through a corporate surety company holding a grant of authority from the Treasury Department when, in his opinion, it has made other bonding arrangements that protect the union as required by the act.

Surety companies are required to file certain reports under the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act with the Secretary of Labor with respect to (1) gross premiums and net premiums; (2) total claims paid; (3) total contingent claims; (4) administrative and legal expenses incurred in processing such claims; (5) amounts recovered by way of subrogation.

The House passed the bonding bill by voice vote on May 27, 1965 and the Senate passed the bill by voice vote on Sept. 14, 1965.

Service Contracts

In 1965 the 89th Congress set up new protections for workers employed by contractors to perform services for the federal government—as janitors or maintenance men, cafeteria or laundry workers, or in other service occupations.

Workers on federally aided construction contracts and workers on federal production contracts have had wage protection for many years under federal law. However, until passage of the Service Contracts Act of 1965, workers on federal service contracts did not have this kind of wage protection.

Rep. James O'Hara (D-Mich.) sponsored the service contracts bill which the House passed by voice vote on Sept. 20 and the Senate passed by voice vote on Oct. 1, 1965.

The Service Contracts Act requires employers providing service or maintenance work under federal contracts of $2,500 or more to

pay their blue collar workers wages and fringe benefits—or the cash equivalent of the fringe benefits—that are at least equal to those paid or provided to other workers doing similar work in the locality. The new law also requires that all federal contract service workers must be paid at least the minimum wage required under the federal Fair Labor Standards Act—thus, in effect, extending minimum wage coverage to contracts under $2,500.

FLSA Coverage—The 1966 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act extended FLSA protections to federal government workers and to workers employed under government service contracts. (See Fair Labor Standards.)

For workers already covered by the Service Contracts Act or by the Fair Labor Standards Act, the new law made the rates for presently covered workers applicable to these workers—not less than $1.40 an hour, effective Feb. 1, 1967, and $1.60 an hour, effective Feb. 1, 1968.

Workers who were not previously covered by either law, however, will have to be paid in conformity with the 1966 schedule for newly covered workers—not less than $1 an hour, effective Feb. 1, 1967; not less than $1.15 an hour, effective Feb. 1, 1968; not less than $1.30 an hour, effective Feb. 1, 1969; not less than $1.45 an hour, effective Feb. 1, 1970, and not less than $1.60 an hour, effective Feb. 1, 1971.

Linen supply service workers employed under government service contracts are covered under the rates for newly covered employes unless more than 50 percent of their employer's work is government service contract work, in which case the schedule for presently covered workers applies to these workers.

Situs Picketing

In spite of widespread bipartisan support for "situs picketing" legislation supported by the AFL-CIO, the 89th Congress failed to act on this legislation after the chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee threw a one-man roadblock against a committee-approved "situs picketing" bill.

The 1951 Denver Building Trades decision by the Supreme Court made it illegal for a union to strike or throw a picket line around a construction site if an object of the activity is to keep unions not directly involved in the dispute off the job. This decision discriminated against building trades unions. It takes away from these unions basic economic rights enjoyed by other unions in other industries.

Proposals to reverse the Denver case interpretation of the Taft-Hartley ban on secondary boycotts have had bipartisan support in the Congress since 1949, the year of the National Labor Relations Board decision. The decision was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1951. In 1949 President Truman proposed legislation including "situs picketing" provisions. President Eisenhower's 1964 labor-management relations message to the Congress contained similar "situs picketing" proposals. The Kennedy Administration and the Johnson Administration likewise sought to eliminate "situs picketing" at multi-employer construction sites from the Taft-Hartley definition of secondary boycotts.

A complicating factor in the history of this legislation has been an internal dispute within the AFL-CIO. The divergence of views within the labor movement delayed congressional action. At the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in February 1965, the Building and Construction Trades Department and the Industrial Union Department announced agreement on "situs picketing" legislation.

The House Labor Subcommittee headed by Rep. Frank Thompson (D-N.J.) held hearings in June 1965 on a "situs picketing" bill sponsored by Rep. Carlton Sickles (D-Md.). On Sept. 21, 1965 the House Education and Labor Committee reported a revised version, including a section requiring a union to give a 10-day notice of intention to strike at any military facility engaged in defense or space work.

The House Rules Committee on March 14, 1966 reported a rule for consideration of the "situs picketing" bill on the floor of the House and the Speaker of the House, John W. McCormick (D-Mass.), scheduled the bill for House floor action on May 5, 1966.

However, in spite of earlier pledges to the Speaker and in defiance of basic democratic procedures, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell

(D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, blocked floor action by refusing to call up the bill.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council said Powell "constituted himself a one-man roadblock" in a "mockery of the democratic process" and demonstrated contempt for the binding obligations of a chairman.

The 89th Congress failed to take any further action on "situs picketing" legislation.

Joint Industry Promotion

Section 302 of the Taft-Hartley law prohibits all payments by employers to union representatives except certain enumerated types of payment, such as checked-off dues, and payments to specified kinds of employer-supported funds such as health and welfare funds.

The original general prohibition contained in Section 302 probably was not intended to cover joint labor-management industry promotion funds. However, court decisions have declared that employer contributions to trade and industry promotion funds administered jointly by trustees representing labor and management are prohibited under Section 302, although such industry promotion programs are not against the law.

A bill sponsored by then Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) would have added two more specific exemptions to Section 302—funds for the support of jointly administered "trade and industry" product promotion programs or jointly administered committees for the interpretation of collective bargaining agreements—thus legalizing such funds in the building and construction industry.

The House passed the bill by voice vote Aug. 10, 1965 and the measure was referred to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

The Senate Labor Subcommittee held brief hearings on the bill in October 1966, but there was no further action on the bill in the 89th Congress.

Railroad Disputes and Grievances

A major improvement in the existing system of handling grievances in the railroad industry won approval in the 89th Congress. A bill to end delays, backlogs, and gross injustices in the grievance system became law in 1966.

Previously railroad workers with a grievance related to work rules or collective bargaining agreements often had to wait 10 years or more to get a final decision.

The new law makes railroad adjustment board decisions final and binding except for fraud. It also requires a special adjustment board when one party in a grievance dispute requests it.

The House passed the bill 380-0 on Feb. 9, 1966 and the Senate passed it by voice vote on June 7, 1966.

Railroad Work Rules Dispute

The Senate Commerce Committee held hearings in August 1965 on the effects of the two-year compulsory arbitration award in the railroad work rules dispute, imposed under Public Law 88-108, enacted by the 88th Congress in August 1963. The award itself expired in March 1966. The committee urged collective bargaining, not more compulsory arbitration, to settle future disputes in this area.

Florida East Coast Railway

A three-year-old strike by railroad workers against the Florida East Coast Railway received some help from the 89th Congress.

A loophole in the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 enabled the Alfred I. duPont Estate of Jacksonville, Florida, to control the Florida East Coast Railway and to impose anti-labor policies. When the 89th Congress moved to close the duPont-FEC loophole, workers were still striking against this railroad in a labor dispute that began on Jan. 23, 1963.

On Sept. 13, 1965 the House, under the 21-day-rule procedure, voted 201-171 to adopt a rule for consideration of a bill to put the duPont Estate under the Bank Holding Company Act.

The House passed the bill by voice vote Sept. 23, 1965, but unfortunately, added an amendment ending all major exemptions to the Bank Holding Company Act, including an exemption written into the act in 1956 which continued to permit unions to own and operate banks.

However, on June 7, 1966, the Senate adopted by voice vote an amended bill which ended the duPont exemption, but retained the labor bank exemption. The House accepted the Senate bill on June 21, 1966, and President Johnson signed it into law on July 1, 1966.

Passage of the law ending the duPont-FEC exemption means that the duPont Estate must give up either its banking or non-banking interests within five years. The effect of this requirement was support for the railroad workers involved in the FEC strike. The new measure was also an important trust-busting measure in the banking field.

This legislation had strong support from the AFL-CIO and the Railway Labor Executives Association.

Federal Pay Raise

In 1965 and again in 1966 the 89th Congress approved legislation raising the pay of postal workers and other federal employes. The threat of a presidential veto put restrictions on both pay raise actions.

The Federal Salary Reform Act of 1962 sets the principle that federal salaries should be comparable to wages and salaries paid in private industry. President Meany, who served on the President's Special Panel on Federal Salaries early in 1965, called for immediate full comparability in his dissent to the panel report. He also criticized "national wage and price policies." In his April 14, 1965 letter to President Johnson, President Meany declared:

"It is the position of the AFL-CIO that there are in fact no national wage and price policies, nor should there be in the absence of

a war emergency. We believe wage and salary determinations, both private and government, should be made on the basis of objective facts, not on the theoretical projections of academic economists."

The 1965 federal pay law provided an across-the-board 3.6 percent pay raise for all federal classified, postal, legislative, and judicial employes, retroactive to Oct. 1, 1965. The 1965 law also contained important new fringe benefits, including liberalized postal overtime and relocation allowances, and, for the first time, a severance pay system for all federal civilian workers whose jobs are abolished.

The House on Sept. 30, 1965 voted 370-7 for a two-step pay bill providing an across-the-board 4 percent pay raise in October 1965, with a second step pay raise of 3 to 8 percent geared to private industry pay trends, effective in October 1966. Under the threat of a presidential veto, the Senate on October 22 passed, 67-0, a lower cost pay raise bill providing a one-step 3.6 pay raise. The Senate bill went back to the House on a take-it-or-leave-it basis in the last hours before adjournment of the 1965 session. The House accepted the Senate version, which the President signed Oct. 29, 1965.

In 1966, again under the threat of a presidential veto of a bigger pay raise, the Congress passed legislation to give federal workers an across-the-board increase of 2.9 percent, effective July 1, 1966. Increased fringe benefits, health benefits, and retirement benefits raised the cost of the package to about 3.2 percent.

The House passed the pay bill April 6, 1966 by a 393-1 vote. The Senate passed similar legislation July 11 by a vote of 81-0. The House accepted the Senate version July 12, 1966.

Life Insurance for Federal Workers

President Johnson on Sept. 12, 1966 vetoed a bill increasing life insurance coverage for federal employes. The President said the legislation, estimated to cost $90 million a year, was "inflationary."

The House on May 3, 1965 passed a Johnson Administration bill raising federal contributions to the federal employes' group life in-

surance program by about $12 million. The Senate passed a substantially more liberal version on March 17, 1966, and the House agreed to the Senate version on Aug. 29, 1966. Similar legislation is expected to be introduced in the 89th Congress.

Civil Service Protections

An Administration-backed proposal sponsored by Rep. Wayne Hays (D-Ohio), was passed by voice vote in the House Sept. 9, 1965. This bill permits transfer of certain foreign affairs jobs and employes from the civil service to the foreign service, thereby subjecting them to "selection out" procedures. However, a "grandfather" clause in the Hays bill gives present civil service employes an option not to transfer and affords those who do transfer a greater amount of job security than is normally applicable to the foreign service.

An amendment by Rep. Arnold Olsen (D-Mont.) to guarantee civil service protections to new employes was defeated 83-65 in the Committee of the Whole before House passage.

The Hays bill was referred to a special subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The subcommittee held hearings and approved the bill Aug. 18, 1966. However, the full committee tabled the bill on September 15 and there was no further action on it in the 89th Congress.

Hatch Act Review

The Hatch Political Activities Act of 1939 and other federal laws limit partisan political activity by most federal workers and by certain state government employes working on federally financed projects. The 89th Congress passed legislation to set up a bipartisan commission to make a study of these federal laws to see if they should be revised or repealed.

Members of the commission are to be appointed by the President, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Rep-

resentatives. The commission is to make its recommendations to the President and to the Congress within one year. The Senate passed the Hatch Act review bill Aug. 25, 1965 and the House passed the bill Sept. 19, 1966.

Farm Labor

An historic step forward toward more adequate protection for low-paid farm workers was taken during the 89th Congress.

For the first time, certain farm workers were brought under the protections of the Fair Labor Standards Act. (See Fair Labor Standards.) Farm workers will get minimum wage protection if the employer used more than 500 man-days of hired farm labor in any calendar quarter during the preceding calendar year.

Some 390,000 farm workers newly covered under the 1966 FLSA law will get a $1 an hour minimum wage starting Feb. 1, 1967. Their minimum will go to $1.15 on Feb. 1, 1968, and will increase to $1.30 on Feb. 1, 1969.

Foreign Farm Workers—An effort to reduce protections for American farm workers was made Sept. 7, 1965 when the Senate Agriculture Committee included in the omnibus farm bill an amendment transferring from the Secretary of Labor to the Secretary of Agriculture the responsibility to determine when and how many foreign farm workers were needed in the U.S. The AFL-CIO and the Johnson Administration—including the Secretary of Agriculture—strongly opposed this amendment, which was beaten by a 46-45 Senate vote Sept. 13, 1965. The motion to strike the committee farm labor amendment was made by Senator Ross Bass (D-Tenn.). Vice President Hubert Humphrey cast the deciding vote to break a tie.

On a roll call vote Sept. 13, 1965 the Senate voted to keep control over importation of foreign farm workers in the Secretary of Labor.

Voting for Labor Dept. control over importation of foreign farm workers 46

(44 Democrats, 2 Republicans)

Voting for Agriculture Dept. control over importation of foreign farm workers 45
(17 Democrats, 28 Republicans)

The Senate Migratory Labor Subcommittee held hearings in 1965 on legislation which would include farm workers under the Labor-Management Relations Act to protect their right to organize and engage in collective bargaining.

In 1965 Congress renewed and improved the Migrant Health Act of 1962. It will be continued for three years with increased funds. A new provision will provide some hospital care for migrants.

REAPPORTIONMENT

One Man—One Vote

One of the major accomplishments of the 89th Congress was protection of the basic democratic principle of "one man—one vtoe."

In 1965 and again in 1966, Senate Republican Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen led conservative campaigns to upset and overturn the Supreme Court's position in support of "one man—one vote." Both efforts were defeated.

In 1962 the Supreme Court decision in the Tennessee case, Baker v. Carr, said the federal courts could hear and rule on state reapportionment cases. On June 23, 1964 the Supreme Court held that both houses of a bicameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis only, on "one man—one vote," thus striking directly at malapportioned "rotten borough" rural-dominated state legislatures. A "rotten borough" is an area with disproportionately large representation in the legislature. The AFL-CIO has long urged prompt and democratic apportionment of state legislatures.

Criticism of the Supreme Court decisions grew more intense and a number of "rotten borough" proposals received consideration and action in the 1964 session of the 88th Congress. None was acted upon finally.

In 1965 Dirksen launched a new attack on the "one man—one vote" principle. His proposed constitutional amendment would permit states to apportion one house of the state legislature on other than a population basis. The Senate Constitutional Amendments Subcommittee approved the Dirksen amendment by a 6-3 vote on June 23, 1965. However, Dirksen was not able to get full Senate Judiciary Committee approval for his proposal, and therefore brought it to the Senate floor July 22 as a non-germane amendment to a minor bill.

Liberal senators—backed by a liberal coalition, including the AFL-CIO—mobilized for action in June and July 1965 to stop the Dirksen amendment in committee and later on the Senate floor. To kill the proposed constitutional amendment, one-third plus one of voting senators—a maximum of 34—were needed.

It became clear that the opponents of the Dirksen amendment, led by Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) had enough votes to succeed. Although they were not a majority, more than 34 senators were on record as opposing the amendment. On August 4 the Dirksen proposal came to a vote. The 57-39 vote showed that the liberal coalition had at least five votes more than the necessary 34 to defeat the amendment.

On a roll call vote Aug. 4, 1965, the Dirksen amendment fell short of the two-thirds vote required for constitutional amendments.

Voting for the Dirksen amendment 57
(28 Democrats, 29 Republicans)

Voting against the Dirksen amendment 39
(36 Democrats, 3 Republicans)

A House Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) held hearings on various reapportionment proposals in 1965, but the chairman said that defeat of the Dirksen amendment made these proposals a dead issue.

However, the Senate Judiciary Committee September 9 ordered reported without recommendation another Dirksen proposal by a 9-7 vote. Dirksen had threatened to filibuster against the House-passed immigration bill in committee unless this action was taken.

He then said he would not press for Senate action on his new proposal until the 1966 session.

The revised Dirksen proposal called for state referendums on reapportionment plans which might include apportionment of one house of the state legislature on the basis of geography or political subdivision as well as population. The states would be permitted such referendums after the 10-year census, but only after one house of the legislature had been apportioned on a "one man—one vote" population basis.

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported the revised amendment out on March 2, 1966 and Senate debate began on April 13. Again liberal senators mobilized to oppose the Dirksen amendment. The final vote after a week of debate was almost exactly the same as the 1965 vote.

Before the final vote, the Senate on April 19 accepted by voice vote an amendment by Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) that both houses of a state legislature must be apportioned on the basis of population before a referendum on a non-population reapportionment plan.

On a roll call vote April 20, 1966 the Dirksen amendment again fell short of the two-thirds required for constitutional amendments.

Voting for the Dirksen amendment 55
(26 Democrats, 29 Republicans)

Voting against the Dirksen amendment 38
(35 Democrats, 3 Republicans)

The 1966 defeat of the Dirksen amendment guarantees that population-based apportionment of state legislatures will prevail and continue. Almost all of the state legislatures are now apportioned, with districts based substantially on the "one man—one vote" principle.

Congressional Districting

Among the 1964 Supreme Court "one man—one vote" rulings was a decision requiring equal representation in congressional dis-

tricts. To assure equal representation, the court said, the allowable deviation from the average congressional district population should be kept as small as possible.

On March 16, 1965 the House of Representatives passed by voice vote a bill to set standards for congressional districts. The bill allowed a maximum deviation of 15 percent from the state's average congressional district population. It also prohibited at-large districts in states with more than one House seat, attempted to stop gerrymandering by requiring districts to be "contiguous" and "compact" and prohibited redistricting more than once every 10 years.

The Senate Judiciary Committee on Oct. 1, 1965 ordered reported an improved version of the House-passed bill. The Senate committee version permitted deviation of 10 percent above or below the average population for all districts in a state. However, the bill was never actually reported by the Senate committee, and the 1966 session ended without final Senate action.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The Right to Vote

In 1965 the 89th Congress passed strong legislation to protect voting rights of Negroes in the South.

Experience under the 1964 civil rights law and continuing state and local interference with efforts of Negroes to register to vote, particularly in Selma, Ala., showed the need for this legislation. On March 15, 1965 President Johnson asked the Congress to pass strong voting rights protection legislation. Senate debate on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 started on April 22.

On a roll call vote May 25, 1965, the Senate broke the filibuster against the voting rights bill.

Voting to break the filibuster 70
(47 Democrats, 23 Republicans)

Voting against cloture 30
(21 Democrats, 9 Republicans)

Thus, for the second time in two years and for the second time in its history, the Senate voted to cut off an anti-civil rights filibuster.

On a roll call vote May 26, 1965, the Senate passed the voting rights bill.

Voting for voting rights protections 77
(47 Democrats, 30 Republicans)

Voting against the bill 19
(17 Democrats, 2 Republicans)

Earlier, on May 11, the Senate rejected, 49-45, a flat prohibition against any poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal, state, or local elections. The AFL-CIO strongly supported this ban on poll taxes. Instead, the Senate bill directed the Attorney General to bring court action against discriminatory use of poll taxes.

On a roll call vote May 11, 1965, the Senate defeated the flat ban on poll taxes.

Voting against poll taxes 45
(39 Democrats, 6 Republicans)

Voting to preserve poll taxes 49
(24 Democrats, 25 Republicans)

The House Judiciary Committee voting rights bill reported June 1 contained a flat prohibition against the use of poll taxes as a requirement for voting in any election. The House Rules Committee cleared the committee bill on July 1 for House floor action. The House passed the bill, 333-85, on July 9, after defeating, 248-171, a seriously weakened Republication substitute voting rights bill proposed by Rep. Harold Collier (R-Ill.).

On a roll call vote July 9, 1965 the House endorsed strong voting rights legislation by rejecting the weak Collier substitute.

Voting for strong voting rights protections 248
(227 Democrats, 21 Republicans)

Voting for the weak Collier substitute 171
(56 Democrats, 115 Republicans)

The final bill approved by the Senate-House conference committee contained most of the strong provisions originally included in the House-passed bill. This final version contained stronger poll tax

provisions than the Senate bill, largely because of the strong House position for a flat repeal of the poll tax.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 applies to federal, state, and local elections, including primaries, special and general elections and referendums. It is aimed at stopping arbitrary, discriminatory literacy tests and other discriminatory "voting devices." The law provides for appointment of federal examiners to register would-be voters in states or counties where the law's formula, court action, or the Attorney General certifies the need for such special registration procedures.

In line with the AFL-CIO position that "no American should have to buy his right to vote in any election," the law finds that poll taxes work financial hardship on the poor, have no relation to voting, and can be used to deny the right to vote because of race or color. The law also declares that poll taxes abridge the right to vote and directs the Attorney General to bring court action to stop further use of poll taxes as a precondition for voting. Immediately after the President signed the voting rights law, the Attorney General started the necessary court action.

The Civil Rights Bill of 1966

The conservative anti-labor, anti-civil rights coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats blocked Senate action on the 1966 civil rights bill passed by the House of Representatives. Thus, in 1966, there was no final action by the 89th Congress on civil rights legislation.

Just as in the 1965 and 1966 filibusters against repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, it was Senate Republican Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.) who was the major roadblock to Senate consideration and action on the civil rights bill of 1966.

On April 28, 1966 President Johnson sent to the Congress his proposals for civil rights legislation. Major provisions included the prohibition of racial discrimination in selection of federal and state jury members and the prohibition of racial discrimination in the sale and rental of housing. The President's proposals included authori-

zation for the Attorney General to bring suit to prevent intimidation of persons involved in desegregation of schools or other state facilities and federal prohibitions against threats or violence against civil rights workers.

After hearings in May on the Administration's civil rights bill and after considerable discussion and maneuvering in a House Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), the subcommittee on June 16, 1966 approved a civil rights bill without acting on the "fair housing" provisions.

After further discussion and maneuvering in the full Judiciary Committee, a civil rights bill containing a "fair housing" amendment by Rep. Charles Mathias (R-Md.) was approved, 24-9, on June 29, 1966 by the full committee. The Mathias compromise amendment exempted from the "fair housing" requirement individual property owners and owner-occupants of dwellings with fewer than five living units, but prohibits the use of real estate agencies when an owner sought to sell his home on a discriminatory basis.

House consideration of the Judiciary Committee bill started on July 25 and continued for 12 days, with votes on 77 amendments. A key test vote came August 4 on a Mathias "sweetener" amendment to save the bill by allowing a real estate broker to discriminate in sale or rental of a home if he has written instructions from the home-owner and did not solicit the instructions. This Mathias amendment was passed by a narrow 180-179 margin on a teller vote without a roll call. On August 9 the House upheld the teller vote with a 237-176 roll call vote. The Mathias amendment excluded some 60 percent of existing housing, but covered new apartment buildings and new housing developments.

An "anti-riot" amendment sponsored by Rep. William Cramer (R-Fla.) to make it a crime to travel in interstate commerce with intent to incite riot or commit an act of violence was passed by voice vote August 5 and was upheld by a 389-25 roll call vote August 9.

Another important test came on teller vote to strike the "fair housing" section from the bill entirely. It lost, 198-179, with the Republican leadership, led by Rep. Gerald Ford (R-Mich.), seeking

to kill the section and Mathias and some 25 Republicans supporting the principle of "fair housing."

On a roll call vote Aug. 9, 1966 the House rejected a motion to knock "fair housing" out of the 1966 civil rights bill.

Voting for "fair housing" 222
(172 Democrats, 50 Republicans)

Voting against "fair housing" 190
(104 Democrats, 86 Republicans)

The House then went on to pass the civil rights bill, 259-157, the same day. The House-passed bill was placed on the Senate calendar Aug. 12, 1966 without being referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by the Dixiecrat Chairman James Eastland (D-Miss.).

In the Senate, hearings on the Administration civil rights bill had started June 6, in the Judiciary subcommittee headed by another Dixiecrat, Senator Sam Ervin (D-N.C.). The subcommittee never acted on the bill.

On Sept. 7, 1966 the Senate began debate on a motion by Senator Philip Hart (D-Mich.) to make the House-passed civil rights bill the pending business of the Senate. This motion is debatable. The situation was similar to the situation prevailing when filibusters in October 1965 and February 1966 prevented Senate consideration of the House-passed bill to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Senate Republican Leader Dirksen, whose support made possible the civil rights laws of 1964 and 1965, refused to support the 1966 civil rights bill, thus making a filibuster-breaking cloture vote practically impossible, in spite of the support of a majority of the Senate for the civil rights legislation. The focus of Dirksen's opposition was the "fair housing" section of the bill.

After six days of intermittent filibustering, marked by a number of unsuccessful quorum calls, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) filed a cloture motion. The motion received a majority vote but it fell short by 10 votes of the two-thirds vote required to invoke cloture.

On a roll call vote Sept. 14, 1966 the Senate failed to break the filibuster against the 1966 civil rights bill.

Voting to break the filibuster 54
(42 Democrats, 12 Republicans)
Voting for the anti-civil rights filibuster 42
(21 Democrats, 21 Republicans)

Senator Mansfield filed a second cloture motion September 15. Again the motion received a majority vote, but fell short by 10 votes of the required two-thirds.

On a roll call vote Sept. 19, 1966 the Senate failed a second time to break the filibuster against the 1966 civil rights bill.

Voting to break the filibuster 52
(42 Democrats, 10 Republicans)
Voting for the anti-civil rights filibuster 41
(21 Democrats, 20 Republicans)

This unsuccessful cloture vote ended the Senate fight for action on civil rights legislation in 1966 and killed all hope of further action in the 89th Congress on civil rights.

Senator Eastland issued a statement after the first cloture vote hailing the revival of the anti-labor, anti-civil rights Dixiecrat-Republican coalition. "The civil rights advocates . . . have been completely routed," he said. "The old-time coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans were united and effective."

President Johnson on September 21 declared that if there were no action on civil rights legislation in 1966 he would announce civil rights proposals in his 1967 State of the Union message. He pointed out that majorities in both the House and the Senate had voted for the 1966 civil rights legislation.

Equal Employment Opportunity

The AFL-CIO strongly supports strong, effective equal employment opportunity "fair employment practices" legislation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 included an equal employment opportunity pro-

gram in Title VII with the full support of the AFL-CIO. In the 1965 session of the 89th Congress the AFL-CIO and civil rights groups called for stronger coverage and enforcement provisions in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 along lines originally proposed by the AFL-CIO.

The AFL-CIO endorsed proposals to broaden the coverage of Title VII to include businesses employing 8 or more persons and unions having 8 or more members, and to strengthen the enforcement of the title by giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission power to issue cease-and-desist orders enforceable in the federal courts forbidding discrimination in employment.

Legislation embodying these points was reported by the House Education and Labor Committee on Aug. 3, 1965. When the House Rules Committee failed to act on the bill, the House on Sept. 13, 1965 took action to pave the way for House floor action on the bill. Under the 21-day rule, the House voted 259-121 to adopt a rule for floor consideration and action on the bill. Further action on the bill, however, was deferred until the 1966 session of Congress.

On April 27, 1966 the House passed the bill 299-94. There was no Senate action on the bill.

Community Relations Service

The Community Relations Service has responsibility under Title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for conciliating disputes involving racial discrimination.

To strengthen and improve procedures for conciliation in disputes involving racial discrimination, President Johnson submitted to the 89th Congress a reorganization plan transferring the Community Relations Service from the Commerce Department to the Justice Department. Such reorganization plans take effect unless one house of the Congress disapproves within 60 days.

Resolutions to block the transfer were defeated in the Senate and in the House in 1966.

The AFL-CIO and civil rights groups supported transfer of CRS

to the Justice Department, which has responsibility for administering other civil rights programs. The AFL-CIO declared that the CRS would be made more effective by relating its functions more closely to civil rights enforcement procedures in the Justice Department.

On a roll call vote April 6, 1966 the Senate defeated a resolution to block transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Justice Department.

Voting to improve civil rights conciliation 42
(42 Democrats, 0 Republicans)

Voting against improved civil rights conciliation 32
(11 Democrats, 21 Republicans)

In the House, a similar resolution of disapproval for the reorganization plan transferring CRS to the Justice Department was defeated.

On a roll call vote April 20, 1966 the House defeated a resolution to block transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Justice Department.

Voting to improve civil rights conciliation 220
(202 Democrats, 18 Republicans)

Voting against improved civil rights conciliation 163
(54 Democrats, 109 Republicans)

Immigration Reform

Immigration reform—including an end to the discriminatory national origins quota system—was a major accomplishment of the 89th Congress.

The AFL-CIO supported the basic immigration proposals made by President Johnson on Jan. 13, 1965. At the urging of the AFL-CIO, effective protections for U.S. workers were included in the new law.

The 1965 immigration law sets a three-year phasing-out of the national origins quota system, with unused quotas transferred to a pool for immigrants denied entry because of oversubscribed quotas. The

law sets a limit of 170,000 immigrants a year, exclusive of the Western Hemisphere. The law also includes a Western Hemisphere limitation of 120,000 immigrants a year. The law, however, provides for establishment of a Select Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration to make studies of various aspects of Western Hemisphere immigration, including the impact of immigration and importation of foreign workers from this area on employment, wages, and working conditions in the U.S., and to report to Congress by July 1, 1967 and again by Jan. 15, 1968 on these subjects, including continuation of a Western Hemisphere quota.

Within the 170,000 limit, a 10 percent preference is set for skilled or unskilled workers who could fill a labor need—not temporary or seasonal work—if the Secretary of Labor determines that U.S. workers are not available and that the immigrant will not adversely affect wages and working conditions of workers in the U.S. The Secretary of Labor has the same responsibility for immigrants under the 10 percent preference for members of professions or people with special talents or education, and the same responsibility for immigrants from the Western Hemisphere.

The House passed the immigration bill 318-95 on Aug. 25, 1965. The Senate passed the immigration reform bill 76-18 on Sept. 22, 1965 and the conference report was approved Sept. 30, 1965. The President signed the bill at the base of the Statue of Liberty, New York City, on Oct. 3, 1965.

Home Rule for the District of Columbia

Representative local self-government, "home rule" for the District of Columbia, is a long-standing goal of the AFL-CIO. The 89th Congress failed to complete action on home rule legislation, although both the Senate and the House passed home rule bills that differed considerably from each other.

On July 22, 1965 the Senate passed a home rule bill by a 63-29 vote. The Senate bill provided for an elected mayor, city council, a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives, and an automatic federal payment based on the value of federal property in the District. This was the sixth home rule bill passed by the Senate.

In the House, where the Dixiecrat-dominated Committee on the District of Columbia has long blocked home rule, a bipartisan group of congressmen filed a discharge petition to bring the Administration's home rule bill directly to the floor without waiting for committee action. With the vigorous support of President Johnson, the AFL-CIO, and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 218 signatures were secured for the petition. On Sept. 27, 1965 the House voted 213-183 to discharge the committee from further consideration of the Administration's home rule bill.

In spite of various compromise amendments offered by House sponsors of the bill, the House voted 227-174 on Sept. 29, 1965 to accept a substitute proposal of Rep. B. F. Sisk (D-Calif.).

The Sisk substitute provided for (1) a referendum for District voters to decide whether they want home rule, (2) a 15-member nonpartisan, elected Charter Board to prepare a charter, (3) another referendum for District voters to pass on the charter, (4) the approved charter to go into effect automatically within 90 days, (5) unless disapproved by either the Senate or the House.

Reconciliation of the Senate version and the Sisk bill into an acceptable compromise was left over for action in 1966. However, House conferees were never appointed, and a joint Senate-House conference committee never met on D.C. home rule in 1966. Informal meetings between Sisk and the Chairman of the Senate District Committee, Sen. Alan Bible (D-Nev.), proved fruitless.

In an effort to revive the home rule issue during the last days of the 1966 session, Senator Wayne Morse proposed a D.C. home rule bill as an amendment to the higher education bill. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), joined by 21 other senators, filed a cloture petition Oct. 7, 1966 to forestall an anti-home rule filibuster against the amendment.

By a 41-37 vote on Oct. 10, 1966, the Senate stopped further action on home rule in the 1966 session. The cloture petition received less than the two-thirds votes necessary to cut off a threatened filibuster, although a majority of voting Senators supported the pro-home rule admendment. Faced with a filibuster, Morse withdrew his amendment.

Lie Detectors

The AFL-CIO opposes use of so-called "lie detectors" in public and private employment. Investigations show that the use of such devices is based on deception and myth. Futhermore, use of "lie detectors" violates basic considerations of human dignity, raises issues of invasion of privacy, self-incrimination, and implies the concept of guilty until proven innocent.

In 1965 the AFL-CIO Executive Council called for a broad congressional investigation of use of "lie detectors" and for federal action to ban the use of such devices by private employers and by the federal government. The council called also for anti-"lie detector" campaigns at the state and local level and for union contract provisions to prohibit use of "lie detectors" until such use by private employers is outlawed by federal legislation.

Rep. Cornelius Gallagher (D-N.J.) introduced a bill in 1965 to prohibit, in almost all cases, the purchase or use of "lie detectors" by any federal department or agency. The bill was referred to the House Government Information Subcommittee headed by Rep. John Moss (D-Calif.), who held hearings in August 1965 on Defense Department use of polygraph "lie detectors."

As a result of the Moss hearings, the House Government Operations Committee issued a report March 22, 1966 recommending that the federal government begin research on the validity of polygraph tests and prohibit use of polygraphs except in the most serious national security and criminal cases. In a Sept. 26, 1966 report, the committee praised new Defense Department restrictions on use of polygraphs, but urged more controls. President Johnson set up a federal interagency research committee to study problems involved in use of polygraph "lie detectors."

Public Records

A "freedom of information" bill requiring federal agencies to make public their records and other information was passed in the 1966 session of the 89th Congress. The law authorizes suits in federal

courts to force a federal agency to produce information being unlawfully withheld.

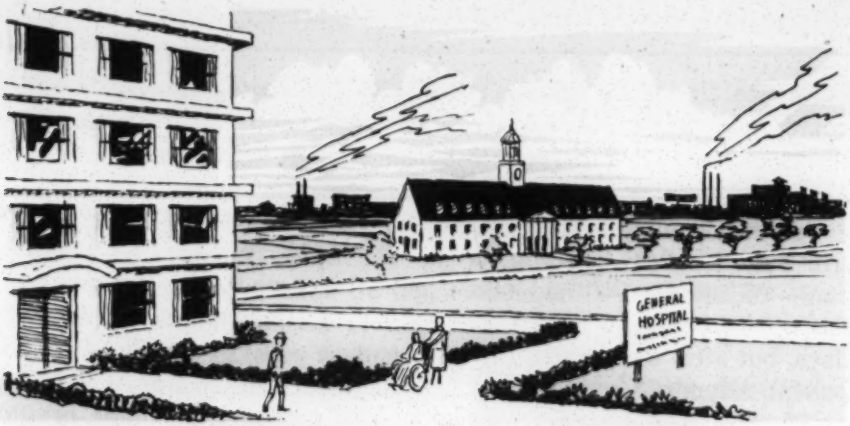
The AFL-CIO opposed similar legislation in 1964 because, as drafted and interpreted at that time, it would have opened up investigative and confidential records of the National Labor Relations Board, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and other agencies to "fishing expeditions" by private parties and would have seriously interfered with the efficient and effective functioning of these labor agencies. The objections of the AFL-CIO and the federal labor agencies were substantially met in the bill finally passed by the Congress and signed by President Johnson on July 4, 1966.

Presidential Campaign Fund

A plan to finance presidential election campaigns with voluntary $1 contributions from taxpayers was adopted by the 89th Congress.

The Senate Finance Committee Oct. 11, 1966 approved this plan, proposed by Chairman Russell Long (D-La.) as an amendment to a House-passed tax bill. An effort to knock out the Long amendment was defeated 33-39 on the Senate floor Oct. 12. The House accepted the bill with the Long campaign fund proposal on Oct. 21. On Oct. 22, 1966, the last day of the 1966 session, the Senate gave final approval to the bill by a 31-22 vote after defeating a motion by Senator Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) to table the Senate-House conference committee report by a 37-15 vote.

Under the Long plan, taxpayers will be able to check off $1 of their tax payment ($2 for joint returns) for a Presidential Election Campaign Fund to pay expenses of the next presidential election. The money will be evenly divided between the two major political parties.



HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Medicare-Social Security

The long fight to assure health care for elderly Americans succeeded in the 1965 session of the 89th Congress. Enactment of the 1965 "medicare-social security" legislation was an outstanding accomplishment in American social welfare legislation, reflecting many years of public concern for the nation's health needs.

Rep. Aime Forand (D-R.I.) in 1957 introduced a social insurance health plan for elderly people. Hearings were held but no action taken by the House Ways and Means Committee.

President Kennedy strongly supported legislation introduced in 1961 by Sen. Clinton Anderson (D-N.Mex.) and Rep. Cecil King (D-Calif.) to provide health insurance for the aged. President Johnson likewise gave strong support to health insurance for the aged. The AFL-CIO and its affiliated organizations played a leading role in the long fight to include "medicare" in the nation's social insurance system. In 1964 the Senate passed such a measure but it was turned down in conference by the House conferees.

The omnibus social security bill finally enacted in 1965 contains (1) a basic hospital insurance plan related to social security and railroad retirement, for persons 65 years and older, (2) a supplementary voluntary health plan, (3) expansion of Kerr-Mills medical

assistance for needy elderly people, (4) increased funds for child health care and public assistance programs, and (5) an across-the-board increase of 7 percent in social security cash benefits, with a minimum monthly increase of $4.

About 19 million elderly Americans under the basic plan, effective July 1, 1966, are eligible for (1) up to 90 days of hospital care—60 after a $40 deductible and 30 with coinsurance of $10 a day, (2) post-hospital extended care in nursing homes up to 100 days, but after the first 20 days the patient pays $5 a day, (3) outpatient diagnostic services after a $20 deductible and a 20 percent coinsurance payment, and (4) up to 100 post-hospital home health service visits, effective January 1, 1967. The basic plan is financed by a payroll tax which rises from 0.35 percent in 1966 to 0.8 percent in 1987 and thereafter.

The supplementary plan, effective July 1, 1966, will cover physicians' services, home health services, and numerous other medical and health services in and out of medical institutions. The plan will cover 80 percent of these expenses after a $50 deductible. It is financed by a $3 a month payment by the person enrolled and by an additional $3 paid by the federal government.

The omnibus social security legislation raises the taxable wage base from $4,800 to $6,600 effective Jan. 1, 1966. It includes tips as taxable wages for tipped workers. It also contains many other changes which liberalize and broaden social security protections, including benefits for widows at age 60 and payment of child benefits to those attending school up to age 22. Extensive changes in welfare and public assistance programs greatly increase opportunities to assure adequate medical care for children in low income families.

The House Ways and Means Committee started hearings on health care legislation in January 1965 and reported the omnibus social security bill on Mar. 24. The bill was passed in the House Apr. 8 by a 313-115 vote after defeat of a recommittal motion by Rep. John Byrnes (R-Wis.) to strike out the basic hospital insurance plan.

On a roll call vote April 8, 1965 the House rejected a motion to kill the basic hospital social insurance plan to protect elderly Americans.

Voting for the hospital plan 236
(226 Democrats, 10 Republicans)
Voting to kill the hospital plan 191
(63 Democrats, 128 Republicans)

The Senate Finance Committee held hearings in June, added many amendments, and reported the omnibus bill June 24. The Senate passed the bill 68-21 on July 9, 1965 after defeating a motion by Sen. Carl Curtis (R-Neb.) to kill the basic hospital insurance plan and the supplementary health plan.

On a roll call vote July 9, 1965 the Senate defeated an effort to kill the programs of health insurance for elderly Americans.

Voting for health insurance for the aged 64
(53 Democrats, 11 Republicans)
Voting against health insurance for the aged 26
(8 Democrats, 18 Republicans)

The House approved the conference committee report 307-116 on July 27. The Senate approved the report 70-24 on July 28. President Johnson signed the omnibus medicare-social security bill into law July 30, 1965 in Independence, Mo., in the presence of former President Truman in recognition of Mr. Truman's fight for health insurance.

On April 6, 1966 the Senate and the House, by voice votes, approved a two-month extension—to May 31, 1966—of the deadline for elderly people to sign up for the supplementary health insurance plan. President Johnson had requested this extension.

Expansion of Eligibility—The 1966 tax withholding law provides benefits of $35 a month, effective Oct. 1, 1966, for all persons 72 years or older who were not previously eligible for social security benefits, with an additional $17.50 a month for a spouse, when both husband and wife were entitled to benefits. The amount of these benefits would be reduced by the amount of pensions received under other governmental pension or welfare systems. The new eligibility will be cut off Jan. 1, 1968.

This provision, accepted by Senate-House conferees, was based on an amendment proposed by Senator Winston Prouty (R-Vt.) during Senate consideration of the tax withholding bill. The Prouty amendment was approved 45-40 on March 8, 1966.

Railroad Retirement

In 1966 the 89th Congress approved a supplemental pension program entirely paid for by railroad employers. This program, administered by the Railroad Retirement Board, is a significant breakthrough toward more adequate retirement income without cost to railroad workers.

The supplemental pension starts at $45 a month for railroad workers aged 65 or over and retiring on or after July 1, 1966 with a current employment connection and 25 years of service. The supplemental pension rises $5 a year to $70 for such retirees with 30 years of service.

The 1966 bill, sponsored by Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) and Rep. Torbert Macdonald (D-Mass.), also raises basic railroad retirement pensions by 7 percent for railroad retirees who did not get the 7 percent increase in 1965 and who do not get the supplemental pension under the 1966 law.

In 1965 the 89th Congress enacted legislation sponsored by Rep. Oren Harris (D-Ark.) and also by Senator Pell. This law (1) enlarged the role of the Railroad Retirement Board in administering "medicare" for elderly railroaders; (2) eliminated a previous restriction on "dual benefits" for wives of retired railroades; (3) increased benefits for many railroad retirees, especially in the lower brackets; and (4) provided an equitable adjustment of the taxable base to finance the added benefits.

Survivor Benefits—Another railroad retirement law approved by the 89th Congress in 1966 raises the age for children's survivor benefits from 18 to 21 years inclusive. This law, sponsored by Senator Pell and Rep. Harley Staggers (D-W. Va.), gives the same protections to railroad workers' families that are available to families of workers under Social Security.

Health Legislation

To make available more and better health care to the American people, and to upgrade the quality of health care, the 89th Congress passed a wide range of important health legislation in addition to the

health insurance programs established by the 1965 Social Security law.

Health Manpower—The Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966 authorizes $105 million over a three-year period to expand and improve training capacity for medical technologists, dental hygienists, physical therapists, occupational therapists, X-ray technologists, and many other categories of medical technicians and assistants.

The law also strengthens and improves existing loan programs for students of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry, podiatry, pharmacy, optometry, and nursing. It includes loan "forgiveness" of 15 percent a year, up to 100 percent, for doctors, dentists, and optometrists who practice in poor, rural areas. Under existing law, practice in "shortage areas" can result in loan "forgiveness" of 10 percent a year, up to a 50 percent maximum.

The House passed the allied health professions bill 364-0 June 23, 1966. The Senate passed it by voice vote Oct. 14, and the House accepted the Senate version Oct. 17, 1966.

Health Services—To strengthen and improve public health services in states and local areas, the 89th Congress passed the Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Services Act of 1966.

The law sets up a new system of broad grants for comprehensive public health services with $140 million authorized for fiscal 1968. The new system will take the place of previous specific grant programs for such specific health problems as cancer, mental health, tuberculosis, and heart disease.

The law authorized $9 million for comprehensive public health planning in fiscal 1967 and $15 million for fiscal 1968. It also authorized $5 million in fiscal 1968 to help nonprofit public health schools do consulting and administrative work and special training for state and local public health programs.

Regional Medical Programs—In his Jan. 7, 1965 message to Congress on health problems and needs, President Johnson called for a five-year program to develop multi-purpose regional health centers to spread the results of the latest research findings on heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other diseases.

The 89th Congress approved legislation authorizing a $340 million

three-year program of federal grants to help set up regional medical programs. The final version of this legislation reflected changes made to meet objections of the American Medical Association. Thus, the final bill emphasized local cooperative arrangements using existing medical schools, hospitals, and research institutions and spelled out various protections for doctors as requested by the AMA.

Also in 1965 the Congress extended for three years an existing program of federal grants for construction of health research facilities and authorized an additional $280 million for this purpose.

Health Professions—To increase the number of doctors and other health professional personnel, the 89th Congress in the Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965 set up a new, four-year program of scholarships for needy students from low income families to study medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, and optometry. Scholarships could range up to $2,500 a year.

The same 1965 law authorized a new $200 million, four-year program of federal grants to improve the quality to teaching at schools of medicine, dentistry, and other health professions. It expands existing construction aid programs to increase student capacity of medical teaching facilities and expands the existing medical student loan program.

Mental Health Staffing—A new seven-year program of federal grants to help pay starting costs of staffing community mental health centers got congressional approval in 1965. The staffing aid law also extended and expanded programs to help train teachers of mentally retarded and other handicapped children. The bill contained additional aid for projects to improve educational opportunities for handicapped children.

In 1963 the AFL-CIO urged that the new program to help build community mental health centers include staffing provisions but the American Medical Association was successful in getting a $427 million staffing authorization knocked out of the bill. However, in 1965 the AMA was defeated on this issue when the House approved staffing aid 389-0 on May 4 and the Senate approved staffing aid by voice vote on June 28. The seven-year cost of the staffing aid program was estimated at $224 million.

Medical Libraries—In 1965 Congress passed $105 million five-year program for federal aid for construction of medical library facilities, for training, research, and development in medical library science, and for acquisition of books and equipment by medical libraries.

Health Programs Extended—In 1965 Congress extended the mass immunization program with $11 million a year authorized for three years; extended for three years the migrant workers health program; raised authorized grants for public health schools by $5 million a year; and extended for one year the grant programs for general and community health services.

Aid to Elementary and Secondary Schools

An historic breakthrough in federal aid for education was approved by the 89th Congress. The long controversy over federal aid for private schools as well as public schools was finally set aside by passage of school aid legislation in 1965. In 1966 the Congress widened and enlarged the scope of this legislation.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 gave major emphasis to helping schools with children from low-income families. It authorized federal grants to school districts in about 95 percent of the nation's counties. For fiscal 1966, the Congress authorized more than $1 billion.

The 1966 Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments raised authorized school aid to an estimated $2.4 billion in fiscal 1967 and $3.7 billion in fiscal 1968.

The biggest and most important part of the 1965 school aid bill, Title I authorized federal aid to the states for school districts with children from families on relief or with yearly incomes of less than $2,000. The 1966 legislation raises the low-income factor to $3,000, effective for fiscal 1968, and allocates funds on the basis of the number of children from low-income or relief families times 50 percent of each state's average expenditure per school child or 50 percent of the national average per pupil expenditure, whichever is higher. The funds can be used in any way decided by local education authorities subject to approval by state and federal education agencies.

The 1965 school aid law also set up a five-year program of grants to the states to buy textbooks and library books for use in public and private non-profit elementary and secondary schools. For this purpose, $100 million was authorized in the first year, $125 million for fiscal 1967 and $150 million for fiscal 1968.

Another part of the bill was a five-year program of grants for supplementary community-wide education centers to expand local elementary and secondary education opportunities, to help "drop-outs" go back to school, to provide guidance and counseling, and for other community-wide education purposes. This program started with $100 million authorized the first year, $175 million for fiscal 1967 and $500 million for fiscal 1968.

On a roll call vote March 26, 1965 the House approved the basic elementary-secondary school aid bill.

Voting for aid to schools 263
(228 Democrats, 35 Republicans)

Voting against aid to schools 153
(57 Democrats, 96 Republicans)

The elementary-secondary school aid legislation was approved by the Senate 73-18 April 9, 1966 after the Senate rejected a number of crippling amendments, including a proposal by Sen. Peter Dominick (R-Colo.) to knock out the strong Title I formula for allocation of funds.

On a roll call vote April 8, 1965 the Senate voted to keep the low-income family formula for school aid.

Voting to keep the school aid formula 53
(43 Democrats, 10 Republicans)

Voting to weaken the school aid formula 38
(16 Democrats, 22 Republicans)

President Johnson signed the historic school aid bill April 11, 1965.

In the 1966 legislation, the 89th Congress increased school aid authorizations beyond the President's requests. The 1966 bill set up a new program of aid to handicapped children, liberalized require-

ments for federally impacted school districts to receive aid, and made other various changes.

Two changes reflected reactions to civil rights pressures. One prohibits federal requirements for assignment or transportation of students or teachers to overcome racial imbalance. The second was an attempt to prohibit the deferral of funds by the Office of Education until following hearings, there was an "express finding on record" of non-compliance with the requirements of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The House took three votes—103-60, 113-63, and 220-116—supporting an amendment by Rep. L. H. Fountain (D-N.C.) that would have outlawed the deferral of those school district funds. The "anti-busing" amendment passed by a 263-5 vote, and final passage of the 1966 school aid bill then carried by a 237-97 vote on Oct. 6. This action simply reaffirmed a provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The Senate passed its version of the school aid bill on the same day after adopting, by voice vote, an amendment by Senator Paul Fannin (R-Ariz.) prohibiting special consideration by the Commissioner of Education for projects dealing with "racial imbalance."

During the meetings of the Senate-House conference committee, the Fountain amendment was changed to permit the deferral of funds until hearing is held and a decision rendered. The conferees set a 90-day limit for this procedure. This final version of the Fountain amendment strengthened Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The conference committee report was approved by a Senate voice vote Oct. 19 and by a 185-76 House vote on Oct. 20, 1966.

Higher Education

A second major education breakthrough achieved by the 89th Congress, the Higher Education Act of 1965, authorized a college scholarship program and increased support for construction of college facilities. This legislation was further strengthened and improved in the 1966 session.

The AFL-CIO strongly supported the basic purpose of the new legislation, which will make it easier for children of low and middle income families to get a college education.

Most of the programs in the new higher education legislation had been recommended by President Johnson in his Jan. 12, 1965 education message to Congress. These programs attack the high cost of higher education and the resulting financial barriers to educational opportunity through a combination of federal scholarships, guaranteed loans, a broadened work-study program, and vastly increased financial support for construction of graduate and undergraduate college facilities.

The 1965 bill authorized $804 million for a wide variety of higher education programs. The 1966 bill authorized $3.4 billion over a three-year period for college construction grants and loans.

The new scholarship program was a "first" in the history of the Congress—the first federal scholarships for general undergraduate education. An estimated 140,000 new students will get scholarships each year for three years under the $70 million-a-year authorization. Continuation of a student's scholarship over a four-year period also was authorized without a specific limit on funds.

The guaranteed loan program, providing an estimated $42 million in interest subsidies, makes it possible for students to obtain private, federally-guaranteed, low-interest loans. Students from families with adjusted incomes of $15,000 or less a year will have the interest on their loans paid by the government while they continue their education. After completion of their education, students will pay only 3 percent interest. Students from higher income families will receive no interest subsidies, but will be eligible for the other provisions of the loan program.

The work-study program authorized in the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act was transferred to the U. S. Office of Education and vastly broadened through the elimination of the poverty requirement for eligibility. The law authorized for the work-study program $129 million for fiscal 1966, $165 million for fiscal 1967, and $200 million for fiscal 1968.

Other parts of the higher education legislation provide:

- Increased authorizations under the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 for construction of undergraduate academic facilities to $460 million in fiscal 1966, to $475 million in fiscal 1967, to $728

million in fiscal 1968, and to $936 million in fiscal 1969; also, for construction of graduate and undergraduate facilities, $260 million in fiscal 1967, $520 million in fiscal 1968, and $520 million in fiscal 1969.

- Aid to "community service programs" of colleges and universities to expand federal extension and adult education activities, with emphasis on urban problems.
- Improved college library resources through matching grants and supplemental non-matching grants.
- Aid to "developing institutions"—including two-year technical colleges—that require financial assistance to survive.
- Establishment of a National Teachers Corps to raise the quality of teaching in poor, slum areas.
- Authorization of two-year fellowships for persons teaching, or planning to teach, in elementary and secondary schools.
- Improvement in college classroom instruction through matching grants for laboratory and other equipment.

The House passed the 1965 higher education bill 367-22 on Aug. 26, 1965. The Senate passed a higher education bill with major amendments and additions on Sept. 2, 1965. The House approved the conference committee compromise bill 313-63 on Oct. 20, 1965 after rejecting 226-152 a Republican recommittal motion to knock out the National Teacher Corps program. The Senate accepted the conference report on higher education Oct. 20, 1965 by voice vote.

In the 1966 session, the House passed higher education legislation without opposition by voice vote on May 2, 1966. The Senate passed a similar but more general college construction assistance bill by voice vote on Oct. 10, 1966. The vote followed Senate rejection of cloture on an unrelated amendment by Senator Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) to allow "home rule" self-government in the District of Columbia.

The final 1966 higher education bill was approved Oct. 21, 1966 by a 223-13 House vote and by a Senate voice vote.

It authorized $3.6 billion over a three-year period for grants and loans to help build college facilities, to help small, poor, "developing" colleges, and to enlarge existing student loan programs. One provi-

sion of the bill added "industrial arts" to the list of critical subjects for which the National Defense Education Art provides funds to help improve instruction.

Library Services and Construction

The 89th Congress continued the Library Services and Construction Act of 1964 with a total of $700 million authorized for a four-year period.

The 1966 library bill will help public libraries buy books and equipment and will help pay for new construction and repairs. It contains new programs of support for interlibrary cooperation, specialized services to state institutions, and aid for handicapped.

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, in its report on the bill, expressed concern about rising book prices, and asked further study of this problem by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The House passed the library bill 336-2 June 2. The Senate passed a similar bill June 22, and the House agreed to the Senate version June 28, 1966.

Vocational School Loans

To help post-high school students at trade, technical, and vocational schools, the 89th Congress passed the National Vocational Loan Insurance act.

The bill, passed June 21, 1965, by the House and Sept. 28, 1965, by the Senate, authorizes up to $75 million a year in loan insurance and interest subsidy payments to students from low and middle income families. The bill allows insured loans up to $1,000 a year with a limit on the unpaid principal of $2,000 per student.

Vocational Rehabilitation

A major overhaul and expansion of the federal-state vocational rehabilitation program was enacted by the 89th Congress. The 1965 amendments are expected to raise the number of disabled people rehabilitated for jobs from 135,000 to 200,000 a year.

The 1965 legislation continues and expands existing programs, increasing the federal share in the basic federal-state vocational rehabilitation program from a 50-70 percent range to 75 percent for all states by fiscal 1967. It authorizes for allocation to the states $300 million in fiscal 1966, $350 million in fiscal 1967, and $400 million in fiscal 1968.

Cold War G.I. Bill

Veterans' readjustment benefits similar to those provided for veterans of World War II and the Korean War are provided in the "Cold War G.I. Bill," approved by the 89th Congress. Enactment of this legislation, long sought by the AFL-CIO, was a major achievement of the 89th Congress.

The new law offers a tremendous opportunity to young veterans to advance their education and training for jobs, and it authorizes home loans and home loan guarantees for veterans. Full-time student veterans will get $100 a month in education benefits, $125 if he has one dependent, and $150 if he has two or more dependents. Part-time students will get scaled-down benefits. The law does not include apprenticeship courses or on-the-job training. Legislation to remedy this defect is expected in 1967.

The Senate passed the "Cold War G.I. Bill" sponsored by Senator Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex.) by a 69-17 vote on July 19, 1965. The House passed similar legislation 381-0 on Feb. 7, 1966 and the Senate accepted the House version 99-0 on Feb. 10.

Veterans' Disability Benefits

For veterans with service-connected disabilities and their dependents, Congress in 1965 raised monthly benefits by an average 10 percent, with the biggest increases going to veterans who are 50 percent or more disabled.

Federal Employees' Compensation for Injury

Significant improvements in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act were approved by the 89th Congress in 1966. This law is particularly important because many states use it as a model for workmen's compensation legislation.

The most significant feature of the 1966 legislation was the provision which tied benefit increases to cost-of-living changes reflected in the Consumer Price Index.

The 1966 law also raised the limit on disability and survivor benefits for disabled federal workers and their families. Benefits payable for dependent children or orphans are continued until the child finishes full-time education or reaches age 23, whichever is sooner.

The House passed this legislation March 7. The Senate passed a similar bill June 16, and the House agreed to the Senate version June 21, 1966.

Mine Safety

The 89th Congress enacted legislation to assure safe and healthy working conditions for workers in metal and non-metallic mining. In the past, only coal mining operations were subject to health and safety regulation.

The House passed a metal and non-metallic mine safety bill, sponsored by Rep. James O'Hara (D-Mich.) by voice vote Sept. 2, 1965. The Senate passed an amended version 57-18 on June 23, 1966. In conference, a generally satisfactory bill was agreed to, and the conference committee report was approved Aug. 31, 1966 by

voice votes in the House and Senate. President Johnson signed the bill into law on September 16, 1966.

The metal and non-metallic mine safety bill, as finally approved gives the Bureau of Mines authority to prescribe health and safety rules and to enforce them through a system of mine inspections. The bureau may approve safety programs set up by states and cooperate with states in mine inspection and safety enforcement.

Auto Safety-Highway Safety

Two major safety laws aimed at cutting down automobile deaths on the nation's highways were approved by the 89th Congress.

An auto safety bill, approved in 1966, calls for federal motor vehicle safety standards to be set by the Secretary of Commerce for automobiles, trucks, and buses. Preliminary standards take effect January 31, 1967 and revised standards take effect January 31, 1968.

The auto safety bill authorizes federal tire standards with grading and labeling requirements. It also authorizes a national driver register service listing the names of drivers whose permits have been suspended or revoked.

The Congress also approved a three-year $322 million highway safety bill to reduce traffic accidents. The traffic safety grant program requires states to set up a federally approved highway safety program by December 31, 1968 or lose 10 percent of the state's federal aid highway funds.

The Senate passed the auto safety bill 76-0 June 24, 1966. The House passed a similar bill 371-0 August 17, 1966. The Senate-House conference report was approved August 31, 1966.

The Senate passed the highway safety bill by voice vote June 24, 1966. The House passed a similar bill 317-3 August 18, 1966. The conference report was approved August 31, 1966 by the House and September 1, 1966 by the Senate.

Truth in Packaging

A long, hard-fought battle between consumer groups and business interests in the 89th Congress finally produced a modest step forward toward better protection for consumers.

To stop deceptive, misleading packaging which boosts family shopping budgets, the AFL-CIO has long contended that strong "truth in packaging" legislation is necessary.

The 1966 law, weakened from earlier legislative proposals favored by pro-consumer groups, capped a five-year campaign. The law provides:

- Manufacturers must label accurately and prominently the contents and net quantity in ounces of a package.
- Amounts contained in servings must be labeled.
- Definitions can be established for such size terms as "small," "medium" and "large."
- Misleading measures like "jumbo quart" or "big ounce" are forbidden.
- Unnecessary "slack fill" is forbidden.
- "Cents-off" and "economy" claims can be regulated.
- The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (using the Food and Drug Administration) and the Federal Trade Commission have authority to issue regulations to carry out the law.
- The Secretary of Commerce is to encourage voluntary action by manufacturers to standardize package weights and quantities on a product line basis.
- If the voluntary approach doesn't work, the Secretary of Commerce must report the situation to Congress together with his recommendations as to whether Congress should enact new legislation to deal with the problem.

The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Anti-trust and Monopoly held hearings on deceptive packaging in 1961, 1962, and 1963. The subcommittee's 1964 report called for passage of a "truth in packaging" bill sponsored by Senate Philip Hart (D-Mich.). In 1965 Senator Hart revised his bill to take the bill out of the jurisdiction of the conservative Judiciary Committee. The Senate Commerce Committee held hearings on the Hart bill in 1965 but took no further action that year.

In 1966 President Johnson's consumer message to Congress repeated his earlier requests for congressional action on "truth in packaging." The Senate Commerce Committee reported an amended

version of the Hart bill May 25 and the Senate passed it, with minor changes, by 72-9 on June 9. The Senate bill allowed the federal government to set standards for weights and quantities in packages.

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee—after considerable intra-committee filibustering and maneuvering, and under tremendous pressure from business groups opposed to "truth in packaging"—unanimously approved a watered-down bill on Sept. 22. The bill, no longer controversial, was brought up on the House floor under suspension of the rules, a procedure that requires at least a two-thirds vote. The House passed the bill 300-8 on Oct. 3. This bill left weight and quantity standardization to voluntary action by manufacturers.

Industry pressures continued, and, with the adjournment of the 89th Congress approaching, Senate leaders decided to take the House version. The House approved the conference report 242-6 on Oct. 17 and the Senate agreed by voice vote Oct. 19, 1966.

Electric Power Rates

Legislation sponsored in 1965 by Sen. Spessard Holland (D-Fla.) and Sen. George Smathers (D-Fla.) would have sharply raised electric power costs to consumers. The AFL-CIO and consumer groups strongly opposed this proposal. The Holland-Smathers bill would have seriously restricted Federal Power Commission authority over wholesale electric power rates, turning over much FPC authority to state regulatory bodies. This would have opened up opportunities for rate-gouging of consumers by private power companies.

On July 1, 1965 the Senate Commerce Committee refused 10-9 to report the Holland-Smathers bill out for Senate floor action, but similar legislation in the House was approved by a subcommittee for 1966 action by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

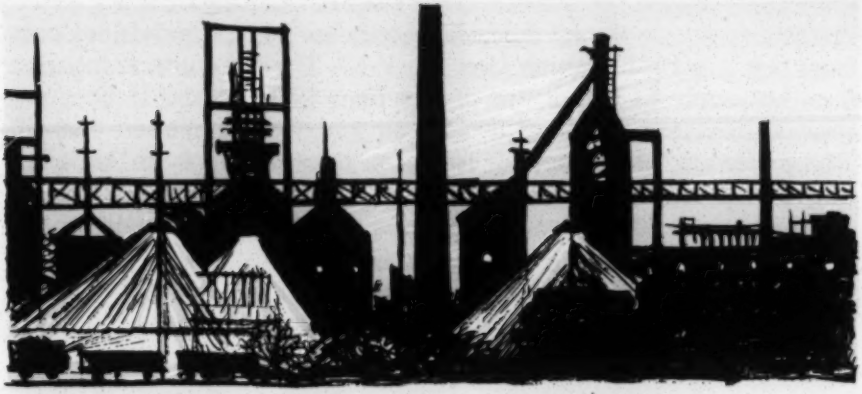
However, the bill was never brought up before the full House committee, and there was no further action in the 89th Congress.

Arts and Humanities

To encourage and support their growth and development, the 89th Congress set up a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to provide federal aid for the visual and performing arts and for the humanities. Grants would go to groups and individuals working in the arts and humanities.

The bill, which authorizes $63 million over a three-year period for these purposes, was passed by voice vote in the Senate on June 10, 1965 and by voice vote in the House on Sept. 15, 1965.

The AFL-CIO supports this legislation, which protects and enhances wages, working conditions, and job opportunities of professional union artists, craftsmen, and technicians.



EMPLOYMENT AND THE ECONOMY

Investment Tax Credit

To curb the inflationary business investment boom in 1966. The 89th Congress suspended for 15 months the 7 percent investment tax credit on business buying of machinery and equipment. The Congress also suspended certain methods of accelerated depreciation of industrial and commercial buildings.

The AFL-CIO strongly supported President Johnson's Sept. 8, 1966 anti-inflation proposal to suspend the investment tax credit and accelerated tax write-off provisions. The one-sector capital goods boom was creating localized inflationary pressures in a few industries and in a few areas. The AFL-CIO also pointed out that the unbalanced, excessive, capital goods investment boom was raising the economy's productive capacity faster than the overall increase in the demand for goods and services.

In addition to lowering the buying power of workers' take-home pay, profit inflation has contributed to federal high-interest, tight-money policies causing cut-backs in residential construction and in state and local goverment borrowing for construction of needed public facilities, the AFL-CIO declared.

Unfortunately, the Congress weakened the effectiveness of the

President's original proposals. The 1966 law suspends the 7 percent investment tax credit and the accelerated depreciation provisions only from Oct. 10, 1966 through Dec. 31, 1967. The tax credit suspension does not apply to investment of less than $20,000 and it does not apply to investment in facilities for air and water pollution control. The accelerated depreciation suspension does not apply to buildings valued at $50,000 or less. Moreover, a "sweetener" provision broadens the investment tax credit when it is reinstated Jan. 1, 1968.

The House passed the investment tax credit suspension bill 221-118 on Sept. 30 and the Senate passed similar legistration 38-19 on Oct. 14. The Senate-House conference committee report was approved by a 161-76 vote in the House Oct. 20, and by a Senate voice vote Oct. 21, 1966.

Excise Taxes, Tax Withholding

In 1965 the AFL-CIO had urged a first-step excise tax cut of about $2 billion in excise taxes that hit low and middle income families hardest and urged that the full savings from these tax cuts be passed on to consumers through lower retail prices.

The AFL-CIO also asked an end to income taxes on families with income under $3,000 and individuals with income under $1,500 a year and urged a higher minimum standard deduction to help low income taxpayers. These proposals were not included in the 1965 tax cut bill passed by Congress.

The 1965 excise tax cut approved by the 89th Congress was to take effect in five stages. It was aimed at cutting excise taxes by $4.7 billion by 1969.

The House passed the excise tax cut bill 401-6 on June 2, 1965 and the Senate passed the bill 84-3 on June 15, 1965. As recommended by the AFL-CIO, the President directed the Council of Economic Advisors to report whether the excise tax cuts were passed on to consumers.

In 1966 the 89th Congress passed tax legislation designed primarily to provide more federal revenue to pay for the war in Viet Nam.

The 1966 tax bill, expected to raise $4.8 billion in fiscal 1967, sets up a graduated system of federal income tax withholding without changing existing income tax rates, speeds up corporation tax payments into the calendar year the corporation income was earned, stopped scheduled cuts in automobile and telephone excise taxes and postponed further scheduled cuts in these taxes until April 1, 1968, and sets new prohibitions against income tax deductions for the cost of advertisements in political publications and for the cost of tickets to political dinners or political programs.

The House passed the 1966 tax increase bill 246-146 on Feb. 23 and the Senate passed the bill 79-9 on March 9. The final bill included a payment of $35 a month for persons 72 years and older who were not eligible for social security benefits. (See Medicare-Social Security, Expansion of Eligibility.)

Area and Regional Development

Aid for the Appalachia region and a regional public works-development program were two important programs adopted in 1965. Both will accelerate the federal effort to increase job opportunities in chronically depressed sections of the country.

The bill to alleviate poverty in the Appalachia region was the first major bill to clear the 89th Congress. It authorizes the expenditure of $1.1 billion in federal funds over the next six years to help the entire 11-state Appalachia region.

The aims of the Appalachia program include ending the isolation of the region through a vast program of highway construction, building health facilities and vocational schools, land improvement, the reclamation of mining areas and the development of timber and water resources. The bill also establishes an Appalachian Regional Commission—representing the federal government and all of the states involved—to prepare an economic redevelopment plan for the 360-county area, and to coordinate the projects authorized by the bill.

On a roll call vote February 1, 1965 the Senate passed the Appalachia aid bill.

Voting for the Appalachia bill 62

(51 Democrats, 11 Republicans)

Voting against the Appalachia bill 22
(7 Democrats, 15 Republicans)

The Senate-passed bill was approved by the House without amendment after a 323-100 defeat of a Republican effort to cut back funds for the Appalachia program.

On a roll call vote March 3, 1965, the House passed the Appalachia aid bill.
Voting for the Appalachia bill 257
(232 Democrats, 25 Republicans)
Voting against the Appalachia bill 165
(56 Democrats, 109 Republicans)

The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965—the successor to the 1961 Area Redevelopment Act—insures continuing aid for distressed urban and rural areas and Indian reservations in all parts of the country. The bill authorizes more than $3 billion over a five-year period for industrial and commercial loans, public facility loans and grants, technical assistance and for other purposes.

The regional public works-development program makes possible establishment of development districts through which economic planning can proceed on a multi-county basis wherever feasible. The bill also provides for "regional action planning commissions" for multi-state regional redevelopment efforts—comparable to the Appalachia program—when such joint action is needed.

The Senate passed the area public works-development bill 71-22 on June 1, 1965 after defeating an amendment by Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) to cut the yearly authorization for public works and development facilities grants from $400 million to $325 million.

On a roll call vote June 1, 1965 the Senate rejected the Republican effort to weaken the area public works-development aid bill.
Voting for a stronger area aid bill 53
(51 Democrats, 2 Republicans)
Voting to weaken the area aid bill 31
(5 Democrats, 26 Republicans)

The House passed the area aid bill 246-138 on Aug. 12, 1965 after rejecting a motion by Rep. Cramer (R-Fla.) to weaken the bill by striking out federal loans and guarantees for purchase or development of land and facilities.

On a roll call vote August 12, 1965 the House defeated the Republican effort to weaken the area public works-development bill.

Voting for stronger area aid bill 224
(214 Democrats, 10 Republicans)
Voting to gut the area aid bill 163
(48 Democrats, 115 Republicans)

An amendment offered by Rep. B. F. Sisk (D-Calif.) to increase the number of areas eligible for aid was accepted by a 196-194 vote before final passage.

On a roll call vote August 12, 1965 the House voted final passage of the area public works-development bill.

Voting for the area aid bill 246
(215 Democrats, 31 Republicans)
Voting against the area aid bill 138
(45 Democrats, 93 Republicans)

War on Poverty

The 89th Congress continued the "war on poverty" program started in 1964, but made some changes in the controversial anti-poverty program in 1965 and again in 1966.

In 1965 the Congress authorized $1.7 billion and appropriated $1.5 billion for anti-poverty action in fiscal 1966. It also made numerous liberalizing changes in the program. The existing state governors' veto power, a "states' rights" provision in the original 1964 legislation, was continued, but the 1965 anti-poverty bill authorized the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to override a veto.

In 1965 Rep. Albert Quie (R-Minn.) proposed a motion to slash anti-poverty funds and to keep state governors' absolute veto power over certain anti-poverty programs in their states.

On a roll call vote July 22, 1965 the House rejected the Republican motion to weaken the anti-poverty program.

Voting for a better, stronger anti-poverty bill 227
(214 Democrats, 13 Republicans)

Voting to weaken the anti-poverty program 178
(57 Democrats, 121 Republicans)

After defeat of the Republican weakening recommit motion, which would have cut fiscal 1966 funds from $1.7 billion to $947 million the House passed the 1965 anti-poverty bill by a 245-158 vote.

In the Senate, the "states' rights" fight continued. A key vote came on an amendment by Sen. Paul Fannin (R-Ariz.) to strike out authority for the OEO director to overrule a state governor's veto.

On a roll call vote August 17, 1965 the Senate, by a tie vote, rejected the Fannin "states' rights" amendment to the anti-poverty bill.

Voting to protect anti-poverty plans against vetoes by state governors 45
(43 Democrats, 2 Republicans)

Voting to weaken anti-poverty plans with veto power for state governors 45
(16 Democrats, 29 Republicans)

The Senate voted approval 61-29 for the 1965 anti-poverty bill, including the provision to repeal the governors' veto power over community action and other anti-poverty programs.

However, a Dixiecrat-Republican alliance in the House forced acceptance of the House-pased bill's veto provisions. On Sept. 15, by a 209-180 vote, the House approved a recommittal motion by Rep. William Ayres (R-Ohio). The Ayres motion gave House conferees instructions to insist on keeping the existing state governors' veto over certain anti-poverty programs. Senate-House conferees

then accepted the House version of the veto provision, which continues the veto power but allows the OEO director to override a state governor's veto.

In 1966 the Congress authorized $1.75 billion and appropriated $1.5 billion for anti-poverty activities in fiscal 1967. For the first time, the Congress earmarked funds for various programs like the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, and Operation Head Start.

Other provisions of the 1966 bill would start neighborhood health centers, cut off anti-poverty funds or services to anyone convicted of being involved in a riot, and require at least one-third of members of local community action boards be elected by poor people.

The House passed the 1966 anti-poverty legislation by a 210-156 vote on Sept. 29. The Senate passed a different version by a 49-20 vote on Oct. 4. The final compromise version was passed by voice vote in the Senate Oct. 18 and by a 170-109 House vote Oct. 20, 1966. Appropriations legislation including $1.5 billion for the fiscal 1967 anti-poverty program was then approved shortly before the end of the 1966 session on Oct. 22, 1966.

Unemployment Compensation

The 89th Congress failed to complete action on legislation to improve the nation's unemployment compensation system, as the House and the Senate passed widely differing UC bills.

Business groups worked actively and successfully to prevent enactment of effective legislation to establish minimum federal unemployment insurance standards supported by the AFL-CIO.

At present, unemployment insurance is compensating only one out of every five dollars workers lose through joblessness. In most states, unemployment insurance programs are inadequate, unfair, and discriminatory. Half the unemployed receive no benefits either because they work in uncovered jobs, or because their benefits have been cut off, or because they have been denied benefits under arbitrary rules and penalties. Some state programs provide no more than a token pittance to jobless workers, and many state laws are

written as if benefits were gifts by the employer conditioned on workers' good behavior.

In 1965 the House Ways and Means Committee held hearings on unemployment compensation proposals by President Johnson which were sponsored by Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.). Senator Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.) sponsored a companion bill in the Senate.

The AFL-CIO supported the McCarthy-Mills legislation which provided (1) minimum federal benefit standards for state unemployment benefit programs, (2) federal unemployment benefits to long-term jobless workers who exhaust eligibility for benefits under state plans, (3) extension of coverage to about 5 million additional workers, and (4) federal grants to states to cover two-thirds of unusually high payments of benefits in any year.

The House Ways and Means Committee reported a "completely unsatisfactory" UC bill on June 17, 1966. The committee bill failed to include federal standards, although it did extend coverage to about 3.5 million additional workers. The watered-down committee bill was passed by a 374-10 vote in the House on June 22.

The Senate Finance Committee Aug. 2 reported a UC bill containing federal standards but with very limited expansion of coverage. The Senate passed the UC bill on a 53-31 vote Aug. 8 after rejecting an effort to knock out federal standards. The key vote came on an amendment by Senator McCarthy to restore committee language providing that state maximum UC benefit amounts must be at least 50 percent of the jobless worker's previously weekly wage up to a maximum of 50 percent of the state's average weekly wage.

On a roll call vote Aug. 8, 1966 the Senate voted for federal standards for unemployment compensation benefits for jobless workers.

Voting for basic federal UC standards 45
(38 Democrats, 7 Republicans)

Voting against federal UC standards 36
(16 Democrats, 20 Republicans)

Although the Senate asked Aug. 8 for a Senate-House conference committee to produce a compromise UC bill, the House did not agree

to go to conference on the UC legislation until Oct. 12, as the end of the 1966 session was approaching. Anti-UC-reform lobbying by business groups increased in intensity in the final weeks of the session. When the conference committee refused to accept federal standards, the AFL-CIO urged that the pending UC legislation be scuttled. Thus, the 89th Congress ended without final action on unemployment compensation reform legislation.

Manpower Development

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 is aimed at training and retraining workers for available jobs. It set a new pattern of aid to jobless workers displaced by automation and technological change, to workers seeking to upgrade their skills and to unskilled, inadequately educated teenagers and older workers.

The 89th Congress took action to extend and expand the MDTA program in 1965 and again in 1966. These improvements aroused little controversy.

In 1965, the Congress continued the MDTA program for three years, with $454 million authorized for fiscal 1966.

The 1965 MDTA amendments continued 100 percent federal financing of training programs for an additional year, through June 30, 1966. Since then states have to pay 10 percent of training costs, except training allowances, which continue to be fully financed by the federal government.

The 1965 MDTA legislation also raised the maximum individual training period from one to two years with additional training allowances and benefits and brought Area Redevelopment Administration training programs under MDTA.

The 1965 MDTA was passed by a 76-8 vote in the Senate March 16 and by voice vote in the House April 1, 1965.

In 1966, again with little controversy, the Congress further improved the MDTA program.

The 1966 MDTA amendments added new programs which (1) help train and educate workers 45 years or older, and (2) provide

part-time courses to up-grade skills of employed and unemployed workers to ease critical skill shortages.

The 1966 bill also reduced requirements for training allowances, broadened eligibility for training programs, and authorized medical services for workers not eligible for training because of physical defects.

The 1966 bill was approved by voice votes in the House Sept. 19 and in the Senate Oct. 13, 1966.

Housing-Urban Development Department

In line with proposals by President Kennedy and President Johnson, the 89th Congress voted to set up a cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development. The AFL-CIO has long supported such action to give more adequate attention to the needs of big city urban areas.

On a roll call vote June 16, 1965 the House voted to set up the new department to help city people.

Voting for the new department 217

(208 Democrats, 9 Republicans)

Voting against the new department 184

(66 Democrats, 118 Republicans)

The House-passed bill transferred to the Secretary of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development all the functions, powers, and duties of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, the Public Housing Administration, and the Federal National Mortgage Association. The bill gave the Secretary various other activities relating to housing and urban affairs.

On a roll call vote August 1, 1965 the Senate voted for the new Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Voting for the new department 57

(47 Democrats, 10 Republicans)

Voting against the new department 33
(14 Democrats, 19 Republicans)

Transportation Department

The 89th Congress set up a new Department of Transportation as the 12th cabinet-level executive agency. The new department brings together major federal agencies and functions involving spending about $6 billion a year on safety and support for aviation, highways, railways, and pipelines.

The Transportation Department does not include the Maritime Administration, which continues in the Commerce Department. The AFL-CIO supported establishment of the Department of Transportation, but urged that the Maritime Administration be set up as an independent agency.

Regulatory and rate-setting functions remain in the Interstate Commerce Commission and other regulatory agencies. Urban transportation activities remain in the Department of Housing and Urban Development, but there is a possibility that some parts of the urban transportation program may be transferred to the new Transportation Department.

President Johnson proposed establishment of the Department of Transportation in a message to Congress March 2, 1966. The House Government Operations Committee on July 15, 1966 approved a revised version of the President's proposal which had been worked out in a subcommittee headed by Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.).

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, headed by Rep. Edward Garmatz (D-Md.), on Aug. 8, 1966 approved for House floor action a bill to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration. The AFL-CIO and its affiliated maritime unions supported this bill, but there was no further action on it in the 89th Congress.

However, when the Transportation Department bill came up for House floor action, Garmatz proposed an amendment to exclude maritime activities from the new department, and the House passed the Garmatz amendment 261-117 on August 30, 1966. The House then went on to pass the bill 336-42.

The Senate on Sept. 29 passed a different version of the Transportation Department bill by a 64-2 vote. The Senate bill put the Maritime Administration into the new department but gave it final authority in certain areas: (1) maritime subsidy payments and (2) certain other important maritime decision-making functions involving public hearings.

In the final Senate-House conference committee bill, approved Oct. 13, 1966, the Maritime Administration was completely removed from the Department of Transportation. It remains under the Secretary of Commerce.

Housing-Demonstration Cities

A major accomplishment of the 89th Congress was passage of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966.

The key feature of this omnibus bill was a $900 million "demonstration cities" plan to rebuild entire urban areas in some 60 to 70 cities by pulling together existing urban renewal activities and other federal aid programs into a coordinated attack on urban blight. The federal share could go up to 80 percent.

Another important feature of the bill was support for construction of facilities for group practice of medicine. This was a long-sought goal of the AFL-CIO. The bill authorizes FHA mortgage insurance for construction of buildings or for equipment in buildings for group practice of medicine, dentistry, or optometry.

Other significant new programs in the omnibus bill were (1) federal land development mortgage insurance for "new towns," (2) incentive grants for comprehensive metropolitan planning, (3) new federal "metropolitan expediters" to help local city governments at their request, and (4) urban information centers to help cities under 100,000 population.

The Senate passed an omnibus housing bill 61-3 on Aug. 12, 1966 and passed a separate "demonstration cities" bill 53-22 on Aug. 19. The House Banking and Currency Committee reported a combined version of the Senate legislation Sept. 1.

On a roll call vote Oct. 14, 1966 the House voted to defeat a Republican motion to kill the "demonstration cities" part of the 1966 omnibus housing bill.

Voting for the "demonstration cities" program 175
(164 Democrats, 11 Republicans)

Voting against the "demonstration cities" program 149
(64 Democrats, 85 Republicans)

The House then went on to pass the omnibus 1966 housing bill by a 178-141 vote. The House-passed bill included language, accepted by floor managers for the bill, which made a specific declaration that nothing in the bill would require forced busing of school children or any change in the neighborhood concept of schools. This language was included in the Senate-House conference committee report approved by the Senate 38-22 on Oct. 18 and by the House 142-126 on Oct. 20, 1966.

Housing-Rent Subsidies

The omnibus housing bill approved by the 89th Congress in 1965 was a significant step forward toward the housing goals of the AFL-CIO—a higher rate of housing construction to wipe out slums and to make available good homes at reasonable costs for all families in America.

One new, important, controversial, hard-fought feature of the omnibus bill was a rent supplement plan to help low-income families live in decent homes. The bill also authorized more than $7 million over a four-year period for a variety of programs, including existing programs of low-rent housing, urban renewal, middle-income housing, mortgage insurance, and housing for the elderly.

Before passing the 1965 omnibus housing bill, the House narrowly defeated a motion by Rep. James Harvey (R-Mich.) to kill the rent supplement provisions.

On a roll call vote June 30, 1965 the House defeated the Republican effort to kill the rent supplement plan to help low-income families.

Voting to keep rent supplements 208
(204 Democrats, 4 Republicans)

Voting to kill rent supplements 202
(72 Democrats, 130 Republicans)

This victory on the rent supplement issue was achieved after the supporters of the new plan agreed to limit payment of supplements to families whose income were low enough to make them eligible for public housing. Under the plan, an eligible person would pay for rent an amount equal to 25 percent of his income and the rent supplement would cover the rest. The House voted final passage of the omnibus housing bill, including the rent supplement plan, by a 245-169 vote on June 30, 1965.

The Senate passed the housing bill 54-30 on July 15 after defeating an anti-rent supplement proposal by Sen. John Tower (R-Tex.) by a 47-40 vote.

The Senate also passed by voice vote an amendment by Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R-Calif.) to broaden Davis-Bacon prevailing wage requirements to cover new programs authorized by the 1965 bill. Senator Wallace Bennett (R-Utah) tried to limit the effect of the Kuchel amendment to federally aided residential buildings for the use of 12 or more families. The Bennett amendment was defeated.

On a roll call vote July 14, 1965 the Senate voted for stronger Davis-Bacon prevailing wage protections.

Voting right on Davis-Bacon 51
(41 Democrats, 10 Republicans)

Voting wrong on Davis-Bacon 35
(16 Democrats, 19 Republicans)

The Senate went on to pass the 1965 omnibus housing bill by a 54-30 vote July 15, 1966.

For the rent supplement program, the final 1965 housing bill authorized $30 million in fiscal 1966, $35 million in fiscal 1967, $40 million in fiscal 1968, and $45 million in fiscal 1969. The Congress failed to provide funds in 1965 to get the rent supplement program

under way. Although the Senate voted 45-37 on Oct. 20, 1965 to provide $12 million in a supplemental appropriations bill, the House voted 185-162 to cut out the rent supplement funds. The House position prevailed in the final 1965 action on the supplemental appropriations bill.

In 1966 the Congress appropriated $12 million for the rent subsidy program in fiscal 1966 and $20 million for fiscal 1967, but this was achieved only after a series of close cliff-hanger votes.

One test vote came in the House on a recommit motion March 29, 1966 by Rep. Frank Bow (R-Ohio) to knock the $12 million rent subsidy appropriations out of the fiscal 1966 second supplemental appropriations bill.

On a roll call vote March 29, 1966 the House voted to put $12 million into the fiscal 1966 rent subsidy program.
Voting for rent subsidy funds 198
(192 Democrats, 6 Republicans)
Voting against rent subsidy funds 190
(65 Democrats, 125 Republicans)

The Senate narrowly upheld the $12 million rent subsidy appropriations against a move by its Appropriations Committee to knock this money out of the fiscal 1966 supplemental appropriations bill.

On a roll call vote April 27, 1966 the Senate voted to keep the $12 million fiscal 1966 rent subsidy program.
Voting for rent subsidy funds 46
(41 Democrats, 5 Republicans)
Voting against rent subsidy funds 45
(19 Democrats, 26 Republicans)

Thus, with close but favorable votes in both Senate and House, the first money for the 1965 rent supplement program was finally made available in 1966. But the fight over funds for the controversial program continued.

The House overruled its Appropriations Committee and restored $20 million for the rent subsidy program to the appropriations bill containing fiscal 1967 funds for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The action came on an amendment by Rep. Edward Boland (D-Mass.).

On a roll call vote May 10, 1966 the House voted to restore $20 million for fiscal 1967 rent subsidies to help poor families live in decent housing.

Voting for rent subsidies 192
(186 Democrats, 6 Republicans)
Voting against rent subsidies 188
(69 Democrats, 119 Republicans)

When the HUD fiscal 1967 appropriations bill reached the Senate floor, the rent subsidy funds again came under attack. Senator John Tower (R-Tex.) proposed an amendment to cut the $20 million rent subsidy funds out of the bill.

On a roll call vote Aug. 10, 1966 the Senate refused to cut fiscal 1967 rent subsidy funds.

Voting for rent subsidy funds 51
(43 Democrats, 8 Republicans)
Voting against rent subsidy funds 38
(16 Democrats, 22 Republicans)

Both the 1966 and 1967 appropriation bills had local control provisions which permit local government officials to block rent supplement projects which are not located in an urban renewal area.

Mass Transit

The 89th Congress continued and expanded federal aid for development of urban mass transportation.

In 1966 Congress extended the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 through fiscal 1968 and and 1969 with $150 million authorized for each year. The 1966 amendments to the 1964 mass transit aid legislation authorized new grant programs and stepped up support for research, demonstration, and development of new urban transportation systems.

Technical changes made in the labor protection provisions of the 1964 Act—Senator Harrison A. Williams (D-N.J.) and Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.) made clear in statements explaining the amend-

ments—did not in any way change the substantive requirements written into the 1964 law.

The Senate passed the 1966 amendments bill 65-18 Aug. 15, 1966 and the House passed a similar bill 236-127 Aug. 16. The final conference report was approved by voice vote in the Senate and by a 156-86 House vote Aug. 26, 1966.

High Speed Transportation

The 89th Congress enacted a new $90 million three-year program of aid for research and development of high speed transportation, particularly in the Washington-to-Boston "Northeast Corridor."

Protections for workers similar to the labor protection provisions included in the 1964 mass transit aid legislation were included in the high speed transportation research program.

The Senate passed the high speed transportation bill by voice vote on July 23, 1965 and the House passed an amended version 317-24 on Sept. 2, 1965. The conference committee version enacted later in September included the labor protections of the House-passed bill.

D.C. Rapid Transit

In 1965 the 89th Congress authorized construction of a $431 million, 25-mile rapid transit system for the District of Columbia. The system, to be operated through contracts with private concerns, included AFL-CIO-supported labor protections similar to those included in the 1964 mass transit aid law.

In the fiscal 1967 D. C. appropriations bill, approved near the end of the 1966 session, the Congress provided $4.5 million to get the D. C. rail transit construction under way. The regional transit system will serve Washington, D.C., and suburban areas in nearby Maryland and Virginia.

In 1966 the Congress gave its consent to the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority compact between Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. The compact makes possible coordi-

nated planning, financing and operation of the transit system by the WMATA in the local political jurisdictions.

Patent Policies

Research and development expenditures by the federal government have risen over the past decade from $3 billion to $15 billion. This enormous investment in research and development in both defense and non-defense activities, requires protection of the public interest against monopolization by a handful of giant corporations which receive nearly two-thirds of all federal funds.

The AFL-CIO, in 1965 patent policy hearings of the Senate Government Operations Committee, supported bills introduced by Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) and Sen. Philip Hart (D-Mich.). Their bills coincided with the AFL-CIO position that all patents developed by public funds should be in the public domain, the ownership retained by the United States, the contractor receiving a non-exclusive, royalty-free license and that the patent be available for use by other firms through cross-licensing procedures.

A "patent give-away" bill sponsored by Sen. John McClellan (D-Ark.) was approved by the Senate Government Operations Committee in 1966, but there was no floor action on the bill in the 89th Congress.

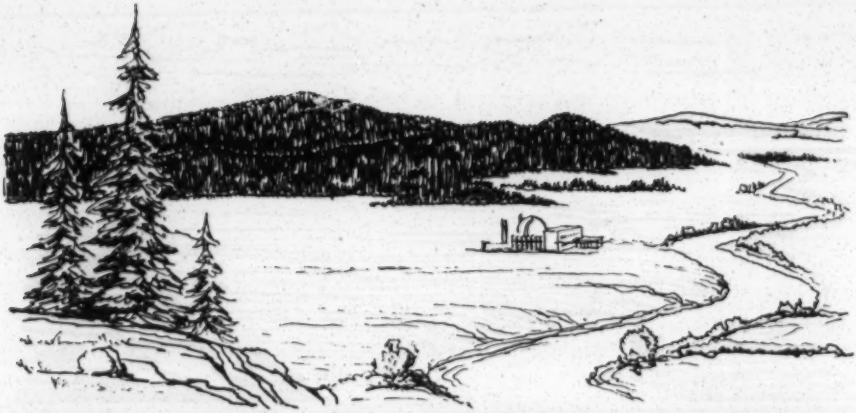
Wheat Shipping

A 1963 executive order by President Kennedy required that at least 50 percent of all surplus agricultural commodities sold to Soviet bloc countries—including wheat—must be transported in United States flag ships.

In 1965 the Senate Agriculture Committee voted Sept. 2 to add to the House-passed omnibus farm bill an amendment supported by some wheat-state senators to undercut and to end the 50-50 requirement.

The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions strongly opposed this amendment, which would have adversely affected job opportunities for longshore and maritime workers. A detailed statement of the AFL-CIO position by President George Meany went to all senators. On Sept. 10, 1965 the Senate struck out the anti-50-50 amendment by voice vote.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings later in September 1965 on the 50-50 executive order. Eleven members of the committee sent a letter Oct. 7, 1965 to President Johnson asking him to revoke the 50-50 requirement.



CONSERVATION AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Clean Water

The 89th Congress was the most important in the history of the nation's efforts to control and stop water pollution.

Two vitally important new "clean water" laws were approved by the 89th Congress. To back its 1965 support for effective new water quality standards, the Congress approved a massive $3.9 billion water pollution control program in 1966.

The first big breakthrough toward effective national standards for water purity came in the Water Quality Act of 1965. This law required states to set and enforce water quality standards for all interstate waters within their boundaries. If the states fail to do this or set inadequate standards by June 30, 1967, the federal government will move in to set and enforce effective water quality standards.

The 1965 law also liberalized and expanded the Federal Water Pollution Control Act by increasing federal grants-in-aid to municipal sewage treatment projects, helped local communities construct separated sewers, and established a new Federal Water Pollution Control Administration directly under an Assistant Secretary of HEW. The Congress appropriated $141 million for fiscal 1967 water pollution control grants.

The Senate passed this legislation 68-8 on Jan. 28, 1965. The House passed an amended version Apr. 28 by a 396-0 vote after committee action striking out the provision preserving U. S. title to federally financed patentable devices and the provisions for federal water quality standards. Although the patent provisions were omitted from the final Senate-House conference committee version, the standard-setting provisions were included.

The 1965 housing legislation approved by Congress authorized $700 million on a 50-50 matching basis for communities to improve their sewage collection systems. The 1965 regional economic development legislation approved by Congress allows 80 percent federal grants to localities in economically depressed areas for construction of sewage disposal plants and sewage collection.

In 1966 the 89th Congress followed up its breakthrough on water quality standards with a massive federal aid program of grants to stimulate state and local water pollution control activities.

The Clean Waters Restoration Act of 1966 vastly strengthens federal water pollution control enforcement. It authorizes $3.9 billion for federal anti-pollution programs over a five-year period, mainly for grants to local communities to build sewage treatment plants. It also contains incentives for states to help pay for local sewage treatment plants.

The Senate passed a six-year $6 billion water pollution control bill by a 90-0 vote July 13 and the House passed a five-year $2.5 billion bill 313-0 Sept. 30, 1966. The final $3.9 version was approved Oct. 7, 1966.

Clean Air

In 1965 and again in 1966 the 89th Congress passed legislation expanding support for programs to protect the nation's air resources. The Clean Air Act of 1963 had established for the first time a federal program to stop air pollution.

In 1965 the 89th Congress passed a bill to strengthen the Clean Air Act. The 1965 amendments provided for federal standards and enforcement over emissions from new gasoline powered motor vehicles, regulation of their sale or resale in interstate commerce, and

development of proposed federal standards for diesel driven vehicles by Sept. 1967.

The 1965 law put no deadline on application and enforcement of auto exhaust standards. However, on March 29, 1966 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued final standards which apply to most automobiles, starting with the 1968 models. Starting with 1967 models, autos bought by the federal government for civilian use must have exhaust control and various safety features.

Other provisions of the 1965 law supported accelerated research in cause and cure of pollution from gas and diesel powered vehicles; and a stepped-up two-year program of research and grants-in-aid to the states to help stop air pollution from solid wastes.

In 1966 the Congress further expanded the existing program of federal grants for state, local, and regional air pollution control activities.

The 1966 bill, which had no opposition, authorized $46 million for grants in fiscal 1967, $66 million for fiscal 1968, and $74 million for fiscal 1969. These funds will help start, maintain and improve air pollution prevention and control programs.

Park-Recreation Areas

Major achievements in preservation of national parks and recreation areas took place in the 89th Congress.

In addition to the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (see below), the 89th Congress authorized Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore in Michigan, Cape Lookout National Seashore in North Carolina, Guadalupe Mountain National Park in Texas, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area in Montana and Wyoming, Tocks Island National Recreation Area in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Spruce Knob-Seneca Rocks National Recreation Area in West Virginia, Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in California, and Assateague Island National Seashore in Maryland and Virginia.

The Congress also increased funds authorized for Point Reyes National Seashore near San Francisco, California, and authorized

Wolf Trap Farm Park in Virginia, 13 miles from Washington, D.C. Wolf Trap Farm Park will be the first national park devoted primarily to the performing arts.

Indiana Dunes

The 89th Congress approved establishment of an 11,000-acre Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore national park along the south shore of Lake Michigan.

The Indiana Dunes park will be available for swimming, sunbathing, hiking, picnicking, camping, photography, nature study, fishing, and other recreation uses by some 9.5 million people within a 100-mile radius around the Chicago-Gary (Ind.) area.

President Johnson's Feb. 8, 1965 message to the Congress on natural beauty gave special emphasis to the Indiana Dunes as worthy of preservation for future recreation use. Senator Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) led the fight for the Indiana Dunes park in the Senate, which passed the bill by voice vote June 21, 1965. House approval came next year near the end of the session by a 204-141 vote Oct. 14, 1966.

Highway Beautification

A "highway beauty" bill strongly supported by President Johnson was enacted by the 89th Congress in 1965. The new law authorizes the use of $80 million in federal funds over a two-year period to pay 75 percent of the cost of compensating billboard and junkyard owners for removal, screening, or landscaping.

If a state fails to comply with control requirements, the Secretary of Commerce can withhold 10 percent of the federal-aid highway funds to which the state would normally be entitled.

TVA Borrowing

To help expand Tennessee Valley Authority power development, the 89th Congress raised the existing $750 million TVA borrowing limit by $1 billion.

The $1 billion increase in the TVA revenue bond authority will finance power-generating and power-transmission facilities in the TVA area.

President Johnson proposed the bond ceiling increase May 20, 1966. Without opposition, the House approved the proposal by voice vote June 9 and the Senate passed it by voice vote July 27, 1966.

Dickey-Lincoln Power

Lower cost power for New England came closer as a result of action by the 89th Congress on the Dickey-Lincoln School project on the St. John River in Maine.

The first federal electric power project in New England, the Dickey-Lincoln project was included in the 1965 omnibus rivers-harbors-flood control bill, which authorized initial steps toward planning and construction of the $227 million project.

The Senate included the Dickey-Lincoln project when it passed the omnibus rivers-harbors authorization bill by voice vote July 27, 1965. However, on a roll call vote Sept. 22, 1965 the House voted 207-185 to eliminate the Dickey-Lincoln New England power project. Senate conferees stood firm on the Dickey-Lincoln project, and a Senate-House conference committee report including the project in the omnibus rivers-harbors bill was approved by Senate voice vote Oct. 19, 1965. The House accepted the conference report 221-139 on Oct. 20, 1965 after sponsors of the omnibus authorization bill pointed out that it provided projects in 240 congressional districts which might be lost if the conference report was rejected. The next day the House voted approval of a motion to add $800,000 for pre-construction planning of the Dickey-Lincoln School project in the 1966 supplemental appropriations bill.

On a roll call Oct. 22, 1965, the House voted to appropriate pre-construction planning money for the Dickey-Lincoln project.

Voting for lower New England power costs 166
(162 Democrats, 4 Republicans)

Voting against the Dickey-Lincoln project 162
(58 Democrats, 104 Republicans)

In 1966 the 89th Congress appropriated $1.1 million in additional planning funds as part of the 1967 public works appropriation bill.

In addition to generating "'federal yardstick" low cost hydro-electric power, thus stimulating the New England economy and opening up more job opportunities in the region, the Dickey-Lincoln project will directly create more than 3,300 jobs over a six-year period, according to AFL-CIO estimates.

Bonneville Power

The 89th Congress authorized construction of a $390 million third power plant at Grand Coulee Dam in Washington State. The new power plant will add 3.6 million kilowatts of capacity to the two million existing nameplate rating at Grand Coulee and will raise it again to its former position as the world's largest single hydro-electric project.

In the same bill, the Congress set basic accounting procedures for repayment of power project construction costs and of some irrigation project costs with sale of power by Bonneville Power Administration, which markets all power from federal dams on the Columbia River system.

The Senate passed the Grand Coulee bill June 16, 1965 without provisions setting Columbia River basin accounting procedures. The House added the accounting provisions to the bill April 19, 1966, and the Senate agreed to the House bill on June 2, 1966.

In other action, the 89th Congress approved an administration request for $1 million to start construction of the proposed Bonneville Power Administration's power line into Southern Idaho. This item was included in the fiscal 1966 public works appropriation bill finally approved by the House and Senate in October 1965.

Westlands Acreage Limits

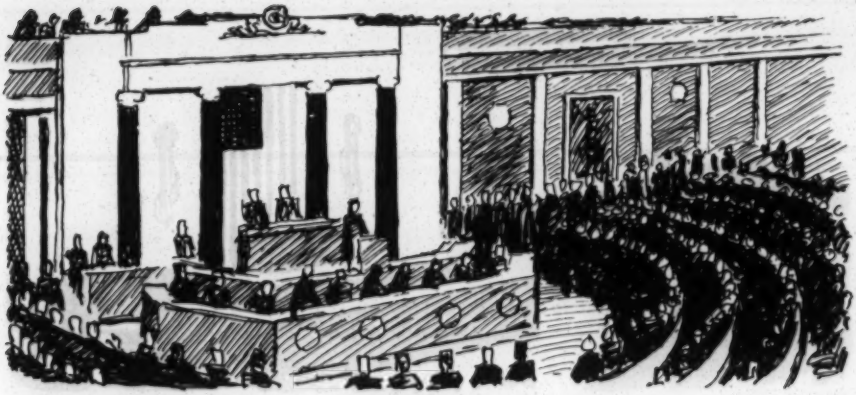
To promote private family-farm land-ownership, federal reclamation law limits landholding in federally irrigated areas to 160 acres.

However, in the Westlands Irrigation District in the Central Valley Project of California, 75 percent of the land is held in excess of the 160-acre limitation.

The AFL-CIO strongly urged that the 89th Congress insist on enforcement of acreage ownership restriction laws. The AFL-CIO called for withholding of appropriations for water-delivery system construction in the Westlands District until the giant landholders in the area signed recordable contracts, formal expressions of intent, to give up their excess landholdings.

However, in 1965 the only test vote on the acreage limitation was lost when the Senate by a vote of 50 to 24 defeated an amendment by Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) to cut $10 million for Westlands from a public works appropriations bill.

In 1966 the AFL-CIO, in testimony before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, again urged the Congress to take legislative action against monopolistic landholding in violation of federal reclamation law. However, there was no further action on this issue by the 89th Congress.



CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

House Rules Committee

The power of the House Rules Committee to block or delay liberal legislation stems from the need to set limits on debate and amendments to important, controversial legislation. The 435-member House needs rules on floor action to prevent a determined minority from killing legislation with prolonged debate on a multitude of amendments. Therefore, the Rules Committee sets the time and terms of debate by a "rule." If the Rules Committee fails to grant such a rule for a bill, the supporters of the bill have serious problems in getting the bill to the floor of the House for a vote on its merits.

In 1965, revolutionary limitations on the power of the Rules Committee were adopted by the House of Representatives. These curbs on the Rules Committee were made possible by the 1964 election of 51 new liberal congressmen, by the support of the Democratic leadership in the House, and by the support of the Democratic Study Group and its leadership.

On the first day of the 1965 session the House voted 224-201 to make three changes in House rules, two of the changes further

weakening the power of the House Rules Committee to block House action on liberal legislation. (1) A new "21-day rule" permits the Speaker to recognize a committee chairman or another member of the committee to bring up a bill for House action if the bill has been before the Rules Committee for 21 days without favorable Rules Committee action. HR 77, the bill to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law, was brought up July 26, 1965 under this new 21-day rule. (2) Another rule now enables a majority vote in the House to send a bill to conference. Previously, a single objection to sending the bill to conference required a two-thirds majority vote or House Rules Committee action. The Rules Committee could deny a rule and thus effectively kill a controversial bill. (3) The third rules change ended the ability of a single congressman to delay final action on a bill pending receipt of an "engrossed" printed, certified final copy of the bill as amended by floor action.

On a roll call vote January 4, 1965 the House approved changes weakening the power of the Rules Committee to block or delay liberal legislation.

Voting to curb the Rules Committee's power 224

(208 Democrats, 16 Republicans)

Voting against liberalizing rules changes 201

(78 Democrats, 123 Republicans)

In 1966 the conservative Dixiecrat chairman of the House Rules Committee, 86-year-old Congressman Howard Smith (D-Va.), went down to defeat in a Democratic primary contest. For years a leader of the conservative-Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in the House of Representatives, Smith often used his chairmanship of the Rules Committee to water down liberal social legislation or to prevent such legislation from reaching the floor of the House for a vote.

House Labor Committee Rules

The House Education and Labor Committee voted 27-1 on September 22, 1966 to curb the power of the committee chairman, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) and to give greater power to the committee majority and to subcommittee chairmen.

Committee chairmen in the Congress have been chosen on the basis of seniority. They normally have broad powers to dispose of legislation, to reward supporters and to punish opponents. The committee "revolt" stemmed from Chairman Powell's refusal to call up for House floor action several major bills approved by his committee, including anti-poverty and situs picketing legislation. The chairman's absenteeism and arbitrary dismissal of committee staff personnel were related issues in the "revolt."

Under the changed House Labor Committee rules, bills approved by subcommittees were to be scheduled automatically for a vote in the full committee. The full committee was to meet regularly each week. Subcommittee chairmen were authorized to call up their bills for action on the House floor if the committee chairman refused to do so.

The new rules also provided that (1) the ranking majority member would preside if the chairman were absent from a committee meeting; (2) the committee majority and not the chairman would create additional subcommittees, if more than the six standing subcommittees—with newly defined jurisdictions—were needed; (3) the chairman was required to refer all bills to the appropriate standing subcommittee unless the committee made some alternate decision; (4) the chairman should recommend to the Speaker as conferees on a bill the members of the subcommittee which considered the bill; (5) preparation of the committee budget would involve consultation with majority and minority members; and (6) standing subcommittees and the minority would control hiring and firing of their staffs.

The committee rules adopted September 22 were made effective for the remainder of the 1966 session but they were subject to renewal when the 90th Congress convenes in January 1967. Although Powell had initially attacked the rules reform sponsors and abstained from voting on the new committee rules, he hailed the new rules as "salutory and progressive," as "a very significant step forward," and he said he hoped other committees would "adopt rules such as mine."

Senate Filibuster

The AFL-CIO considers change in Rule 22 to be the most important single needed Senate rule reform. Rule 22 should be changed to provide that after sufficient discussion in which every senator is given ample opportunity to present his view, and every protection in extended to the minority, Senate debate can be concluded by a simple majority vote.

In the 89th Congress, Rule 22 continued to enable a minority to thwart the will of a majority. Rule 22 protects filibusters by requiring a two-thirds majority vote to invoke cloture and thus to break a filibuster.

The filibuster, often used by Southerners opposed to civil rights legislation, was also used successfully in the 89th Congress by an anti-labor Dixiecrat-Republican coalition opposed to repeal of Section 14(b). Advocates of changes in Rule 22 have long pointed out that it was just as serious a block to economic and social legislation as it has been to civil rights bills.

Early in the 1965 session Senate liberals renewed their fight to change Rule 22 to allow three-fifths of senators present and voting—instead of two-thirds—to cut off prolonged filibuster "debate."

Debate on the Rule 22 change started Jan. 6 and ended Jan. 8 when the reform proposals were referred to the Senate Rules Committee. The proposals referred were S. Res. 6, sponsored by Sen. Clinton Anderson (D-N.Mex.) amending Rule 22 to permit a three-fifths majority of senators present and voting to cut off debate and S. Res. 8, sponsored by Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), amending Rule 22 to allow a simple majority of the Senate membership to end a filibuster.

An exchange between Sen. Anderson and Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) made it clear that all existing rights to future action on the Rule 22 reform proposals would be protected by this maneuver. The Senate Rules Committee sent the reform proposals back to the Senate on March 9, 1965 with an adverse report. However, there was no further action by the Senate on Rule 22 during the 89th Congress.

Rule 22 was still in force May 25, 1965 when the Senate by a 70-30 cloture vote cut off a five-week Southern filibuster against the 1965 voting rights bill.

However, later in the 1965 session, when the anti-labor filibuster against repeal of Taft-Hartley Section 14(b) was under way, Majority Leader Mansfield's motion to cut off the one-week anti-repeal filibuster was defeated Oct. 11 with 45 senators voting for cloture and 47 senators voting against cloture. And in the 1966 session, another Mansfield motion to cut off a two-week anti-repeal filibuster failed, by a 51-48 vote, a majority for ending the filibuster but 15 votes short of the necessary two-thirds vote to invoke cloture.

In two other cloture votes the Senate again failed to break the anti-labor, anti-civil rights coalition filibuster which killed the 1966 civil rights bill. Although a majority supported the House-passed legislation, the majority was 10 short of the required two-thirds in the 52-42 vote Sept. 14, 1966, and in the 52-41 vote Sept. 19, 1966.

Change of Rule 22 should have high priority in the 90th Congress.

Congressional Reorganization

In 1965 the 89th Congress set up a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress to make studies and recommendations on organization and operations of the Congress. The committee was prohibited from making any recommendations about rules, parliamentary procedures, practices, and precedents of the Senate and House. The last major reorganization of Congress was the LaFollette-Monroney Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

The Senate approved establishment of the joint committee by an 88-0 vote Mar. 9 and the House approved it by voice vote Mar. 11. The committee, headed by Sen. Mike Monroney (D-Okla.) and Rep. Ray Madden (D-Ind.), received a wide range of suggestions at hearings in 1965.

A House Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) held hearings in August 1965 on President Johnson's proposal to lengthen the term of congressmen from two years to four years.

On July 21, 1966 the Joint Committee issued its report and recommendations. In its report, the Joint Committee declared that se-

lection of comittee chairmen by seniority was a custom, not a rule. Therefore a committee majority could disregard seniority in selecting a chairman, the report said. However, the Joint Committee made no recommendation on this point.

Major recommendations included:

- A proposed "bill of rights" for committees so that a majority of committee members could call meetings and require the chairman to report legislation. The "ultimate power" should be in the committee majority, the Joint Committee said. The "bill of rights" proposal would curb the power of a committee chairman to kill bills by refusing to call a meeting of his committee or by refusing to allow committee action on a bill.
- Opening committee sessions to the public to the "maximum extent possible," including radio-TV coverage.
- Division of the House Committee on Education and Labor into a Committee on Education and a Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Creation of a Senate Committee on Education with a corresponding change in the jurisdiction of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.
- Limiting senators' committee assignments — with existing assignments protected.
- Improved budget and fiscal controls, including greater participation by legislative committees in the appropriations process.
- Strengthened lobbying registration and disclosure requirements.
- Improved scheduling of the business of Congress, including a five-day workweek and an August recess if the Congress has not finished its business by July 31.
- Establishment of a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations to conduct a continuing study of the organization and operations of the Congress.

The Joint Committee made no recommendations on Senate Rule 22, the role of the House Rules Committee, the seniority system for selecting committee chairman, election laws and reporting of campaign contributions and spending, and the four-year term for House members.

Senator Monroney and Rep. Madden introduced bills incorporating the Joint Committee recommendations. However, there was no further action on the bills in the 1966 session.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 SIXTEENTH STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20006

GEORGE MEANY
President

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 7, No. 3 — January 16, 1967

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

Fred Ward for Black Star

More guns, less butter sought by President

President Johnson's message to the American people last week was "more guns and less butter," as he laid down a grim change of pace blueprint for waging war in Vietnam, seeking peace with Russia, and building a Great Society at home.

By asking for a war tax of 6 percent of a taxpayer's tax bill, the President took many by surprise who felt the economic urgency of a tax hike was gone. His bid to combine the Commerce and Labor departments startled both organized labor and businessmen alike.

The call for "less butter" was a political response to the much more conservative character of the 90th Congress, resulting from the loss of 47 Democratic House of Representatives seats in the 1966 elections.

But like those elections Johnson had something for everybody in the State of the Union message last week. The President spoke up firmly for continuing programs to expand education, health care, and to combat poverty, but at a slower pace than during the 89th Congress. He did not flick an eye in the direction of peace in Vietnam, only promising more Churchillian "sweat and agony."

"I recommend that we intensify our effort to give the poor a chance to enjoy and join in this nation's progress.

"I shall propose certain administrative changes suggested by the Congress—as well as some we have learned from our own trial and errors.

"I shall urge special methods and special funds to reach the hundreds of thousands of Americans that are now trapped in the ghettos of our big cities—and, through Headstart, to try to reach out to our very young little children. The chance to learn is their brightest hope and must command our full determination. For learning brings skills; and skills bring jobs; and jobs bring responsibility and dignity, as well as taxes."

—from President Johnson's State of the Union message, January 10, 1967

And he went out of his way to soothe any lingering Cold War bitterness between the U.S. and Russia so far as eastern Europe is concerned.

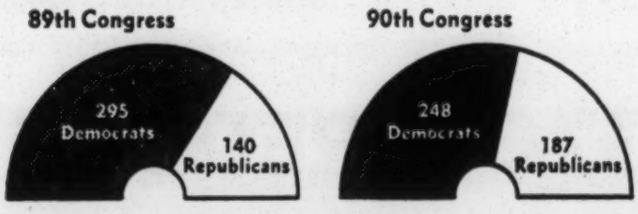
While Washington has been buzzing with speculation that U.S.-Vietnam peace talks may be underway, there was nothing new in the President's talk before a joint session of Congress last Tuesday night that could be called a new overture by our side.

President Johnson did not put a price tag on this year's batch of Great Society programs, but he clearly indicated he was in a mood to help Congress revamp and recast some of these programs. It has been assumed by most observers who try to read between the lines, that the Johnson administration will trim the cost of many Great Society programs—despite the urgency of them all.

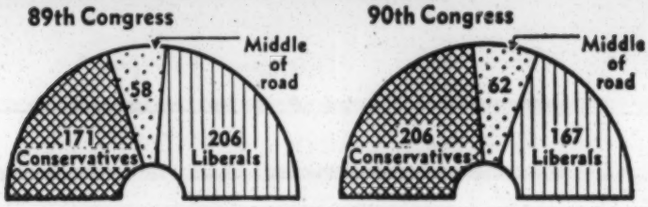
Johnson was hawkish on Vietnam, doveish on ending the Cold War, liberal on Great Society programs, and conservative on implementation of those programs. It was a preview of the mood, the pace, and the outlook for the next two years—and the first real impact of the 1966 election results.

Cause — Current Issues

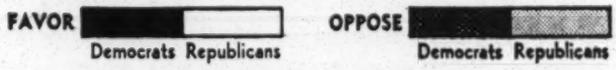
Change in Party Line-up



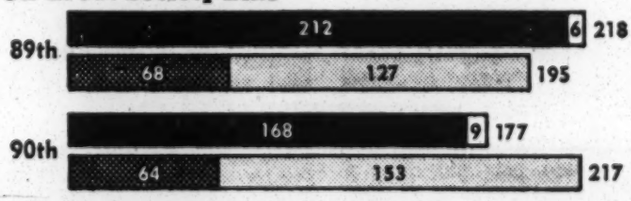
Strengthened Conservative Coalition



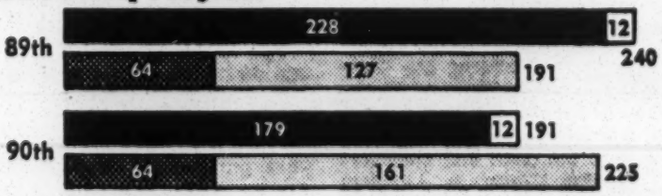
Congressional Quarterly, a non-government publication, has made a special study of the voting positions of incumbents and new members of the 90th Congress and compared them with the patterns of the 89th. In the Senate, where the Republicans gained only three seats, change was minimal. But in the House, where the G.O.P. gained 47 (top chart) the study found that the conservative coalition gained appreciably (chart above). This coalition is a traditional grouping of Republicans and Southern Democrats who generally resist expansion of social welfare programs. The effect of this shift on some of Johnson's major programs, as analyzed by Congressional Quarterly, is shown below.



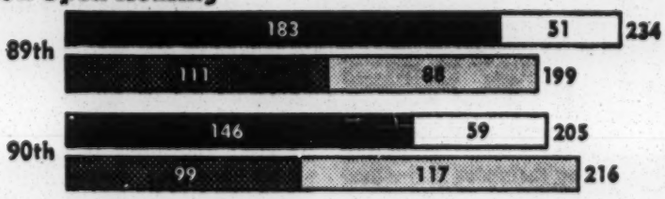
On Great Society Bills



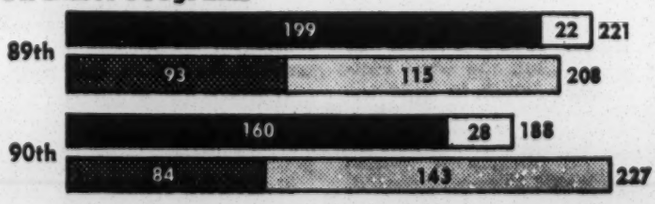
On Poverty Program



On Open Housing



On Labor Programs



New York Times charts

Highlights of President Johnson's State of the Union message to Congress:

Taxes: A 6 percent income tax increase on individuals and corporations. However, if approved by Congress, it probably would not become effective until July 1 and would not apply to income before that date. Exempt would be married persons whose "taxable income" (after exemptions and deductions) is under $2,000, and single persons whose taxable income is under $1,000.

Vietnam: U.S. participation in the Vietnam war to stop communist aggression and avoid paying "a far greater price" later. He could not predict when the war might end, and forecast **"more cost, more loss, more agony."**

Poverty War: Pledged intensified efforts **"to give the poor a chance to join the nation's progress"** by improving administration of existing programs, use of **"special methods"** and **"special funds"** to overcome social problems in America's city ghettos. Johnson also recommended full funds for the model cities program.

Arm Race and Defense: Called for international agreements to strengthen peace. But the President stressed that he considered his first responsibility to assure U.S. defenses so that **"no nation can ever find it rational to launch a nuclear attack or to use its nuclear power as credible threat against us or our allies."**

Trade: Congress should help U.S. commerce by passing an East-West trade bill and approving a consular agreement with the Soviet Union. Johnson also said he would propose creation of a single department of business and labor to combine functions of the Commerce and Labor Departments.

Communist China: Welcoming a China which could "respect her neighbors' rights," Johnson said that the United States would continue to hope for a reconciliation between Red China and the world community.

Foreign Aid: A special authorization from Congress for $200 million for East-Asian regional programs. Johnson also warned that the United States was "not prepared to see our assistance wasted" in conflict between India and Pakistan.

NATO: Called for maintaining NATO as an integrated common defense in Western Europe until such time as greater security can be achieved through arms control and disarmament agreements.

Budget: His budget for the next fiscal year will call for $135 billion in spending and revenues of $126.9 billion, leaving a deficit of $8.1 billion.

Crime: Urged Congress to approve funds for local programs to combat crime. Johnson said that his national crime commission had not uncovered all the answers, but promised the help of the national government.

Health: Extending medicare benefits to 1.3 million Americans who are permanently and totally disabled and are under 65.

Draft: Streamlining the draft. Johnson said that the national commission on selective service would shortly submit its report on the draft.

Social Security: An average increase of 20 per cent in social security benefits to the 23 million citizens receiving payments, with a raise of 59 per cent in minimum payments.

The last 3 years bear witness to our determination to make this a better country.

We have struck down legal barriers to equality.

We have improved the education of 7 million deprived children and this year alone we have enabled almost 1 million students to go to college.

We have brought medical care to older people that were unable to afford it. Three and one-half million Americans have already received treatment under medicare since July.

We have built a strong economy that has put almost 3 million more Americans on the payrolls in the last year alone.

We have included more than 9 million new workers under a higher minimum wage.

We have launched new training programs to provide job skills for almost 1 million Americans.

We have helped more than a thousand local communities to attack poverty in the neighborhoods of the poor.

We have set out to rebuild our cities on a scale that was never attempted before.

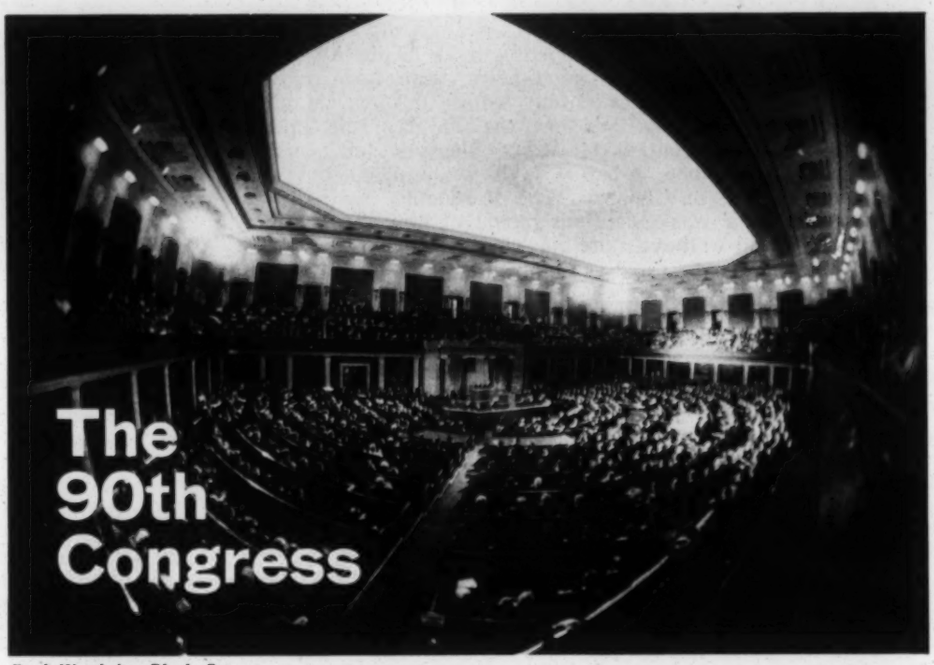
We have begun to rescue our waters from the menace of pollution and to restore the beauty of our land and our countryside and our cities and our towns.

We have given 1 million young Americans a chance to earn through the Neighborhood Youth Corps—or through Headstart—a chance to learn.

So together, we have tried to meet the needs of our people. And, we have succeeded in creating a better life for the many as well as the few. And now we must answer whether our gains shall be the foundations of further progress, or whether they shall be only monuments to what might have been—abandoned now by a people who lacked the will to see their great work through.

I believe that our people do not want to quit—though the task is great, the work hard, often frustrating, and success is a matter of days, or months, of years—sometimes it may be even decades.

But I have come here tonight to discuss with you five ways of carrying forward the progress of these last 3 years. And these five ways concern programs and partnerships and priorities and prosperity and peace.



Fred Ward for Black Star

Senate seeks majority will changing Rule 22

The United States Senate this week was on the verge of changing the filibuster rule which prevents a majority to express its will.

As the week began, the Senate had three propositions for changing Rule 22 (which requires two-thirds of Senators present and voting to stop debate):

- **Constitutional majority (51 Senators) to vote for cloture, ending debate, supported by an impressive bipartisan group;**
- Three-fifths of those present and voting (67 Senators if all 100 are present and voting, or 54 if only 90 Senators are voting);
- Constitutional three-fifths (61 Senators) majority of entire membership of 100 Senators.

The battlelines were drawn all week as the Senate sought a way to allow a majority of Senators to reach a vote. Last year's civil rights bill and repeal of 14-b banning union shop agreements were both killed by Rule 22, as presently written. Thus 34 Senators (one more than one-third of the Senate) can now keep and frequently have kept a bill from reaching a vote in the Senate.

Some 180 civil rights organizations in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights including the AFL-CIO and the UAW are presently working to attain "the constitutional majority" change in Rule 22, so 51 Senators could end debates.

Write Your Senator Today

Your own Senator should hear from you this week, asking his support of majority rule in ending Senate filibusters. Ask him to support constitutional majority of 51, ending Rule 22.

Rules should apply to all

The crying need in Congress is for a reform in rules that will accord equal treatment to *all* of its members.

The action Congress took against Adam Clayton Powell will be measured against the steps it now takes to establish a uniform code of ethics, standards of conduct and rules of procedure.

If Congress believes as we do, that a member should not use public funds for private activities, then this principle should be adopted as a rule of Congress and strictly enforced against *all* members.

If the Democrats in Congress believe, as we do, that seniority should not be controlling in determing committee chairmanships, then let them set standards of conduct for all committee chairmen and deny chairmanship to *all* who fail to live up to such standards.

For it has been a long-standing principle in our American democracy that *all* punitive action, whether in Congress, in the courts or elsewhere, should be based on established rules and standards and not on individual proscriptions.

We therefore call upon Congress to adopt a code of ethics for *all* of its members, to democratize its rules of procedure and to set standards of conduct for *all* committee chairmen.

—Statement of Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, January 12, 1967.

WEEKEND WRAPUP

It was a rough week—the opening week of the 90th Congress. There wasn't much good news. John Fogarty who guided billions for education and welfare through Congress died on opening day. We lost the 21 day rule in the House of Representatives. Many Negroes felt personally affronted when Adam Powell was singled out and denied his seat in Congress. The President's State of the Union message was a cautious recital of how the administration expects to move more gingerly through this Congress. And there were the usual rumblings of a possible sellout on Rule 22 in the Senate, where chances for getting genuine majority rule are better this time than ever before. . . . **The real bombshell,** from labor's standpoint and among business too, was Johnson's proposal to combine departments of Labor and Commerce. There are some statistical gathering functions of both which may overlap, but it's hard to see any justification for putting them under one roof. There's better case for combining Agriculture and Interior into Department of Natural Resources. . . . **John Fogarty's sudden death** was symbolic of troubles ahead for getting money from House Appropriations Committee to pay for education, health research and care, and other Great Society programs. Fogarty's subcommittee lost three stalwart members in elections. With Fogarty's loss and conservative makeup of House Appropriations Committee, it's going to be hellish trying to get money to take care of America's multiplying problems. . . . **Some moderate Republicans** elected last year claim to be problem-solvers and shy away from "conservative" or "liberal" labels—yet only 26 Republicans joined with 159 Democrats for total of 185 votes to keep 21 day rule in House, as against 232 conservative Democrats and Republicans who voted to abolish this rule. A handful of freshmen Republicans voted right on this question, but there were alarming signs the old Dixiecrat-Republican coalition was back in the saddle. . . . **Under Secretary of Labor John Henning** goes to New Zealand as U.S. ambassador in a reshuffling of Labor Department hierarchy. James Reynolds, Labor Department's top mediator, moves up as second in command to Willard Wirtz. . . . Another stab at getting **a fair housing bill** through Congress is scheduled by Administration, but nobody's sure what kind of bill President will seek this year. . . . **Truth-in-lending** which Sen. Paul Douglas tried so hard to win is having new lease on life under Sen. Bill Proxmire's tutelage. Proxmire has new approach which may find approval this year. Johnson gave it a plug in his State of the Union message, which'll help. . . . There was no call for any **tougher labor legislation** in President's message, unlike two years ago when LBJ asked for an emergency disputes law during New York subway strike. . . . New York's Sen. Javits left Senate Judiciary Committee so Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina could have a berth. He'll team up with Sen. Eastland of Mississippi to put the double-whammy on **judicial appointments** not to their liking. . . . Many southern Congressmen and Senators are elected and re-elected by **a handful of voters** in their states—but there was oddly no move to depose them or deny them a seat this year. Why? Why? Why? . . . Prof. Dick Wade of University of Chicago writing in current issue of *The Reporter* blames white backlash spurred on by Illinois Republicans and now Sen. Percy for **defeat of Sen. Paul Douglas.** Wade makes devastating case showing how Percy's campaign strategy *"offered Negro voters a pledge on open occupancy while promising to protect white neighborhoods from Negro incursions."* What Percy really stood for, but never said or was confronted with, was locking the ghetto doors so Negroes could never escape. Douglas never minced words, never trimmed his convictions, while Percy in words of Douglas raised *"vacillation to the level of moral principle,"* being all things to all people. . . . There'll be hot debate at "Tight Money Crisis" conference next week between Leon Keyserling and top economist of U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Many UAW and other labor people will attend. **UAW Vice President Pat Greathouse** is among rally sponsors. . . . **New York's Cong. Ben Rosenthal** comes up with idea for "info-tags" modelled after Swedish custom, giving consumers information on durability of rugs, how long coffee pots take to percolate, that sort of thing. . . . How many strikes did we have, what did they cost? U.S. Department of Labor notes **strike idleness averaged 0.16 percent** of total working time during whole 1960-1966 period—that's half what it was during 1950's when annual loss came to 0.32 percent. Chicago Tribune please copy.

"Tight Money Crisis"

A national action conference on the effects of high interest rates and "tight money"

January 26-27, 1967

Statler Hilton Hotel

Washington, D.C.

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Roy Reuther, *Director*

Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

President Johnson's State of the Union message.

NEWSPAPER

UAW-WR
LABOR PROGRAM
SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST N W -INC
ATLANTA GA 30303

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

EVC Current Issues - 1967

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone **667-1780** • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: No.2-67
Jan.30, 1967

TO: PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A FILIBUSTER STOPS THE DRIVE AGAINST FILIBUSTERS

If only there were some way to drape this MEMO black! The fight to change the filibuster rule at the opening of the 90th Congress had good prospects for success. It is painful to have to record now how that effort was defeated..

Every Congress Since 1953

To those who are sick of seeing the Senate strangle good legislation in talk and who have waged the campaign to change Rule 22 every two years since 1953, the new Congress appeared to offer a splendid opportunity. Vice President Humphrey, who as a Senator was one of the half dozen men who initiated the first effort to change the Rule, was going to preside. It seemed fairly certain he would make the crucial ruling: that a majority of the Senate has the power at the opening of a new Congress to change its rules. It also appeared that the mood of the incoming Senators was favorable for change.

The Campaign Begins

On January 12, the principal bipartisan resolutions to change Rule 22 were introduced by Senators George McGovern (D., S.D.) and Thomas Kuchel (R., Calif.) As always happens, the proposals were met with a filibuster by Southern Democrats and Republican reactionaries, ready to defend the Senate's sacred right to talk itself to death.

On Wednesday, January 18, a carefully planned move to stop the filibuster got underway and here the action moved into the rarified, chess-like atmosphere of higher parliamentary procedure. Mr. McGovern, whose resolution to take up a rules change was on the floor, moved under the Constitution that the debate be ended, a motion that he said could be adopted by a majority. Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen raised a point of order, insisting a majority could not close debate. Mr. McGovern

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH FOUNDATION
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
MEDICAL COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWMAN STUDENT FEDERATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH — DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

then indicated he was ready to move to table the point of order. This was the situation when Vice President Humphrey was asked to rule. Without facing the issue directly, he set in motion the procedure that would have made it possible for a simple majority to end debate and get on with the business of modifying Rule 22. The best hope for modification seemed to lie with the McGovern resolution, which would have reduced the number of Senators needed to end a filibuster from two-thirds of those present and voting to three-fifths, from at most 67 Senators to 60.

The Fear of Majority Rule

That resolution was never reached. McGovern and his colleagues contended that a majority could end debate in the Senate only at the opening of the session and then only on the issue of a change in the rules. But the opposition, headed by Senator Dirksen, proceeded to intimidate a good many Senators by arguing that the vote on the rules would establish a precedent whereby a majority could vote to end debate at any time on virtually any issue. Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), a professed advocate of the three-fifths change, added to the pressures against voting with McGovern by taking up Dirksen's argument and warning that the procedure advocated by McGovern and the other champions of change would "destroy the character of the Senate as a parliamentary body." He and Dirksen and others of the opponents foresaw dire if fanciful possibilities: times when a mere handful of Senators, 6 or 7, could close debate and push the country into war or violate the rules and add legislation to an appropriations bill. In the end they prevailed. When the critical vote needed to close debate came up, the vote on the McGovern motion to table the Dirksen point of order, the needed majority wasn't there. It had dwindled down to 37 Senators who were ready to go against the combined leadership of the Senate. We enclose the vote on the McGovern motion with this MEMO.

On To Cloture

When the McGovern motion went down, the only thing left to do was to try to end debate by means of the old Rule 22. In short, two-thirds of the Senate had to be marshalled in support of changing the rule that two-thirds are needed to break a filibuster. And so the old vicious circle was set in motion again, with predictable results. The cloture petition was filed on the 19th, taken up on Tuesday, January 24, and beaten by a vote of 53 to 46. We enclose that vote with this MEMO, too. So ended the effort for 1967. Mansfield, who sometimes gives up too quickly, saw no reason to continue, even though a majority could have kept up the fight, particularly in the early days of the session when there is very little other business to consider.

A Dirksen Doublecross

It is impossible to finish this account without mentioning something more about Senator Dirksen's role in the Rule 22 maneuvers. On January 18, when he was arguing against the right of a majority to close debate, he raised a hope that he might be willing to work out some sort of compromise. "Iam in the mood now," he said, in the Senate's most cajoling voice, "if they file a cloture motion....to put my name on it and see where we go. I would then give assurance to the Senator from South Dakota (McGovern) that I will sit down with him and see if we cannot negotiate a reasonable time to discuss this matter and let it come to a vote. I do not mind. I am prepared to do it, and surely in the wisdom and genius of this body we can find the right answer without forfeiting the safeguards that have meant so much to this country."

If this meant anything, it appeared to many of his listeners to mean he would join the cloture move and support a three-fifths reform. But with Dirksen things are seldom how they seem. He signed the cloture petition but he told the press he would vote against it.

Without his help the effort was doomed. Roy Wilkins, chairman of the Leadership Conference, who had been watching the cloture fight from the gallery, emerged to tell reporters, "Senator Dirksen is inexplicable." He was struck, he said, by Dirksen's argument that the Senate is a continuing body and has not changed since its first session in 1789. "The fact that there haven't been any changes is what's wrong with the Senate," he declared. He had a warning of his own. The Senate's inability to change a rule that has been used historically to block civil rights legislation and was used precisely for that purpose in 1966, would be noted and cited by extremists as an illustration of the futility of trying to win equal rights through established channels.

What's Left?

The Senate's inability to change Rule 22 because of a fear of what a majority might do, leaves intact a rule that permits a minority to continue to dictate to the body. Senators representing less than 12 percent of the population, can continue to block the will of the majority whenever they are disposed to do so.

But the effort so many put into this year's campaign is not wasted. Something has been established. As the Washington Post pointed out editorially, "the Vice President's ruling will stand as a precedent. It means the anti-filibuster forces are free to press a motion for majority cloture at the beginning of any Senate session, that when a point of order is made against such a motion it can be voted down by a simple majority and that motion for cloture reform would then become the pending question. It is an open door to victory as soon as a majority in the Senate can find the courage to stand for the constitutional principle of government by the majority."

Until that time what can we do? It would be in order, first, for all of our organizations to express their appreciation to the 37 Senators who voted for the McGovern tabling motion. They deserve our thanks.

Looking beyond that, we must acknowledge that getting civil rights legislation through Congress without a change in Rule 22 is admittedly difficult. But we were able to surmount that obstacle in 1964 and 1965 by showing there was a national consensus for laws needed to give all citizens equal rights. In 1967, we must demonstrate again that the public sentiment for levelling the last barriers is still there. If we do that, even the Senate must respond.

* * * * * * * * * *

BECOME A MEMO "SUBSCRIBER"

The Leadership Conference charges nothing for sending you the MEMO. However we find our growing mailing list and our increasing production costs a pretty heavy burden. It costs us at least $5 a year in postage alone to send you the MEMO and the frequent enclosures. Since the Conference is supported entirely by voluntary contributions, please help us by sending us $5 and considering it a subscription to the MEMO.

Name _____

Organization _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. (20036)

ATTACHMENT

KEY VOTES IN RULE 22 FIGHT

1.

Jan. 18, 1967

Roll Call On Rule 22

Associated Press

Here is the 61-37 roll call vote by which the Senate refused to table, and thus sustained, a point of order against the motion of Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) that would have opened the way for revision, by a majority vote, of its antifilibuster rule.

FOR TABLING—37

Democrats

Anderson (N.M.)
Bayh (Ind.)
Brewster (Md.)
Burdick (N.D.)
Church (Idaho)
Clark (Pa.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Hart (Mich.)
Jackson (Wash.)
Kennedy (Mass.)
Kennedy (N.Y)
Magnuson (Wash)
McGovern (S.D.)
McIntyre (N.H.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Mondale (Minn.)
Montoya (N.M.)
Morse (Ore.)
Moss (Utah)
Muskie (Maine)
Nelson (Wis.)
Pastore (R.I.)
Pell (R.I.)
Proxmire (Wis.)
Randolph (W.Va.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Symington (Mo.)
Williams (N.J.)
Young (Ohio)

Republicans For

Brooke (Mass.)
Case (N.J.)
Fong (Hawaii)
Hatfield (Ore.)
Javits (N.Y.)
Kuchel (Calif.)
Morton (Ky.)
Scott (Pa.)

Against Tabling—61

Democrats Against

Bartlett (Alaska)
Bible (Nev.)
Byrd (Va.)
Byrd (W.Va.)
Cannon (Nev.)
Eastland (Miss.)
Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N.C.)
Fulbright (Ark.)
Gore (Tenn.)
Gruening (Alaska)
Harris (Okla.)
Hayden (Ariz.)
Hill (Ala.)
Holland (Fla.)
Hollings (S.C.)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Jordan (N.C.)
Lausche (Ohio)
Long (Mo.)
Long (La.)
Mansfield (Mont.)
McClellan (Ark.)
McGee (Wyoming)
Monroney (Okla.)
Russell (Ga.)
Smathers (Fla.)
Sparkman (Ala.)
Spong (Va.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Talmadge (Ga.)
Tydings (Md.)
Yarborough (Tex.)

Republicans Against

Aiken (Vt.)
Allott (Colo.)
Baker (Tenn.)
Bennett (Utah)
Boggs (Del.)
Carlson (Kan.)
Cooper (Ky.)
Cotton (N.H.)
Curtis (Neb.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Dominick (Colo.)
Fannin (Ariz.)
Griffin (Mich.)
Hansen (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Hruska (Neb.)
Jordan (Idaho)
Miller (Iowa)
Mundt (S.D.)
Murphy (Calif.)
Pearson (Kan.)
Percy (Ill.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Smith (Maine)
Thurmond (S.C.)
Tower (Tex.)
Williams (Del.)
Young (N.D.)

(A vote for tabling was right, a vote against, was wrong.)

2.

Jan. 24, 1967

Senate Roll-Call Vote On the Closure Motion

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24 (AP) —Following is the roll-call vote by which the Senate today refused, 53 to 46, to shut off debate on a motion to bring up a change in the Senate's anti-filibuster rule (two-thirds, or 66 votes, were required to shut off debate, so the attempt failed by 13 votes:

FOR THE CLOSURE MOTION—53

Democrats—36

Anderson (N. M.)
Bayh (Ind.)
Brewster (Md.)
Burdick (N.D.)
Church (Idaho)
Clark (Pa.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Gore (Tenn.)
Hart (Mich.
Hartke (Ind.)
Jackson (Wash.)
Kennedy (Mass.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)
Long (Mo.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
Mansfield (Mont.)
McCarthy (Minn.)
McGovern (S.D.)
McIntyre (N.H.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Mondale (Minn.)
Montoya (N.M.)
Morse (Ore.)
Moss (Utah)
Muskie, (Me.)
Nelson (Wis.)
Pastore (R.I.)
Pell (R.I.)
Proxmire (Wis.)
Randolph (W. Va.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Symington (Mo.)
Tydings (Md.)
Williams (N.J.)
Yarborough (Tex.)
Young (Ohio)

Republicans—17

Aiken (Vt.)
Allott (Colo.)
Boggs (Del.)
Brooke (Mass.)
Case (N.J.)
Cooper (Ky.)
Dominick (Colo.)
Fong (Hawaii)
Griffin (Mich.)
Hatfield (Ore.)
Javits (N.Y.)
Kuchel (Calif.)
Morton (Ky.)
Pearson (Kan.)
Percy (Ill.)
Scott (Pa.)
Mrs. Smith (Me.)

AGAINST THE MOTION—46

Democrats—27

Bartlett (Alaska)
Bible (Nev.)
Byrd (Va.)
Byrd (W. Va.)
Cannon (Nev.)
Eastland (Miss.)
Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N.C.)
Fulbright (Ark.)
Gruening (Alaska)
Hayden (Ariz.)
Hill (Ala.)
Holland (Fla.)
Hollings (S.C.)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Jordan (N.C.)
Lausche (Ohio)
Long (La.)
McClellan (Ark.)
McGee (Wyo.)
Monroney (Okla.)
Russell (Ga.)
Smathers (Fla.)
Sparkman (Ala.)
Spong (Va.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Talmadge (Ga.)

Republicans—19

Baker (Tenn.)
Bennett (Utah)
Carlson (Kan.)
Cotton (N.H.)
Curtis (Neb.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Fannin (Ariz.)
Hansen (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Hruska (Neb.)
Jordan (Idaho)
Miller (Iowa)
Mundt (S.D.)
Murphy (Calif.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Thurmond (S.C.)
Tower (Tex.)
Williams (Del.)
Young (N.D.)

Not voting but announced as for the cloture motion: Harris, Democrat of Oklahoma.

(A vote for the cloture motion was right, a vote against it, wrong.)

FEB 11, 1967

EUC - Current Issues

Treasury Secretary Fowler criticizes "Monday morning quarterbacks" who are trying to prejudice the surtax proposal.

LBJ's economics meets the critics

Skeptical lawmakers question why Administration failed in its spending estimates last year—and indicate they will put the President's new economic programs to hard test

The most heated economic battles of 1966—over such issues as taxes and guideposts—were roaring again in Congress this week.

The fights erupted as the foremost watchdogs of the economy in Congress, the Joint Economic Committee, started their annual consideration of the President's Economic Report.

Whatever the outcome, the proceedings left one thing clear about the future: Any economic proposals put forth by the Administration will face tougher sledding than usual.

Split. There is now a "credibility gap" between the Johnson Administration and Congress that gives skeptical lawmakers on Capitol Hill a handy excuse for not supporting a tax increase. The proposed increase is based on the Administration's view that the economy will pick up steam toward the end of the year.

I. On the defense

As a result, Administration policymakers find themselves fighting a rearguard action, defending last year's policies, instead of making a hard sell for the proposed 6% surcharge on personal and business income taxes.

Actually, the Administration isn't yet ready to ask Congress to commit itself on higher taxes, and won't be until April or May. But the credibility strain will make things much more difficult for President Johnson's delicately balanced and intricately timed fiscal program for this year.

The committee's new chairman, Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.), opened the hearings by reopening old wounds. The Administration, he charged, committed "a serious economic blunder" last year by its $10-billion underestimate of the cost of Vietnam. The error, he said, resulted in inflation, higher interest rates, and general confusion.

Then, the eight Republican members quickly followed with charges that "last year government policy was the chief source of uncertainty and instability in the economy," and they called on the Administration "to demonstrate that it has improved its forecasting techniques."

Led off by Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, government officials tried to explain the low estimate as a product of uncertainty about the course of the war. They gave assurances that 12 months' additional experience had given them a better fix on requirements of fighting a land war in Asia. But the Congressional committee seemed unconvinced.

Confusion. Doubts about White House fiscal policies came from both sides of the aisle. Members expressed bewilderment over why the White House refused to ask for a tax increase last spring when economic indicators were pointing up and then requested one when there was clear evidence of softness.

Ackley and his fellow CEA members, Arthur Okun and James Duesenberry, fielded hostile questions with relative calm on the opening day of hearings.

Budget Director Charles Schultze took his medicine with only a little less patience on the second. But

PAGINATION INCORRECT

on Washington. Polish diplomats at the U. N. leaked news of an abortive attempt in early December by the Polish representative on the International Control Commission in Vietnam to get talks started. Reportedly, he acted at the suggestion of U. S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge, and got Hanoi to agree to begin talking with U. S. representatives in Warsaw. Then Hanoi drew back following U. S. air raids around Hanoi.

Washington officials concede the story has some truth. But they insist that no firm agreement to negotiate was reached, and that Hanoi did not link the talks to U. S. bombing.

Another report circulated last week among East European delegations at the U. N. was that Hanoi would agree to having a caretaker government set up in Saigon, with one-third of the members representing the Ky regime, one-third the Vietcong, and one-third other groups, such as the Buddhists. As of midweek, Washington had been unable to substantiate this report.

Kennedy role. Then Senator Robert F. Kennedy (D-N. Y.) was reported to have received in Paris a North Vietnamese plan for a three-stage peace negotiation. It supposedly came from a French foreign office official acting as intermediary for Mai Van Bo, Hanoi's representative in Paris. Kennedy denied this after meeting with Johnson back in Washington. So did the French foreign office. So did Mai Van Bo.

While peace rumors fly, the President is playing his cards even closer to his chest than usual. But all indications are that he will not agree to suspend bombing of the North in exchange for a mere agreement by Hanoi to talk. Almost certainly, he will insist that the Communists make military concessions.

Johnson also remains wary of possible Communist attempts to tie peace talks to an uninspected military truce, and then drag the talks out as cover for a new military buildup. Washington might insist on fighting while parleying.

Privacy. Says one Washington official: "Look at any map of who holds what in Vietnam, and it appears as if the country had chicken pox. How can you have a cease-fire in that situation which wouldn't help the Vietcong?"

These are some of the problems Johnson will face if the current diplomatic jockeying leads to a genuine offer to negotiate. And if a bona fide offer does emerge, everyone will have to deny it. Private diplomacy seems to be the only hope of bringing the war to a conference table.

Shuffle on the shuttle

Eastern Air Lines' no-frills, guaranteed-seat shuttle concept will be put to the test on the New York-Boston run as American and Northeast jets step up battle for market

By all the laws of business logic, the last place where airlines should engage in mortal combat is in the short-haul, high-cost, low-profit Boston-New York City market. Yet that is exactly what will happen next week when American and Northeast Airlines sharply augment their service in pure jets in an effort to recapture patronage from the dominant Eastern Air Lines shuttle.

The Air Shuttle was invented by Malcolm MacIntyre, former president of Eastern, almost six years ago to fly between Washington, New York, and Boston. Planes leave at hourly intervals, and if the passengers who show up by departure time outnumber the available seats, another plane is rolled out.

Rickety image. The keys to this operation are the standby planes and crews; without them it won't work. Though nothing can be done about the wages of the standby crews, Eastern at first tried to hold costs down by using nothing but fully depreciated piston planes for its shuttle service.

When President Floyd D. Hall and his team took over, however, they discovered the image of the entire airline was being ruined by the rattly-bang old airplanes. Moreover, hard-nosed cost accounting disclosed that the shuttle was losing money. A large and powerful bloc in Eastern's new management voted to kill the service.

That was when the company discovered it couldn't be done; the shuttle had become too popular. Instead, Eastern went to Lockheed Electra turboprops and Boeing 727 jets on the first sections, keeping its piston Constellations for back-up flights. It also increased fares during rush hours.

Drawbacks. Despite all its efforts, the shuttle has never made Eastern management entirely happy. It takes too much time and effort for the money that it generates. As an Eastern official once said: "It accounts for 24% of all our passengers, 11% of domestic revenues, 8% of passenger miles—and one-twentieth of our net income."

Now that intensive competition will be met on the Boston-New York part of the run, Eastern's business may decline sufficiently to put the shuttle operation far into the red. If that happens, the company may eventually decide to back off from the shuttle concept.

What has triggered this is American's Jet Express with advance reservations required, light meals served, and drinks for sale to coach passengers. The new feature is hourly service with BAC-111 jets that American calls Astrojet 400s.

Counterattack. Faced with this kind of competition in its back yard, Northeast is beginning to upgrade its own service with a leased 110-passenger DC-9-30, a stretched version of the Douglas twin-engine jet. This plane will be able to make five round trips a day. In coming months, the Boston-based airline will put more of these jets on the route as they are delivered until it, too, has hourly jet service with snacks and beverages and advance reservations.

Not to be outdone, Eastern is countering with its own DC-9-30s; the first went into shuttle service last week. It expects to put 14 of the 55 DC-9-30s it has on order exclusively into the shuttle operation by next year, using them for first sections. Electras will make up the standby fleet.

No frills. The one thing Eastern does not anticipate is trying to compete with American and Northeast by instituting more cabin frills. Tickets will still be sold on the plane, taking up all the time of the stewardesses during the short flights.

Thus, for the first time, passengers will now have a distinct choice of service on roughly comparable jets, all flying at hourly intervals and all taking about the same trip time.

The early stages of the contest may prove inconclusive. With the initial sharp increase in the number of seats available between Boston and New York, Eastern's biggest advantage up to now—the guaranteed seat—will be negated. But the big carrier could get that edge back if demand continues to grow.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler had a weekend to read the transcript and simmer.

II. Rebuttal

On Monday, Fowler delivered a sharply worded counterattack on "Monday morning quarterbacks" who, he said, were raking up last year's debate over taxes to "prejudice" the surcharge proposals.

He argued that a general tax increase would have constituted "economic overkill" after the Federal Reserve Board moved on its own in December, 1965, to tighten credit. He implied the tax increase is needed in order to insure that the Fed continues to ease money throughout the year.

"There is," the Treasury Secretary said, "a great deal of economic difference in advocating increased income taxes to pay the increased costs of war when monetary policy is on the path toward ease than when monetary policy was moving in the direction of clear, positive, and increasing restraint."

Marking time. Still, neither Fowler nor his colleagues devoted much energy to lining up votes for the surcharge bill. They all noted that the proposal wouldn't go to Capitol Hill until spring. At that time, they promised that the Administration would reassess the direction of the economy and decide whether the tax increase was still necessary. For the present, they asked only that Congress keep an open mind.

In turn, not one Joint Economic Committee member appeared ready to embrace the idea of a tax increase. Representative Henry Reuss (D-Wis.) said that fiscal restraint should be exercised by plugging tax loopholes. Proxmire pushed for return of four of the six Army divisions stationed in Europe and for cuts in public works, space, and other "nonessential" programs.

Fowler was doubtful that either way would work. Johnson has promised legislative proposals to close tax loopholes for this session, he said, but a debate over tax reform would take too long to be of much use for fiscal restraint. Shifting troops might save foreign exchange but would probably cost more "budget dollars" than leaving them where they are. And Congress isn't about to cut the necessary "$5-billion or $6-billion" out of the budget.

But Representative Martha Griffiths (D-Mich.) of the Ways & Means Committee warned Administration officials, "You are in grave danger of not getting a tax increase no matter what you say."

The Administration fared little better with its new wage-price guidepost policy. A new Republican member of the 20-man Joint Economic Committee, Representative Donald Rumsfeld (R-Ill.), lit into the policy for "proving ineffective just when it was needed most." And Reuss hit from the other side, suggesting that the committee should hold hearings and publish its own wage settlement target since the CEA had "defaulted."

Money outflow. Concern over continued balance-of-payments problems marked a good part of the proceedings. There were constant questions about the gold drain, relations with France, and the possibility that lowering interest rates in the U. S. would start short-term capital moving back to Europe.

Administration witnesses cited the recent lowering of European rates as evidence that last month's "Chequers conference" of finance ministers had helped bring about a "coordinated downward movement" of interest rates.

"There are indications," said CEA's Okun, "that interest rates in Europe will behave better, and that should make it more feasible for us to have the kind of monetary easing we want here."

Coordination. Committee members engaged in a good bit of probing about the current state of relations between the Fed and the White House.

According to Ackley, the Fed "shares our objectives" and has been consulting "perhaps more frequently this year" on economic policy. Schultze strongly hinted that Fed Chairman William McC. Martin was brought in at an early stage for discussions that led to the tax hike proposals.

This failed to convince Mrs. Griffiths. "The Fed is responsible to Congress and it's time to bring it back to the fold before it starts stockpiling its own nuclear weapons," she said.

Even among Republicans, increased coordination of fiscal and monetary policy seemed more important than the Fed's traditionally tight-lipped independence.

In addition to conceding that economic events might sink the surtax proposal, Administration officials held out the possibility that the 7% investment credit might be restored before Jan. 1, 1968. The credit is "one of our instruments of flexibility," Ackley said, adding that the Administration wouldn't hesitate to end it, "if it were decided the economy needs the additional stimulus."

William F. McKee, FAA head, helped negotiate with airlines.

Anteing up for SST

Airlines will pay $1-million toward development for each supersonic plane they buy

U. S. airlines now seem ready to help pay for development of the supersonic transport. The Administration has suggested that they put up $1-million for each SST they plan to buy, and the airlines are not resisting the idea, as they have in the past.

The proposal was unveiled Monday to top executives of 11 airlines and one aircraft leasing company. Formal acceptance is expected soon —possibly next week—with few, if any, modifications.

That should clear the way for an Administration go-ahead on the first phase of the program, under which design competition winners Boeing Co. (for the airframe) and General Electric Co. (for the engine) will build and flight-test prototypes of the 1,800-mph plane.

Purpose. The Administration's aim is to undercut Congressional opponents and pare government costs. Under its plan the airlines would contribute $55-million, as the order book now stands. This wouldn't go far to offset the total costs of the prototype program, estimated at

PAGINATION INCORRECT

$1.3-billion. But it could be used to counter arguments that the airlines were getting a free ride while taxpayers took the SST risks.

Pan American World Airways would put up $15-million; Trans World Airlines, $10-million; American Airlines and United Air Lines, $6-million each; Northwest Airlines, $4-million; Continental and Delta Air Lines and World Airways, $3-million apiece; Braniff International and Eastern Air Lines, $2-million; and Airlift International, $1-million.

Inducements. The payments would not reduce the purchase price of SSTs to the airlines involved; the cost of each plane is now estimated at $35-million to $40-million. But if the SST is a commercial success once it starts rolling off production lines around 1974, the carriers would get their money back with interest.

The Administration proposal calls for royalty payments to the airlines of $1.5-million for each $1-million invested. And the lines also presumably could treat the $1-million payments as research and development costs to reduce corporate taxes. At least, Administration officials pointed out this possibility.

Transportation Secretary Alan S. Boyd, Federal Aviation Agency Administrator William F. McKee, and SST program director Major General J. C. Maxwell also made one other point clear to the airline officials: Unless the carriers were willing to share some of the financial risk of the SST program, the Administration would not be willing to ask Congress to pay the lion's share (perhaps 90%) of the costs.

No surprise. The Administration proposal was not altogether a surprise for airline officials. The carriers already had deposited $100,000 with the Treasury for each SST delivery position they reserved—although up to now they can cancel and get refunds.

In addition, it had long been clear that once tooling up for production of the planes started—around 1971 if schedules are kept—the carriers would be asked to pay far more than the normal average of 25% progress payments prior to delivery.

None needed. Even though the Administration now has authority to commit itself to prototype construction—and has $200-million provided last year to get under way—President Johnson is expected to ask Congress for a new vote of approval.

In any case, the President would have to send Congress a supplemental request for SST funds, which were not specifically identified in his budget although they were included in his contingency fund.

Lockheed tries a new pilot

Daniel J. Haughton takes over as chairman and faces problem of replacing the business Lockheed would have had if it had won SST contract. Electronics will get push

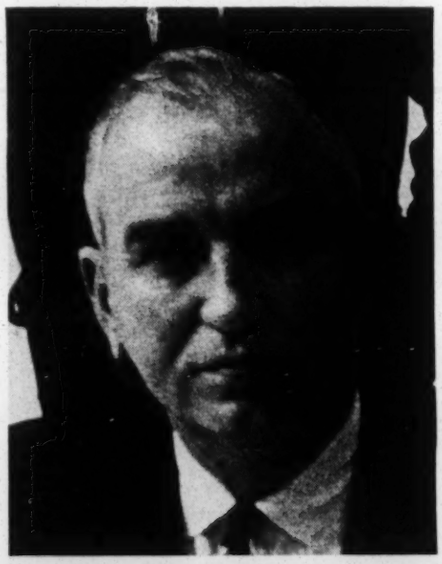
There's one big problem facing Lockheed Aircraft Corp.'s new Chairman Daniel J. Haughton: How to find enough business to replace the $2-billion a year in sales that Lockheed might have had if it had won the contest for the supersonic transport contract.

Haughton moved into the top spot at Lockheed this week, when former Chairman Courtlandt S. Gross, 62, exercised a long-felt wish to retire. Gross, who had piloted Lockheed through the competition to build the SST, saw the contract go to arch-competitor Boeing Co.

That loss illuminated one of Lockheed's continuing weaknesses—its capacity in electronics. This week's top-level transition, though, demonstrated one of Lockheed's strengths—its depth of homegrown management.

Haughton, 55, is a 28-year company veteran. He had been president of Lockheed since 1961. Replacing him in that office is A. Carl Kotchian, 25 years at Lockheed and executive vice-president of the company since 1965.

The transition came smoothly, mainly because of Lockheed's capacity for finding its executives young, spotting the talented ones, and giving them increasing responsibilities and a chance to develop.



Daniel J. Haughton takes on the job of running highly diversified Lockheed.

Haughton, though, will have anything but a smooth life as chairman. While he was president, he oversaw the company's projects, helping division chiefs and making adjustments before any of them got into serious trouble. As chairman, he will have to turn from supervising projects to initiating them, and setting policy lines as well.

Major task. One of his prime jobs will be to build up Lockheed's capacity in electronics. After 10 years of trying, Lockheed Electronics Co. still hasn't topped $60-million a year, a pale performance compared with the electronics division of North American Aviation, Inc., which had 1966 sales of $431-million.

In the early 1950s Lockheed tried to make a "great leap forward" in electronics by buying Hughes Aircraft Co., which at the time had a virtual hammerlock on radar fire control systems for aircraft. It couldn't close the deal. After that, Lockheed management shunned electronics acquisitions, citing their high price-earnings ratio.

But now, Haughton may have to take the merger route, expensive or not.

Haughton will also seek new business in Lockheed's present operations, which are well-diversified: reconaissance, fighter, anti-submarine and cargo aircraft; the Polaris missile; a business jet; the Agena spacecraft; and rocket motors, ships, bridges, and dams.

Haughton will study closely the market for another commercial plane, the so-called air bus, which would cover the same air routes as the Boeing 727 but would carry twice as many passengers.

Cash for such moves could come from authorization by the Lockheed board this week for filing a registration with the SEC covering a proposed sale of $125-million in convertible debentures.

Lockheed, with 90,000 employees in 11 operating divisions, topped $2-billion in sales in 1966; profits, as yet unannounced, will likely be close to last year's $51.5-million.

EVC - Current Issues

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

March 1, 1967

ANALYSIS OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1967 (Senate No. S.1026)

The Administration's 1967 civil rights bill (S.1026) covers the same general areas of concern as that of 1966 (H.R.14765) with the exception of Title III. In last year's bill that title would have granted to the Attorney General the right to institute suits to desegregate public schools and public facilities. Title III of this year's bill is an amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It would give to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the federal courts. This year's bill has an additional title - VI - to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission.

There are a few significant changes from the 1966 bill in Title IV, the housing title, and Title V, protection for civil rights. The differences in the jury titles, I and II, appear to be technical and less than major.

Reference in this memorandum to H.R.14765 will be to the bill that passed the House and was filibustered in the Senate in 1966.

TITLE I - FEDERAL JURY REFORM

The first title regulates the selection of federal juries. It prohibits discrimination in selection on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin or economic status. It establishes a method of selecting juries on a random, representative basis. The basic source of jury lists will be voting lists, except that where such lists are not representative, the judicial council of the circuit can require the use of additional sources. Parties to a suit may require the production of evidence by the jury commissioner to determine whether the provisions of this title are being complied with. The only disqualifying factors for jury selection would be failure to meet citizenship, age or residence requirements, illiteracy, incapacitating mental or physical infirmity or conviction of a crime punishable by more than one year's imprisonment.

TITLE II - STATE JURY REFORM

Title II prohibits any distinction because of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status in the selection of state juries. The prohibition could be enforced through civil action brought by the Attorney General, a private person suffering discrimination, or by a litigant in a criminal or civil case. In any such case, the title provides discovery procedures under which it would be determined how juries are selected. If the court finds probable cause to believe that discrimination occurred and that the records are insufficient to permit a determination, the burden is shifted to the state to show non-discrimination. Relevant jury records must be kept for a specified time, and

would be subject to production and inspection. When a court finds discrimination, it is authorized to fashion appropriate relief, including: suspension or prohibition of discriminatory qualifications, or ones that are so subjective as to permit abuse; requiring use of objective criteria; and appointment of a master to perform the duties of the jury commissioner.

TITLE III - EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

Title III would amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to strengthen the authority of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Under this title the Commission would have subpoena power to assist in its investigation of charges of discrimination. It could conduct hearings on such charges. Upon a finding of discrimination, it could issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the federal courts. Such orders could include a requirement of affirmative action, including an award of back pay. Before conducting a hearing, the Commission would be required to attempt to affect a settlement by conciliation.

The title would continue in effect the requirement that cases must be referred for a limited time to state and local governments having enforceable FEP laws. The Commission would be authorized, but not required, to surrender complete jurisdiction in employment cases to such governments.

Individuals who do not receive satisfaction from the Commission would be authorized to file civil suits for redress, and the authority of the Attorney General to file suits against patterns or practices of discrimination would not be affected.

Persons aggrieved and "other persons" may intervene in a hearing at the discretion of the Commission, and "any interested person" may intervene in the enforcement proceedings in the discretion of the court. Aggrieved persons may obtain review of any final order of the Commission.

TITLE IV - HOUSING DISCRIMINATION

This title would prohibit discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin in the purchase, rental, financing or occupancy of any housing (with the single exception of housing sponsored by religious organizations for their members).

This total coverage would be reached in stages. Immediately on passage of the bill, all housing now covered by the existing executive order would be affected. In 1968 all housing not owner-occupied and all housing of five or more units would be added; this would add many apartments and all new housing. Beginning with 1969 coverage would include the total housing market.

The chief means of enforcement would be by administrative action conducted by the Department of HUD. The Secretary would be authorized to receive and investigate complaints, to conduct hearings and to issue court-enforceable cease and desist orders, including orders for $50 a day penalties for failure to obey initial orders. He would have subpoena power to support investigations and hearings. Before issuing a complaint, he would be required to try to affect a settlement by conciliation.

Aggrieved persons who do not obtain satisfaction through the administrative procedure may file civil action to enforce rights protected by this title. The Attorney General could file suits against patterns and practices of discrimination.

The Secretary may cooperate with, and delegate duities to, state housing agencies, including the full enforcement of provisions of this title.

The title includes an "anti-block busting" provision, and one that would prevent real estate organizations from discriminating in admission practices.

To assist him in enforcement of the title, the bill provides for an additional assistant secretary for the Department of HUD.

TITLE V - INTERFERENCE WITH CIVIL RIGHTS

Title V would make it a federal criminal offense to interfere with specified civil rights because of the victim's race, color, religion or national origin. The rights so protected are voting, running for public office, serving as a poll watcher, enrolling in or attending a public school or college, participating in or enjoying any federal or state benefit or program, seeking or engaging in employment, engaging in housing activities, serving as a juror, using any common carrier, enjoying any benefit assisted by federal funds and using any place of public accommodation.

Also prohibited is interference with anyone to discourage a person from enjoying such rights or for having assisted another to do so.

Penalties could be up to life imprisonment, where death occurs. Existing civil rights laws are amended to provide similar penalties.

Persons aggrieved would also be given the right to sue for preventive relief or for damages.

The "anti-riot" provision adopted in the House last year is not included.

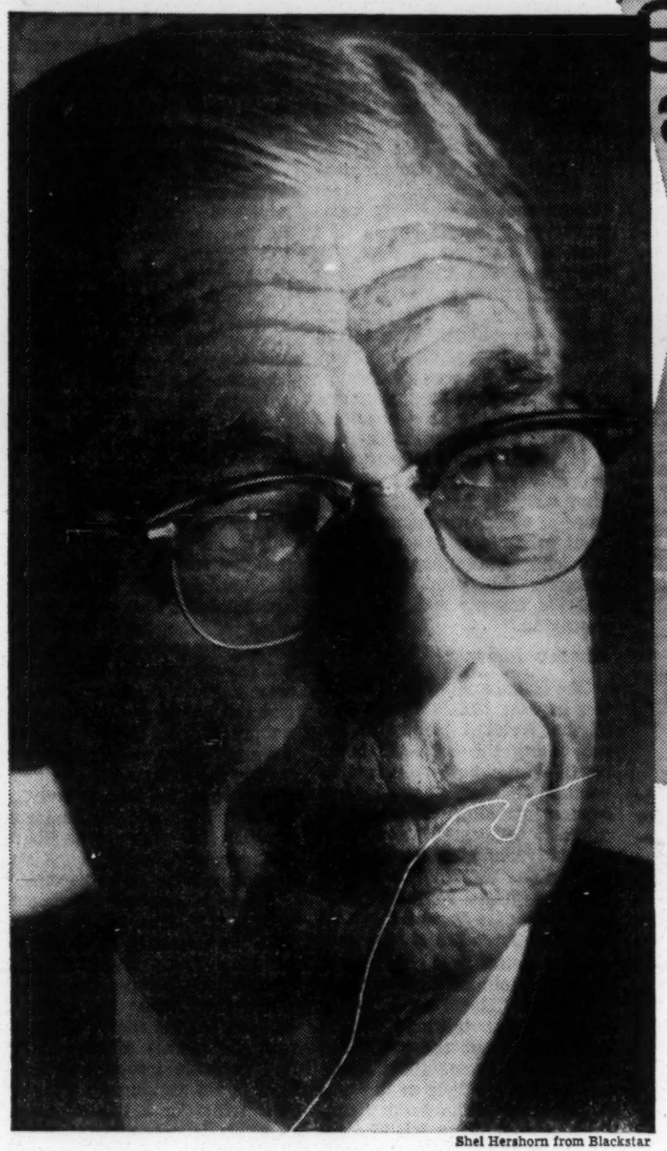
TITLE VI - CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Under this title the life of the Civil Rights Commission would be extended for five additional years beyond its present termination date--January 31, 1968.

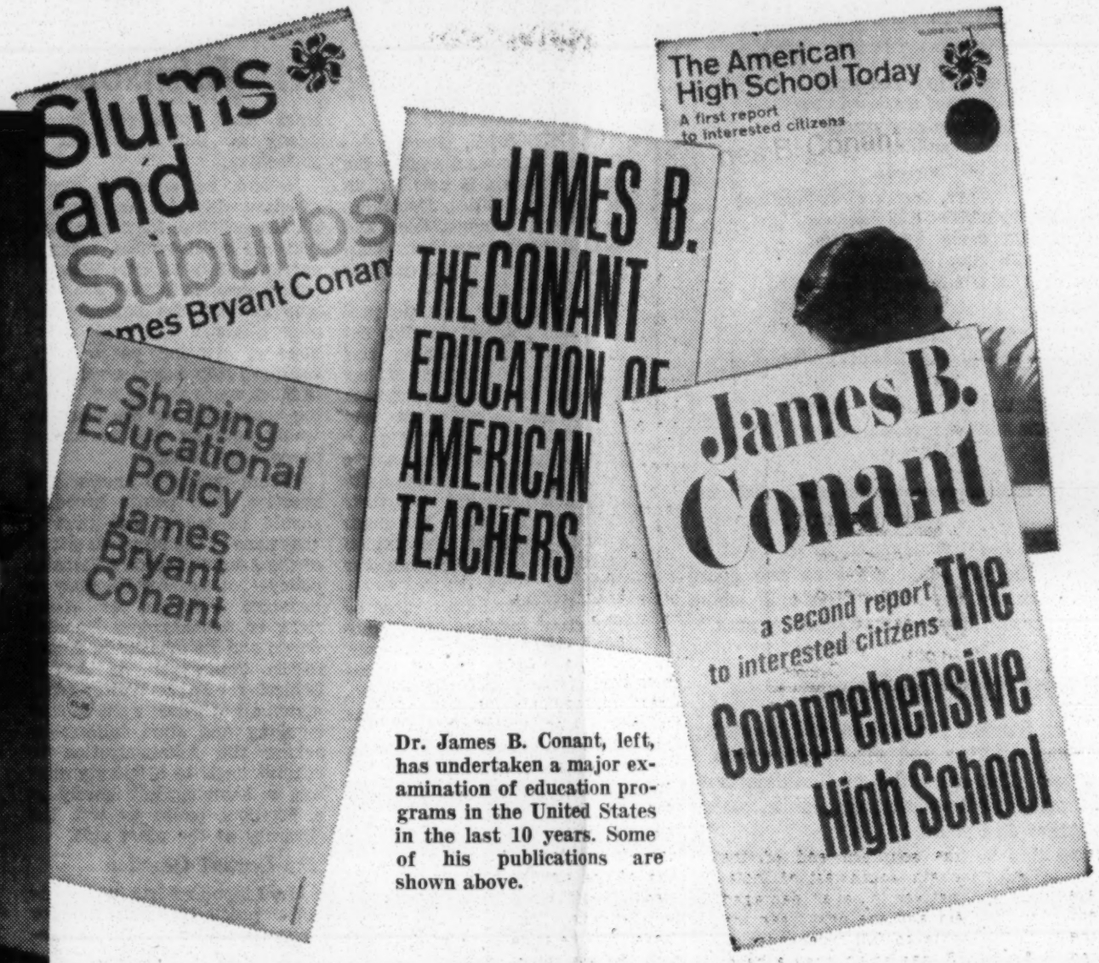
* * * * * *

PREPARED BY J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, SPECIAL CONSULTANT TO
THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Education



Shel Hershorn from Blackstar



Dr. James B. Conant, left, has undertaken a major examination of education programs in the United States in the last 10 years. Some of his publications are shown above.

Conant: A New Report By the Schools' Mr. Fixit

By FRED M. HECHINGER

In 1957, just as the first Soviet Sputnik led to alarmed questioning about the American schools' intellectual stamina, the Carnegie Corporation commissioned James Bryant Conant to launch a one-man review of the high schools. Two years later, the first Conant report, "The American High School Today," was published.

It quickly became a household word in school-conscious communities. Its 21 recommendations were rattled off much in the fashion of an airline pilot's checklist to assure a safe flight.

Last week Dr. Conant, now 73 and anxious to shed the mantle of the public schools' Dr. Fixit, offered a reappraisal in a new book, "The Comprehensive High School: A Second Report to Interested Citizens." His new report showed significant improvements along with much unfinished business.

The crux of the original Conant inquiry was his belief that education for a democratic society should depend in large measure on a comprehensive high school to be attended by children of all shadings of ability, background and aspiration. But while he saw this as the prototype of the American school, he was also aware that lack of fiscal as well as intellectual commitment threatened to water down the content and to economize on proper staffing of such schools.

Today, he found, many more schools satisfy some of his demands, but only about 10 per cent of the sample seem to have lived up to the total bill of requirements.

Many schools had received an infusion of academic vigor—more and better science and mathematic instruction, substantial gains in foreign languages and better staffing of English courses. But Dr. Conant also found that a child's educational opportunities are still determined by the accident of where he lives. He found in questionaires sent to 2,000 schools that 75 per cent were still improperly staffed for English instruction.

The reason for such inequalities, Dr. Conant said, is the "chaotic" state of financing, with some communities lagging dangerously behind others, and with some states contributing the lion's share and others less than 10 per cent.

Dr. Conant, after 20 years as president of Harvard University and a three-year stint as U. S. Ambassador to West Germany, took on the school reform assignment in 1957. In rapid succession, he published six books which, as even his critics admit, have been of unequaled impact. More than half a million copies of these books have been sold. All royalties were plowed back into the research.

What was the story of this remarkable mission?

Immediately after publication of "The American High School Today," Dr. Conant took his 21 recommendations to the American people with the fervor of Woodrow Wilson's crusade for the League of Nations. He traveled across the country, ate lukewarm chicken dinners in an endless succession of high school cafeterias, addressed packed auditoriums, permitted himself to be buttonholed by thousands of P.T.A. members, taped hundreds of interviews conducted by disk jockeys who had barely read the report's jacket, shook hands in receiving lines that stretched across the continent.

Some critics ridiculed his do-it-yourself school improvement approach. But the simplicity of his prescriptions gave thousands of citizens the courage to demand an educational New Deal.

They could understand his demand that academically talented youngsters should get at least four years each of high school English, mathematics and one foreign language, plus three years each of science and social studies.

They understood, too, the suggestion that English teachers responsible for more than 100 pupils could not possibly take the task of composition—assigning and correcting—seriously.

American egalitarianism readily accepted Dr. Conant's preference for the comprehensive high school—with academic, vocational and business students under one roof, in contrast to the European model which freezes careers and futures at an early age.

Considering the low state of academic offerings in the pre-Sputnik schools, the early success of the Conant reform drive was dramatic.

"Don't say it was all Conant," he said last week. "Undoubtedly I was riding a tide."

But after modestly putting the early victories in perspective, Dr. Conant replied to those of his critics who consider him too pragmatic and conventional.

"They charge I only took the best things I found were already being done and turned them into my recommendations," he said. "That's quite true, and I don't apologize for it."

From the high schools, Dr. Conant turned briefly to the junior highs and, in a pamphlet, condemned their preoccupation with marching bands and imitation varsity teams.

In 1961, he published "Slums and Suburbs." For the first time the reserved, understating New England scientist and university administrator appeared moved by anger. He had seen the underprivileged slums and the prestige-obsessed overprivileged suburbs. The sight offended his sense of justice as much as his ideology.

Ironically, he briefly infuriated some civil rights leaders because he placed less stress on school integration than on the reform of housing and employment patterns. He demanded that ghetto children be taught "marketable skills," and was accused of wanting to create an army of shoeshine boys, when he actually considered as "marketable" any vocation or profession that could absorb those youngsters. (The Conant priorities of education-plus-employment have since become more widely accepted.)

Most important, Dr. Conant dramatized the threat of an army of "out-of-school and out-of-work" youths in the Negro slums. He called it "social dynamite." Soon the dynamite was to explode in tragic riots.

In 1963 Dr. Conant published what was to become his most controversial report, "The Education of American Teachers." It was a blistering attack on the teacher-training establishment, the low quality of education courses, the often irrelevant criteria used to certify teachers.

He asked for carefully supervised internship and a period of on-the-job probationary residency—obviously borrowed from the medical arsenal.

The education Establishment shuddered and gave the proposals the silent treatment. Only a few daring institutions and educational leaders volunteered to test the proposals. The returns have not yet come in.

In 1964 Dr. Conant moved on to the reform of the Establishment itself. In "Shaping Educational Policies," he asked for a housecleaning to improve the quality of the state education authorities so that they could be given greater power. First, their professional competence and political decontamination had to be assured. (Almost half of all state education commissioners continue to be politically elected, and many, Dr. Conant said, bring with them an entourage of political hacks rather than educational leaders.)

Since more money would have to come from Washington, he called on the states to gather strength to initiate policies rather than abdicate to the Federal Government. After another whirlwind campaign of political persuasion, supported by former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina, Dr. Conant nursed into life the first educational "compact" of a number of the most populous states.

Between these pragmatic books, Dr. Conant found time to write a philosophical volume, "The Child, the Parent and the State." His theme was that this country must seek middle ground between the extremes of the totalitarian view of the individual as the creature of the state and the permissive concept of the individual as responsible only to his personal happiness.

At the end of this remarkable 10-year effort, Dr. Conant, though pleased to find many schools improved, is deeply troubled by their persistent inequalities. Perhaps by relying too heavily on the opinions of the local school administrators, he placed too much of the blame on chaotic financing, and too little on lack of educational initiative.

Yet, there is little doubt that from a local autonomy akin to isolationism the trend is shifting to greater support and leadership by the state and national levels of government and education.

The money, warns Dr. Conant, must increasingly come from Washington, to be disbursed by the states. Yet, unless the states are to replace ill-financed chaos with gold-plated chaos, his earlier proposals for the reform of the educational Establishment will have to be implemented first.

Support From Gardner

Fortunately, Dr. Conant has allies in high places. A week ago, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John W. Gardner said: "The old system of weak state and local government . . . is dead. . . . If we can devise of pattern i Federal-state-local relations that provides a new solution to the old problems of centralism vs. pluralism . . . we will have contributed importantly to the art of governing a free society."

Of this new coalition Dr. Conant now demands the right of *every* talented youngster to study calculus, or French, or physics, or well-taught history and English, art and music, no matter where he goes to school. He is not satisfied that his first crusade has brought these opportunities to millions of students. To those who chide critics of the schools for calling the glass part empty rather than three-quarters full he appears to reply that a thirsty youngster derives no benefit from the empty quarter.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM

In his education message, President Johnson last week called for continuation of existing Federal aid programs, especially for the upgrading of schools with large numbers of underprivileged children. But he also urged an improvement of the leadership of local and state school authorities. In thinly disguised criticism, he suggested that in its present state the leadership is not equal to the task of long-range planning that the new influx of Federal dollars requires. Conceding that the job cannot be done without dollars, he warned, nevertheless, that "dollars alone cannot do the job."

The President also recommended to Congress:

Creation of a Corporation for Public Television that could channel public and private funds into noncommercial, including educational, TV;

Expansion of the National Teacher Corps from 1,200 to 5,500 members;

A study of the potential of educational technology, such as computers and television;

Coordination and expansion of existing programs for the training of teachers, school administrators and teacher aides;

Aid to states and communities to end racial segregation in schools.

Mr. Johnson also pleaded with Congress to put education appropriations at the head of the list of legislative action to enable schools to plan their programs without having to guess and to keep their fingers crossed about Washington's contributions.

80-Day Injunction Sought:

T-H Law Invoked In Shipyard Dispute

Pres. Johnson ordered the Justice Dept. to seek an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction sending back to work 1,300 members of the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, on strike since Nov. 4 against 13 West Coast shipyards.

The President instructed the attorney general to seek the injunction in the U.S. District Court in San Francisco on the basis of an emergency board report on the issues in dispute, and an affidavit by Defense Sec. Robert S. McNamara that the strike was causing delays in the Viet Nam sea lift.

Board members were: Chairman J. Keith Mann, of the Stanford University law school; Pres. George E. Reedy, Jr., of the Struthers Research & Development Corp., former White House press secretary, and Paul D. Hanlon, Portland, Ore., attorney.

An IBEW spokesman, disputing government claims that the strike imperils the national health and safety, said an injunction would only prolong the dispute for 80 days. He said union members nevertheless would obey a court order if one is issued at the President's request.

The union protested to the board that the shipyard strikers could not return to their jobs under contract terms formerly existing, as required in the usual injunction process, since the IBEW is striking for a first contract. The board referred the question to Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service, which assigned Willoughby Abner, special assistant to the service's director, to meet with IBEW negotiators on the issue.

Some 400 of the strikers are working temporarily at "independent" shipyards whose operators have settled with the IBEW for a 57-cent hourly package of improvements but 900 others have been largely unemployed since the walkout began.

The union has signed up many independent operators but has been unable to get the major yards, represented in bargaining by the Pacific Coast Shipbuilders Association, to meet the strikers' minimum settlement terms, said a spokesman for IBEW Vice Pres. W. L. Vinson.

Association members have offered to settle for a pact providing wage hikes of 10 cents an hour for each of three years, plus welfare improvements.

Wages of shipyard electricians are "far below" those paid by non-shipyard employers, said the union. Navy shipyards are paying IBEW members 29 cents an hour more than private yards—a rate based on area wage standards, according to the same source.

"We want a coastwide agreement with the association based on today's prices, not those of 20 months ago," when other unions reached contract agreement, the IBEW said.

Charging that the intent of Taft-Hartley is "to put the weight of federal government pressure behind the employer," the union said the emergency procedures of the act were being invoked just as the strike was becoming effective.

FAMILY of the National Labor Relations Board's 25 millionth voter poses with Vice Pres. Hubert H. Humphrey (left rear) and Intl. Rep. Jack Hurvich (right rear) of the Steelworkers after Humphrey had presented a memento of the occasion to Leonard P. Scheno (right), who cast the symbolic ballot at the Reynolds Metals Co. plant, Woodbridge, N. J. Family members include Geraldine Scheno, 13; Mrs. Grace Scheno, and twins Nicholas and Grace, 12. Nicholas holds a certificate proclaiming "Industrial Peace Through Law."

Meany Urges Labor Support For Red Cross

The Red Cross "merits our support as citizens and trade unionists," AFL-CIO Pres. Meany declared in a special report on the agency's activities and needs to the top officers of affiliated unions.

Meany is a member of the ARC board of governors and is vice chairman for labor for the 1967 Red Cross campaign for members and funds.

Total needs for the year, the report shows, are estimated at $118.8 million, the highest since World War II. Included is $47.4 million for services to the armed forces, veterans and their families, an increase of $8.4 million over the previous year because of expanded work in Viet Nam.

The first aid program, through which increasing numbers of union members are being trained, is earmarked for $6.7 million; the

St. John's Teachers Get Arbitration Bid

New York—Trustees of St. John's University have offered to arbitrate a dispute over the firing in December 1965 of 29 faculty members. The offer was announced by the university president at a press conference.

Pres. Israel Kugler of AFT College Teachers Local 1460, with 200 members on strike for more than a year in support of the fired teachers, called a week-end meeting to discuss the offer. A union spokesman called the proposal an encouraging "breakthrough" but said it was directed to individual teachers and not the union.

Anniversary Pickets

Union members picketed the university's new Jamaica, N.Y., campus Mar. 6, the second anniversary of the first walkout of 200 faculty members protesting the refusal of the administration to discuss faculty raises and pensions. St. John's—one of the nation's largest Catholic universities—has 12,200 students on its Jamaica and Brooklyn campuses.

creditation to give degrees should not be revoked.

The university now proposes to arbitrate this question: "Whether under all of the circumstances then prevailing the . . . trustees acted reasonably" in dismissing teachers or declining to renew their contract.

Trustees attached these conditions to their offer: hearings shall be conducted in private; each faculty member may be represented by counsel of his own choice; all pending litigation shall be withdrawn "with prejudice" and both sides shall be "protected against libel or slander" in connection with the hearings.

Father Cahill said the university

State Job Service Hit For Rights Act Failures

Ohio's state employment service faces a possible cutoff of federal funds for failure to comply with the Civil Rights Act and with Labor Dept. non-discrimination regulations.

Assistant Sec. of Labor Stanley H. Ruttenberg announced that he has recommended "appropriate action" against the Ohio agency to

that the strike was causing delays in the Viet Nam sea lift.

Board members were: Chairman J. Keith Mann, of the Stanford University law school; Pres. George E. Reedy, Jr., of the Struthers Research & Development Corp., former White House press secretary, and Paul D. Hanlon, Portland, Ore., attorney.

An IBEW spokesman, disputing government claims that the strike imperils the national health and safety, said an injunction would only prolong the dispute for 80 days. He said union members nevertheless would obey a court order if one is issued at the President's request.

The union protested to the board that the shipyard strikers could not return to their jobs under contract terms formerly existing, as required in the usual injunction process, since the IBEW is striking for a first contract. The board referred the question to Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service, which assigned Willoughby Abner, special assistant to the service's director, to meet with IBEW negotiators on the issue.

Some 400 of the strikers are working temporarily at "independent" shipyards whose operators have signed.

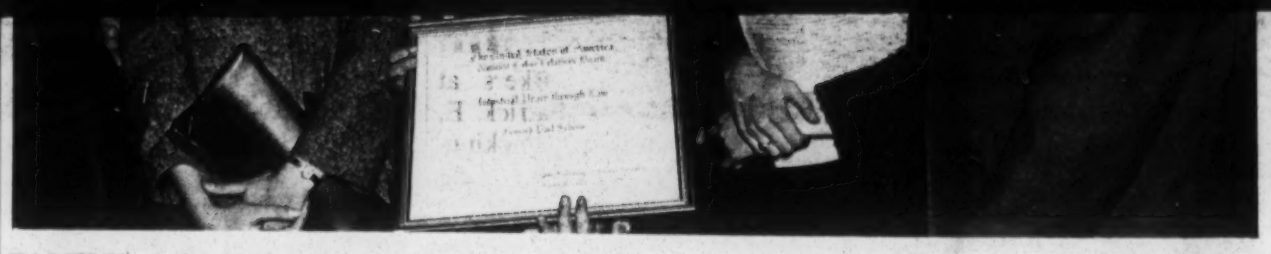
The union has signed up many independent operators but has been unable to get the major yards, represented in bargaining by the Pacific Coast Shipbuilders Association, to meet the strikers' minimum settlement terms, said a spokesman for IBEW Vice Pres. W. L. Vinson.

Association members have offered to settle for a pact providing wage hikes of 10 cents an hour for each of three years, plus welfare improvements.

Wages of shipyard electricians are "far below" those paid by non-shipyard employers, said the union. Navy shipyards are paying IBEW members 29 cents an hour more than private yards—a rate based on area wage standards, according to the same source.

"We want a coastwide agreement with the association based on today's prices, not those of 20 months ago," when other unions reached contract agreement, the IBEW said.

Charging that the intent of Taft-Hartley is "to put the weight of federal government pressure behind the employer," the union said the emergency procedures of the act were being invoked just as the strike was becoming effective.



FAMILY of the National Labor Relations Board's 25 millionth voter poses with Vice Pres. Hubert H. Humphrey (left rear) and Intl. Rep. Jack Hurvich (right rear) of the Steelworkers after Humphrey had presented a memento of the occasion to Leonard P. Scheno (right), who cast the symbolic ballot at the Reynolds Metals Co. plant, Woodbridge, N. J. Family members include Geraldine Scheno, 13; Mrs. Grace Scheno, and twins Nicholas and Grace, 12. Nicholas holds a certificate proclaiming "Industrial Peace Through Law."

State Job Service Hit For Rights Act Failures

Ohio's state employment service faces a possible cutoff of federal funds for failure to comply with the Civil Rights Act and with Labor Dept. non-discrimination regulations.

Assistant Sec. of Labor Stanley H. Ruttenberg announced that he has recommended "appropriate action" against the Ohio agency to Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz. One possible action would be withdrawal of federal funds under Title VI of the civil rights law.

Ruttenberg said Labor Dept. investigations indicated that the Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation:

- Made "no significant, purposive, or effective effort to ensure against its servicing employers who discriminate in their hiring practices on the basis of race."
- Continued "to consistently fill job orders from employers who restrict the hiring of Negroes to particular, usually menial, occupations—for example, the hiring by restaurants of Negroes for kitchen jobs but not as waitresses."
- Violated government recordkeeping requirements.
- Coerced "state employes to disclose statements made by them in the course of the investigation."

The Labor Dept. released copies of correspondence over several months between Ruttenberg and Willard P. Dudley, administrator of the Ohio agency.

Ruttenberg detailed the corrective actions he thought the agency should take to make sure that the employers it services are following non-discrimination standards in hiring.

Dudley replied in effect that his agency was doing the best it could, disagreed with some of the Labor Dept. allegations and didn't have the staff to permit "100 percent compliance" with Ruttenberg's suggestions.

This reply was rejected by Ruttenberg as lacking "adequate and clear assurances" that corrective actions will be taken.

Carl Griffin Dies; Painters' Official

Orlando, Fla.—Funeral services were held here for Carl E. Griffin, director of the Painters' Dept. of Apprenticeship & Training, who died of a heart attack while attending a meeting of the California Conference of Painters in Los Angeles.

Meany Urges Labor Support For Red Cross

The Red Cross "merits our support as citizens and trade unionists," AFL-CIO Pres. Meany declared in a special report on the agency's activities and needs to the top officers of affiliated unions.

Meany is a member of the ARC board of governors and is vice chairman for labor for the 1967 Red Cross campaign for members and funds.

Total needs for the year, the report shows, are estimated at $118.8 million, the highest since World War II. Included is $47.4 million for services to the armed forces, veterans and their families, an increase of $8.4 million over the previous year because of expanded work in Viet Nam.

The first aid program, through which increasing numbers of union members are being trained, is earmarked for $6.7 million; the blood services program, which has strong labor support, is down for $17.2 million, and the minimum for disaster relief is given as $12.8 million.

AFL-CIO members give most of their contributions to the Red Cross through united appeals. However, some 1,800 of the 3,000 Red Cross chapters raise their funds in campaigns during March. Other chapters conduct educational and recruitment drives during the month, and seek blood donors and students for first aid programs.

LPIU Negotiates Fund For Early Retirements

An employer-financed plan providing for early retirement of members of the Lithographers & Photoengravers has been formally established by a 12-man joint union-employer board of trustees.

The LPIU Early Retirement Fund will make it possible for a covered member to retire at age 60 with the equivalent of full social security benefits which will continue until age 65, when he will receive retirement benefits from the government and from pension plans negotiated by the union.

The trustees announced that more than 21 percent of the LPIU's 52,000 members are now covered by bargaining agreements making them eligible for early retirement.

The union's objective, it said, is to make it possible in the next decade for a member to retire at age 60 and to receive up to 40 percent of his earnings to the age of 65.

LPIU Pres. Kenneth J. Brown described the plan as one that "dovetails into our whole union approach for creating job security in a time of rapid technological development in our industry."

The plan was first negotiated in Chicago and Philadelphia and 10 additional locals have since won coverage in negotiations.

The plan is entirely financed by employers beginning with a one percent contribution of straight time earnings in the first year and growing to three per cent in the third year. The plan initially will have 12 trustees, six from the union and six from management.

St. John's Teachers Get Arbitration Bid

New York—Trustees of St. John's University have offered to arbitrate a dispute over the firing in December 1965 of 29 faculty members. The offer was announced by the university president at a press conference.

Pres. Israel Kugler of AFT College Teachers Local 1460, with 200 members on strike for more than a year in support of the fired teachers, called a week-end meeting to discuss the offer. A union spokesman called the proposal an encouraging "breakthrough" but said it was directed to individual teachers and not the union.

Anniversary Pickets

Union members picketed the university's new Jamaica, N.Y., campus Mar. 6, the second anniversary of the first walkout of 200 faculty members protesting the refusal of the administration to discuss faculty raises and pensions. St. John's—one of the nation's largest Catholic universities—has 12,200 students on its Jamaica and Brooklyn campuses.

Kugler said the union's latest offer to settle the dispute was rejected recently by the current university president, the Very Rev. Joseph T. Cahill of the Vincentian Fathers. The university has refused to recognize the union or meet with its leaders, one of whom is the Rev. Peter O'Reilly, a former St. John's teacher.

The American Association of University Professors officially censured the St. John's administration last spring for the firings. In December the Middle States Association of Colleges & Secondary Schools ordered St. John's to show cause by next Dec. 31 why its accreditation to give degrees should not be revoked.

The university now proposes to arbitrate this question: "Whether under all of the circumstances then prevailing the . . . trustees acted reasonably" in dismissing teachers or declining to renew their contracts.

Trustees attached these conditions to their offer: hearings shall be conducted in private; each faculty member may be represented by counsel of his own choice; all pending litigation shall be withdrawn "with prejudice" and both sides shall be "protected against libel or slander" in connection with the hearings.

Father Cahill said the university pledges itself to abide by the decision of an impartial panel of arbiters.

Sound Service Aides Win Raise

New York—Sound service engineers in movie theaters throughout the United States get wage increases totaling $10 a week in two steps under a new contract negotiated by the Theatrical Stage Employes and the two major service companies, Altec and RCA.

The first step of $6 is retroactive to Jan. 2, and the remaining $4 is effective on Jan. 2, 1968, when the top straight-time salary becomes $190.43 a week. Meal allowances in connection with overtime were hiked from $1.50 to $2.

IATSE Pres. Richard F. Walsh said that following past custom, smaller companies in the industry are expected to sign contracts carrying identical terms.

GM Ordered To Bargain on Subcontracts

A three-judge U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington has ruled that General Motors Corp. must negotiate with the Auto Workers on subcontracting of work which has the effect of reducing the number of jobs held by UAW members.

The court unanimously overturned a National Labor Relations Board ruling in favor of General Motors.

GM had hired an outside firm to take over an operation at its South Gate, Calif., plant. The court said this took away the jobs of six UAW members.

"Though these men got similar jobs elsewhere in the plant, the change had an adverse impact on the bargaining unit since it diminished by six the number of jobs performed by its members," the decision said.

General Motors had refused to bargain on the subcontracting issue. It claimed in court that the so-called "management rights" clause in its union contract gave it the authority to revise operations at the factory.

A company spokesman said GM is considering a further appeal of the court ruling.

EVC Current Issues

Make Old Age a Promise, Not a Peril...

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany testified before the House Ways & Means Committee in support of the Administration's social security bill, which has been introduced by Committee Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.). Following are excerpts from his testimony:

IT SEEMS TO US that H.R. 5710 offers a wide range of badly-needed improvements in social security benefits; and it offers a sound and equitable program for financing.

We can all agree, I think, that the benefit increases are long overdue. We can all agree, as well, on the reason for the delay. Over the last several years, the major objective of those who are deeply interested in social security was its extension to include medicare.

Now the time has come to return to fundamentals—the basic social security benefits.

Pres. Johnson has made a number of excellent proposals, which are incorporated into the bill. We believe the President's proposals are a long step toward the kind of social security system the American people should have.

This is most apparent when we consider the retirees—the elderly, who depend upon social security pensions for their support.

It is true, and it ought to be emphasized more strongly, that social security is not just an old folk's program.

It protects the widows and children of breadwinners who die. It protects the younger worker who is disabled, and those who have depended upon his earnings. These are vitally important safeguards that are too often overlooked, especially by the younger generation of workers, who need them most.

But the great majority of the 22 million Americans now dependent upon social security are elderly retirees. So let us look at their plight. It is a grim story.

THE AVERAGE monthly social security benefit for a single retired worker is about $84 a month—about $20 a week. The average benefit for a retired couple is about $144 a month or about $33.50 a week. For 2.5 million widows the average is only about $74 a month.

For millions of Americans these benefits, inadequate as they are, spell the difference between grinding poverty and at least subsistence living. Only 25 percent of the aged who now get social security benefits would be above the poverty level without them. In 1965, social security benefits lifted 5.5 million, or 38 percent of the aged, out of poverty; but they left 5 million, or 35 percent, below the poverty line.

What poverty line am I talking about? I mean the

Best Buy

In contrast, the Dept. of Labor budget for a minimum but adequate living for an elderly retired couple is about $3,000 a year in a large city and $2,500 in a smaller one. But even this is pitiful when you see what it provides. For example, it allows only about a half pound of meat and less than two eggs a day (and that's for two people); three dresses a year (including house dresses) for the wife; the man can replace his topcoat every ninth year.

For another comparison, let's look at the minimum wage. The $1.40 minimum wage which went into effect last month gives a full-time, year-round worker about $2,800. Next year he'll get $3,200 when the minimum goes to $1.60. Even this year, the worker at the minimum gets nearly three times the average social security benefit of a single retired worker and 60 percent more than a retired couple. Yet he's at the bottom of the scale; less than 15 percent of all workers get no more than the federal minimum wage.

During the 12 years from 1955 to 1966, inclusive, 90 percent of those who are now on the social security rolls began to draw their benefits. So when we use these

WE HAVE REFERRED to the erosion of social security benefits by rising prices. We in the AFL-CIO would favor some suitable arrangement for preventing this erosion. We believe that such a provision could be included in the program without any additional financing. The Federal Employees Retirement System and the military retirement system already contain provisions that adjust benefits automatically in accordance with increases in the Consumer Price Index. We see no reason why social security beneficiaries should receive any less.

Introduction of a cost-of-living mechanism in the social security system would be a forward step, but we would emphasize that this alone does not guarantee benefits.

Social security beneficiaries have a right not just to keep from falling behind in the race with living costs but to participate in the nation's increased standard of living. Therefore, Congress should give consideration to effective means of keeping social security benefit levels in line with other incomes. One way to do this would be to provide for periodic adjustment at fairly frequent intervals of benefit levels to some appropriate measure of active workers' earnings.

ON THE WHOLE, we are most enthusiastic about the proposed increases in minimum benefits. Those at the minimum are the poorest of the poor, and they are therefore a shockingly large group. For example, of the million-plus new social security beneficiaries in 1964, 16 per cent were at the minimum. Some 2.5 million individuals now receive the minimum of $44 a month.

Farm workers, who are among the lowest paid workers in the nation, make up a large proportion of this minimum benefit group.

Though the purpose of a social security system is broader than the elimination of poverty, it can be used for this purpose to a much greater extent than in the past. Increasing the minimum benefits would be a major blow against poverty among the aged. We also endorse the higher minimum for those with long histories of contributions, so that the 25-year worker would get no less than $100 a month.

The increase of at least 15 percent for most beneficiaries would represent considerable progress, but we urge that this be only a first step toward the 50 percent goal I have stated.

As you well know, higher benefits must be paid for, one way or another.

The AFL-CIO has long felt that substantial benefit

the kind of social security system the American people should have.

This is most apparent when we consider the retirees—the elderly, who depend upon social security pensions for their support.

It is true, and it ought to be emphasized more strongly, that social security is not just an old folk's program.

It protects the widows and children of breadwinners who die. It protects the younger worker who is disabled, and those who have depended upon his earnings. These are vitally important safeguards that are too often overlooked, especially by the younger generation of workers, who need them most.

But the great majority of the 22 million Americans now dependent upon social security are elderly retirees. So let us look at their plight. It is a grim story.

THE AVERAGE monthly social security benefit for a single retired worker is about $84 a month—about $20 a week. The average benefit for a retired couple is about $144 a month or about $33.50 a week. For 2.5 million widows the average is only about $74 a month.

For millions of Americans these benefits, inadequate as they are, spell the difference between grinding poverty and at least subsistence living. Only 25 percent of the aged who now get social security benefits would be above the poverty level without them. In 1965, social security benefits lifted 5.5 million, or 38 percent of the aged, out of poverty; but they left 5 million, or 35 percent, below the poverty line.

What poverty line am I talking about? I mean the Social Security Administration's definition of poverty. According to that definition, a single worker isn't poor if he has an income of $1,500 a year. A couple isn't poor if they have $1,900 a year coming in. It seems to me that this is about as poor as you can get.

Now I understand that this poverty level is based on a Dept. of Agriculture "economy food plan," intended for "temporary or emergency use when funds are low." That "economy food plan" allows 22 cents a meal for each person. Imagine that—22 cents. And since they came up with this figure, living costs have risen over 5 percent. So the social security poverty standard today isn't even enough for a "temporary or emergency" period. Yet for millions, it is not temporary; it is permanent.

'It's in Everybody's Future'

In contrast, the Dept. of Labor budget for a minimum but adequate living for an elderly retired couple is about $3,000 a year in a large city and $2,500 in a smaller one. But even this is pitiful when you see what it provides. For example, it allows only about a half pound of meat and less than two eggs a day (and that's for two people); three dresses a year (including house dresses) for the wife; the man can replace his topcoat every ninth year.

For another comparison, let's look at the minimum wage. The $1.40 minimum wage which went into effect last month gives a full-time, year-round worker about $2,800. Next year he'll get $3,200 when the minimum goes to $1.60. Even this year, the worker at the minimum gets nearly three times the average social security benefit of a single retired worker and 60 percent more than a retired couple. Yet he's at the bottom of the scale; less than 15 percent of all workers get no more than the federal minimum wage.

During the 12 years from 1955 to 1966, inclusive, 90 percent of those who are now on the social security rolls began to draw their benefits. So when we use these 12 years as a base, we are including practically everyone who is now on the receiving end.

There have been two increases in social security cash benefits over these 12 years. There was a 7.5 percent increase in 1958 and a 7 percent increase in 1965.

But neither of these increases—or both of them together—kept pace with the cost of living, much less the general standard of living. The figures are beyond dispute.

And, of course, we are not concerned just with the purely arithmetical calculation, we are concerned with the broader principle that older Americans are entitled to do better than just keep pace with the cost of living in a society when the standard of living is steadily rising. The American standard of living has gone up almost 50 percent since 1954. Surely all of us have an obligation to do more for older people than merely to hold them at a static—and extremely low—level of living. Who is better entitled to share in the increased standard of living than our senior citizens, who did so much to make it possible?

Consider this contrast. Average wages have risen more than 55 percent since December 1954. That average beneficiary with $66.60 a month in 1954 and $76 now, would need 36.5 percent, or $103.76, to keep pace with average wages. The 1959 retiree now receiving $95.30 would need 18 percent more.

One of the bills this committee is considering provides for an increase in social security benefits of only 8 percent. Its inadequacy is appalling.

In contrast, the average 20 percent increase in social security benefits recommended by the President would have real significance. They would enable the elderly and others dependent on social security to begin to share in the fruits of the nation's economic advance. I said "begin to share," and that's what I mean. The AFL-CIO Convention in December 1965, and the AFL-CIO Executive Council last month pointed out that a fully adequate level of social security payments would require a boost of at least 50 percent in present payments. But we regard, and we hope the Congress will regard, the proposed 20 percent increase in benefits this year as a substantial down payment toward that goal.

to effective means of keeping social security benefit levels in line with other incomes. One way to do this would be to provide for periodic adjustment at fairly frequent intervals of benefit levels to some appropriate measure of active workers' earnings.

ON THE WHOLE, we are most enthusiastic about the proposed increases in minimum benefits. Those at the minimum are the poorest of the poor, and they are therefore a shockingly large group. For example, of the million-plus new social security beneficiaries in 1964, 16 per cent were at the minimum. Some 2.5 million individuals now receive the minimum of $44 a month.

Farm workers, who are among the lowest paid workers in the nation, make up a large proportion of this minimum benefit group.

Though the purpose of a social security system is broader than the elimination of poverty, it can be used for this purpose to a much greater extent than in the past. Increasing the minimum benefits would be a major blow against poverty among the aged. We also endorse the higher minimum for those with long histories of contributions, so that the 25-year worker would get no less than $100 a month.

The increase of at least 15 percent for most beneficiaries would represent considerable progress, but we urge that this be only a first step toward the 50 percent goal I have stated.

As you well know, higher benefits must be paid for, one way or another.

The AFL-CIO has long felt that substantial benefit increases should be partially financed by raising the earnings base on which both contributions and benefits are determined. From the inception of the social security program, contributions have not been paid on all the earnings of workers, but in the early days they were paid on a very large proportion. The original $3,000 wage base covered 95 per cent of all taxable earnings. It is true that Congress has raised the wage base from time to time, but neither fast enough nor far enough.

This lag violates a cardinal principle of the American social insurance system of relating benefits to wages, and thus maintaining, to the greatest possible degree, established pre-retirement living standards. I might add that it also weakens the appeal of the

(Continued on Page 5)

Right on the Line

...Through Changes in Social Security

'We Can Do It Together'

(Continued from Page 4)

social security concept to the younger, well-paid worker.

The Administration bill would increase the wage base in three steps to $10,800 by 1974. This is a long step toward what we believe is the proper goal—at present income levels—of $15,000.

The bill would also raise the contribution rate from 4.4 percent in 1969 to 4.5 percent, and change the present eventual maximum of 4.85 percent to 5 percent (excluding the medicare tax).

AFL-CIO MEMBERS are properly known for their willingness to pay for what they get, in war and peace. I am completely confident that they will gladly pay their share toward a better social security system.

even its enactment will leave gaps that will need to be filled in the near future.

FOR INSTANCE, our members are increasingly faced with the hardships of enforced early retirement. We understand that more than half the men who apply for social security benefits do so before age 65. This means that their benefits are computed on an actuarially reduced basis, and this reduction is substantial.

We believe a flexible zone of retirement between 60 and 65 could be incorporated in the social security law—one that would permit retirement at age 60 with less than full actuarial reduction, and would allow older workers to draw disability benefits if their disability prevents them from doing their usual work —provided of course, such changes were accompanied by a substantial increase in benefits.

We would also like to see improvements in the basic disability insurance provisions. Disability benefits are not paid unless total disability lasts six months and only if the disability is expected to result in death or last for a continuous period of not less than 12 months. This long waiting period means that large numbers of workers, though disabled for extended periods of time, are without either earnings or benefits just at the time when their expenses are highest. The disability provisions should be changed to allow benefits after a shorter period of total disability—as a first step, three months, but eventually, one month—and without regard to the expected duration of the disability.

This year's gains should be regarded only as a down-payment toward a much better Social Security system in the future.

NOW LET US TURN to a related field, also covered in the bill—public welfare.

Most poor people—78 percent, in fact—get no public assistance whatever. And again I am referring to those who are "poor" by the Social Security Administration's definition, which, to me sounds more like destitution.

The main reason why so few people get public assistance is that less than half of the poor fall into the four narrow, artificial categories that now prevail: the needy aged, the blind, the permanently and totally disabled and certain needy families with de-

It All Adds Up

house rule" be immediately eliminated wherever it is in effect.

Adult recipients of these family benefits often lose welfare payments dollar-for-dollar, because of the money they earn when they are able to find work. This is a senseless penalty which destroys employment incentives. As the bill recognizes, earnings should be permitted up to some reasonable amount before welfare payments are reduced.

WE WARMLY SUPPORT the provision in the bill for temporary assistance to migratory workers and to others who come into a state seeking employment, who are ineligible for public assistance because of state residence requirements.

Other improvements are needed. Minimum stand-

(Continued from Page 4)

social security concept to the younger, well-paid worker.

The Administration bill would increase the wage base in three steps to $10,800 by 1974. This is a long step toward what we believe is the proper goal—at present income levels—of $15,000.

The bill would also raise the contribution rate from 4.4 percent in 1969 to 4.5 percent, and change the present eventual maximum of 4.85 percent to 5 percent (excluding the medicare tax).

AFL-CIO MEMBERS are properly known for their willingness to pay for what they get, in war and peace. I am completely confident that they will gladly pay their share toward a better social security system.

But in all candor I think you should know that in time, we shall urge a modest and gradual contribution to the social security trust fund from the general revenues of the United States. We believe that would be an effective way—and a simple one—to introduce the principle of progressive taxation to the social security system. We are not asking for this now, so I will not argue the case for it. But we will be back.

Now let me deal briefly with the proposal to raise the allowable earnings of social security beneficiaries. In one sense we are sympathetic, since those who have unearned income don't have to count it at all. But on balance we are against the idea. If people who can support themselves draw social security benefits, there will be less money for those who can't. What is proposed in the bill is no cause for alarm, but we would oppose any drastic rise in the earnings allowance.

NOW AS TO MEDICARE. The AFL-CIO supports the provision in the bill for extending medicare coverage to the disabled. All the reasons for providing health insurance coverage for the aged apply equally to those who are disabled. They are a high-cost, high-risk group, living on reduced incomes. At the very time they experience a drastic reduction in income, they are faced with medical and hospital care expenditures far in excess of those confronting the rest of the population. The increase in the earnings base provided in the bill, which applies to medicare as well as the basic social security contributions, would more than meet the additional cost involved.

There have been many complaints from older workers concerning the financial problems posed by prescription drugs and eye examinations. The AFL-CIO feels that the cost of these items, so essential to the health of the elderly, should be covered within the medicare program.

Doctors who insist on direct billing are also causing problems for medicare patients. Many retirees are required to raise substantial amounts of money, often thousands of dollars, to pay a doctor so they can have a receipted bill to secure reimbursement. Even though the retiree will eventually be paid in full or in part, the interval causes resentment at best and hardship at worst.

We say the direct billing method is wrong and the assignment method should be the sole procedure for paying doctor bills. This would relieve medicare patients of the burden of raising large amounts of cash prior to reimbursement by the intermediary and would protect them from unreasonably high charges by doctors.

This is a forward-looking bill which would make substantial improvements in the social security system. But disability insurance provisions. Disability benefits are not paid unless total disability lasts six months and only if the disability is expected to result in death or last for a continuous period of not less than 12 months. This long waiting period means that large numbers of workers, though disabled for extended periods of time, are without either earnings or benefits just at the time when their expenses are highest. The disability provisions should be changed to allow benefits after a shorter period of total disability—as a first step, three months, but eventually, one month—and without regard to the expected duration of the disability.

This year's gains should be regarded only as a downpayment toward a much better Social Security system in the future.

NOW LET US TURN to a related field, also covered in the bill—public welfare.

Most poor people—78 percent, in fact—get no public assistance whatever. And again I am referring to those who are "poor" by the Social Security Administration's definition, which, to me sounds more like destitution.

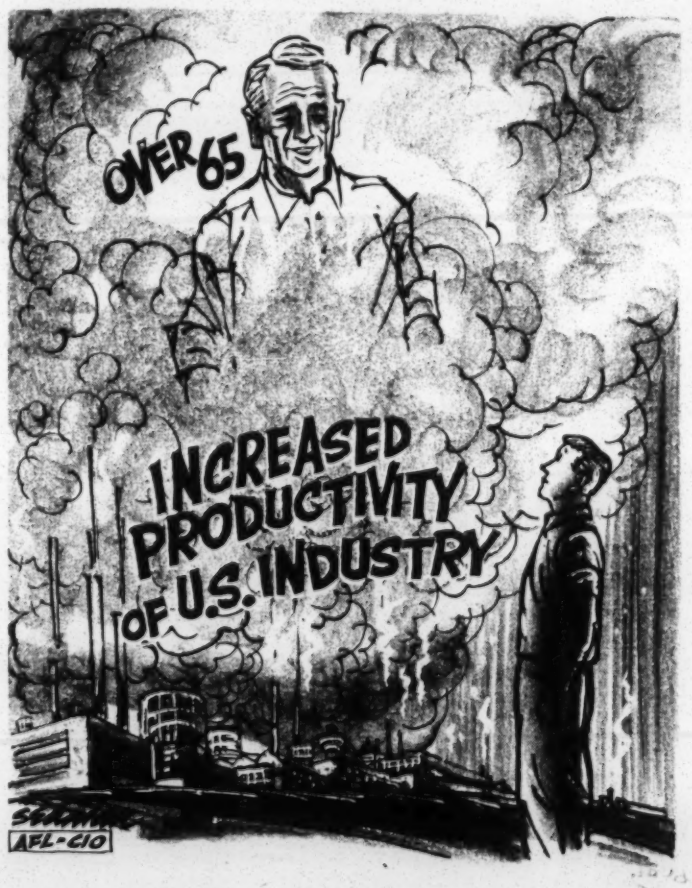
The main reason why so few people get public assistance is that less than half of the poor fall into the four narrow, artificial categories that now prevail: the needy aged, the blind, the permanently and totally disabled and certain needy families with dependent children. These are the categories for which federal matching grants for public assistance are available.

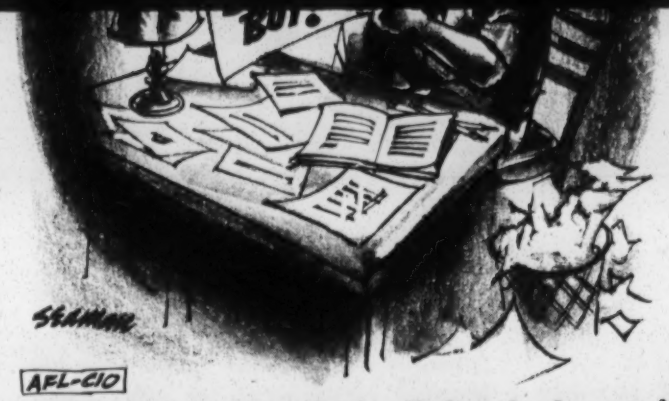
Besides the limited categories, there are other reasons why public assistance helps only a small fraction of the poor. Some states lack the money—or the will—to participate in all the available federal programs. Some states impose limitations and restrictions not required by federal law. And assistance standards in some states are so low that they exclude many persons who are below the state's own minimum needs standard and far below the poverty level—any sort of poverty level.

The President has recommended, and the bill requires, the states to raise cash payment to welfare recipients to the level the state itself sets as the minimum for subsistence; and it requires the states to bring these minimum standards up to date annually. We endorse this proposal.

We also support the bill's extension of aid to families with dependent children. But we strongly urge that this program, now voluntarily with the states, be made mandatory, and that the so-called "man in the house rule" be immediately eliminated wherever it is in effect.

'I Did My Part'





Adult recipients of these family benefits often lose welfare payments dollar-for-dollar, because of the money they earn when they are able to find work. This is a senseless penalty which destroys employment incentives. As the bill recognizes, earnings should be permitted up to some reasonable amount before welfare payments are reduced.

WE WARMLY SUPPORT the provision in the bill for temporary assistance to migratory workers and to others who come into a state seeking employment, who are ineligible for public assistance because of state residence requirements.

Other improvements are needed. Minimum standards should be required in housing occupied by public welfare recipients, the rents of which are paid from public funds. Public welfare should stop subsidizing slum housing.

Aid to the permanently and totally disabled should be extended to the relatively short-term disabled, recognizing partial disability which is seriously incapacitating and eliminating the present minimum age of 18.

Detailed investigations of public assistance applicants and recipients are essentially demeaning. They should be replaced by less costly and more democratic methods of determining eligibility. These should be consistent with constitutional and statutory rights, and should not violate the privacy or dignity of individuals seeking assistance.

Child welfare programs should be extended and improved. Better services are needed for the care and protection of children, including foster care, day care and institutional services.

FINALLY, LET ME INCLUDE in the record these paragraphs from the AFL-CIO Executive Council statement adopted on Feb. 20:

"The general objectives of the President's proposals for revision of the tax structure for the elderly are based on the fact that the present structure is both unduly complex and lacking in equity.

"However, we find one major fault in the particular mechanism the Administration has proposed for achieving these objectives. We particularly oppose the aspects of the Administration's recommendations which involve taxation of social security and railroad retirement benefits.

"Social security payments under federal programs have always been tax exempt while the incomes on which contributions to the social insurance funds have been based have been subject to tax. This should continue to be the guiding principle."

The matter at issue is both complex and important.

Social security, in the broadest sense, represents the striving of mankind for a better world; a world in which old age is a promise instead of a peril, in which illness or premature death are personal tragedies rather than family catastrophes.

There is a long way to go before this nation, much less the world, reaches these goals, and the bill before you falls far short of them.

Yet the goals are important. They are important because if we stop striving for them, if we settle for a comfortable version of things as they are, the American spirit will be dead indeed.

I know it is not dead, and, Mr. Chairman, so do you.

The Exceptions

THE EMPLOYER who is willing to scrap his authoritarian—or, at best, paternalistic—role and accept employes as free human beings, with all the dignity that term implies, has the most to gain, and gains the most, from collective bargaining. Recognition of that fact by many employers is a great accomplishment of the National Labor Relations Act.

For our part, we in the labor movement can be proud of our record in observing the onerous restrictions of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts. Seven separate types of "unfair labor practices," some with numerous subdivisions, are forbidden to unions; while employers must follow only five simple mandates. The clear assumption seems to be that unions are more apt to go wrong. Yet in 1966 only 18 percent of all unfair labor practice complaints were issued against labor organizations.

Those who blandly insist that "labor is accepted today"—and they are usually people who want us to roll over and play dead—ought to look at the exceptions.

Let me give you two examples. One arises from a fault in the the law. The other arises from the primitive behavior of a certain kind of corporate management.

The first has to do with agricultural workers. Today the farm worker is encountering all the techniques of jungle warfare from which most workers have long been protected by the Wagner Act. That such circumstances should exist in the wealthiest country in the world—and in some of the richest states of that country—is a national disgrace.

The farm worker does not ask for charity or special privilege. All he seeks is that the national labor policy, applied to all other industries, be applied to him as well. All he asks is that the machinery established by Congress, to resolve labor-management problems and settle any question of representation, be made available to him.

THE SECOND EXAMPLE relates to the continuing, calculated and concerted violation of the National Labor Relations Act by certain employers and groups of employers, including some very large corporations.

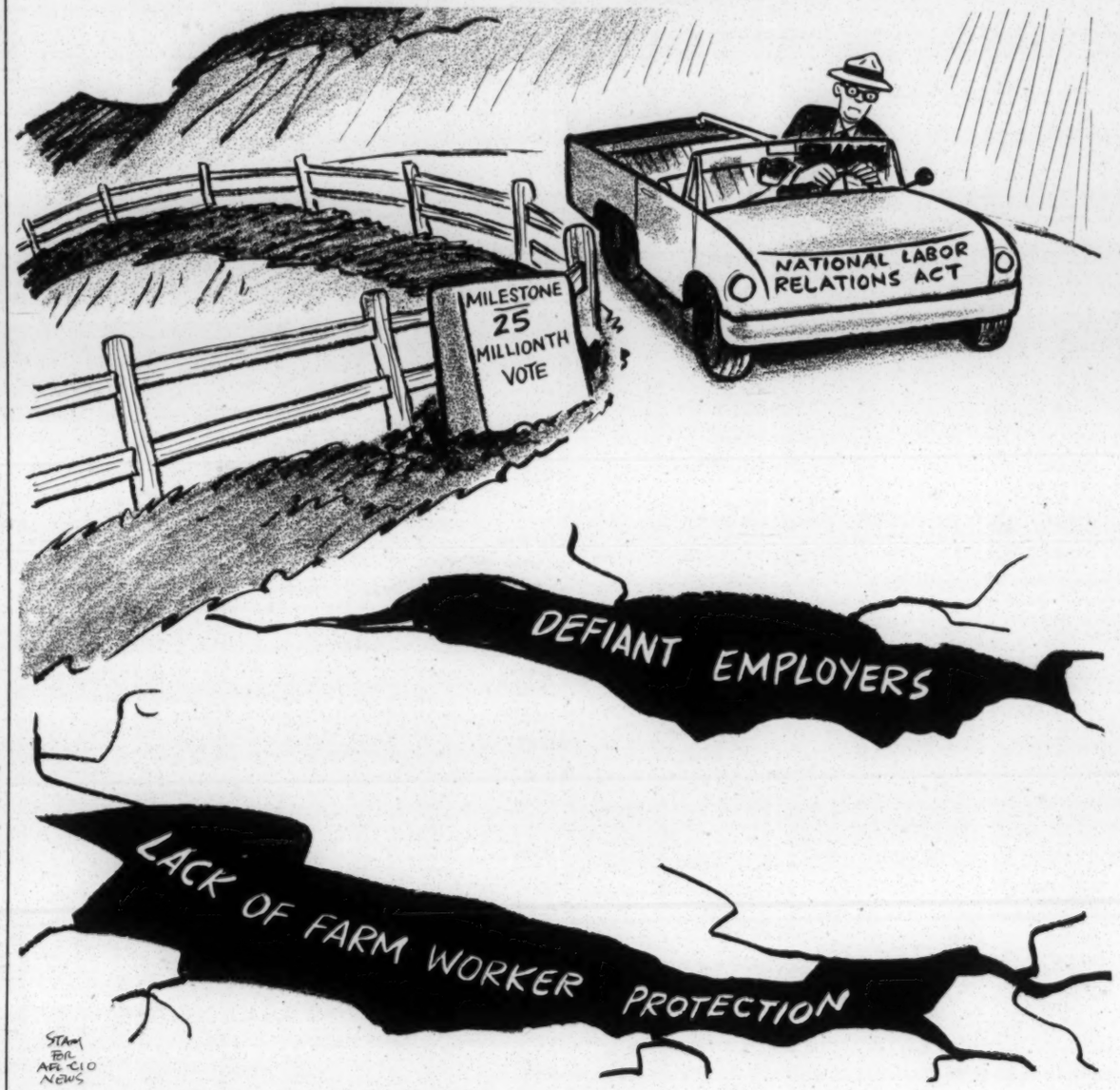
This deliberate law-breaking is primarily identified with the South, particularly the southern textile industry. But it can be found in other sections, too.

The behavior of these employers accounts for the fact that nearly two-thirds of the unfair labor practice charges filed against employers in fiscal 1966 involved the discharge of workers for union activity.

This not only indicates a widespread disregard for the law. It also reveals a total lack of humane regard for workers and their families.

I am not talking about the legal resistance of employers to union organization. We think even the legal resistance is short-sighted

Needed: Major Repairs



Executive Council Statement:

Labor Warns Against Retreat In Nation's Battle on Poverty

country in the world—and in some of the richest states of that country—is a national disgrace.

The farm worker does not ask for charity or special privilege. All he seeks is that the national labor policy, applied to all other industries, be applied to him as well. All he asks is that the machinery established by Congress, to resolve labor-management problems and settle any question of representation, be made available to him.

THE SECOND EXAMPLE relates to the continuing, calculated and concerted violation of the National Labor Relations Act by certain employers and groups of employers, including some very large corporations.

This deliberate law-breaking is primarily identified with the South, particularly the southern textile industry. But it can be found in other sections, too.

The behavior of these employers accounts for the fact that nearly two-thirds of the unfair labor practice charges filed against employers in fiscal 1966 involved the discharge of workers for union activity.

This not only indicates a widespread disregard for the law. It also reveals a total lack of humane regard for workers and their families.

I am not talking about the legal resistance of employers to union organization. We think even the legal resistance is short-sighted, but we acknowledge the constitutional right of employers to be foolish.

What I am talking about is the defiance of law, right down to the perjury level. One remedy would be more adequate penalties on the deliberate law breakers. The NLRB has been moving in this direction, even under the present statute, and we hope it will move farther.

Meanwhile, much could be accomplished if employers who have accepted unionism and collective bargaining would actively and publicly disassociate themselves from those who flout the law.

—From an address by AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany during the celebration of the 25 millionth ballot cast in NLRB elections.

AFL-CIO News

Official Weekly Publication of the
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

GEORGE MEANY, *President*
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Executive Council

George M. Harrison	Harry C. Bates	David Dubinsky
Joseph Curran	M. A. Hutcheson	Joseph D. Keenan
Jacob S. Potofsky	A. Philip Randolph	Richard F. Walsh
Lee W. Minton	Joseph A. Beirne	James A. Suffridge
Karl F. Feller	Paul L. Phillips	Peter T. Schoemann
Paul Hall	Herman D. Kenin	John J. Grogan
I. W. Abel	P. L. Siemiller	David Sullivan
Hunter P. Wharton	Paul Jennings	George Burdon
A. J. DeAndrade	Ralph Helstein	William Pollock

Director of Publications: Saul Miller
Managing Editor: Willard Shelton

Assistant Editors:
John M. Barry — Eugene A. Kelly
Gervase N. Love — David L. Perlman

AFL-CIO Headquarters: 815 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
Telephone: NAtional 8-3870

Subscriptions: $2.00 a year; 10 or more, $1.50 a year

Vol. XII — Saturday, March 11, 1967 — No. 10

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations does not accept paid advertising in any of its official publications. No one is authorized to solicit advertising for any publication in the name of the AFL-CIO.

Executive Council Statement:

Labor Warns Against Retreat In Nation's Battle on Poverty

The following is excerpted from the statement, "The War on Poverty," adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council Feb. 26, 1967, at its meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla.

THE AFL-CIO is deeply committed to our nation's efforts to eradicate poverty. When Pres. Johnson first called for "an unconditional war, here and now, on poverty," he struck a deep response from the labor movement. Organized labor, since its birth, has sought to eliminate poverty through trade union organization, collective bargaining, and social legislation.

We have supported, and continue to support, programs aimed at helping the poor move from the hopelessness and despair of poverty toward a sharing of America's general prosperity. The AFL-CIO has long recognized that such programs essentially must be based on:

1. Job opportunities, at decent wages, for the millions of impoverished who are able to work and seek employment.

2. Adequate social security benefits for the aged who are retired.

3. Adequate income maintenance, through a much-improved and overall system of public assistance, for those additional impoverished millions who are not self-sustaining, due to the absence of the family breadwinner, disability or other causes.

The road out of poverty requires full and fair opportunities for education and vocational training, decent housing, effective enforcement of civil rights, and adequate social service assistance. The eventual elimination of poverty, however, must emphasize jobs, income and upgrading as its foundation.

Many essential measures have been enacted by Congress, since 1961, that are parts of the anti-poverty effort—including civil rights legislation, substantial improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act, federal aid to general and vocational education, model cities legislation, and the Economic Opportunity Act. The AFL-CIO was a major force in seeking adoption of all these advances.

The Economic Opportunity Act—with its broad attack on the causes and continuation of poverty—is a vital part of the overall effort to break the poverty cycle.

Organized labor has not only given moral support to this program, but it has been involved at all levels. Today, hundreds of AFL-CIO members serve on community action boards and committees. In addition, AFL-CIO unions have assumed active sponsorship of anti-poverty programs.

Such efforts by organized labor should be expanded in the thousands of communities across the length and breadth of our country—translating AFL-CIO supported national legislation into reality in local communities.

WE REPUDIATE the attacks on the war on poverty aimed at crippling or destroying the entire program. We likewise reject the attempt to erect a mythology that America cannot afford to wage an effective war on poverty.

The AFL-CIO remains convinced that our country has the material resources and human talents to meet both its international requirements and its homefront needs. A retreat now—through a failure to appropriate adequate funds to carry the war on poverty forward—will dash the hopes of those millions of Americans who have yet to rise out of poverty and who are still denied full and equal opportunities.

Recent proposals to involve the business community more directly in the war on poverty, along with others, are highly commendable. The normal functions of business enterprises, as well as the managerial and technical abilities of industry, have their vital and proper roles in the nation's effort to eliminate poverty.

It is our conviction, however, that no segment of our society should seek to profit from the special services it renders to the war on poverty program. We are opposed to the proposal of a federal charter for a profit-making, war-on-poverty company. We view with skepticism and misgiving other proposals for profit-making business ventures in Office of Economic Opportunity and related programs.

EVC - Current Issues -

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 667-1780 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: No.6-67
March 29, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A CHANCE FOR HEARINGS ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Signs of movement at last! After a month in which the Civil Rights Act of 1967 languished in Committee, Senate sponsors of the bill have engaged in a series of maneuvers designed to get hearings on its provisions.

Back To Judiciary

The six sections have been reintroduced as separate bills. Title I, which would prohibit discrimination in the selection of federal juries and Title II, which would extend similar prohibitions to the selection of juries in state courts have been reintroduced by Sen. Joseph Tydings (D., Md.). Their numbers are respectively, S.1319 and S.1318. Both of these bills have been referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, whose chairman, James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) has shown his customary disposition to bury the omnibus bill.

However, it may be possible to get hearings on these separate sections. Senator Tydings, as chairman of a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee hopes to hold hearings on the federal jury bill and in fact has already begun to hold hearings on other jury reform measures he has introduced. The state jury section may be sent to an uncertain fate, a subcommittee headed by Senator Sam Ervin (D., N.C.).

Title V, of the omnibus bill, which would make any interference with constitutional rights a criminal offense, has been reintroduced by Senator Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.), as S.1362 and goes to Judiciary as does S.1359, Title VI, the section that would extend the life of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission for five years beyond its scheduled termination date of January 31, 1968.

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH FOUNDATION
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
MEDICAL COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWMAN STUDENT FEDERATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH — DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant

Equal Jobs and Equal Housing

The remaining two sections of the bill have been removed from Eastland's grasp. Title IV, the section that would eventually prohibit discrimination in the sale and rental of all housing has been reintroduced as S.1358 by Senator Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.) and referred to Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Title III, to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is now S.1308 and goes to Labor and Public Welfare. It was introduced by Senator Joseph Clark (D., Pa.).

Chances for Hearings are Improved

Complicated as these actions sound, their net result is a brightened prospect for hearings on different parts of the omnibus bill. (S.1026). After hearings are completed, the next step will be to get one or more of the sections reported out of Committee. Once a section reaches the Senate floor the other parts can be added as amendments and the entire measure reassembled. An alternative would be to attach the omnibus bill as an amendment to a minor measure and get it before the Senate that way.

It is easy to say that but saying it takes little note of the pitfalls that lie between possibilities and accomplishment. The chief drawback we face is a familiar one: apathy in Congress and in the nation.

Urgency is the Key

Last year, when he was addressing the White House Conference on Civil Rights, Roy Wilkins told the delegates that if there was to be any legislation that year they had to remember that "urgency is the key." It still is. Very little will happen unless we convey to our Senators the desperate need for the Civil Rights Act of 1967.

The first session of this 90th Congress is moving slowly. Members have already begun to talk about when they are going to quit. According to the Washington Post (March 24, 1967), shortly before the Easter recess, "Democratic and Republican leaders compared legislative notes and found only one common denominator: they would like to pass all appropriations bills plus a number of priority items and adjourn sine die by August 1." There was talk of a September first adjournment at the latest. The same article says the President's 1967 civil rights recommendations are not among the priority items.

We Must Make the Change

That Congress does not assign a high priority to civil rights is scarcely news. The civil rights bills of 1963 and 1965 were fairly low down on the lists until public indignation compelled Congress to deal with the issues.

Congress will continue to dally with civil rights legislation unless we insist that action be taken. The obligation falls on the groups in the Leadership Conference to organize in 1967 the kind of broad scale national support that brought us the legislative advances of the last few years. Congress responds to a unified demand.

It's Still the Omnibus Bill

The introduction of the six sections of the bill as six separate bills need not confuse anyone. The goal for us is still the total civil rights package, the omnibus bill, S.1026. Mail on the bill is terribly low. Every group in the Conference has to set its own priority list at once, put S.1026 at the top of it, and get members to write urging their Senators to work for early passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1967.

BVC — Current Issues MAR 1967

Big Social Security Benefit Boost Badly Needed

President Johnson has proposed to Congress an average boost of 20 percent in Social Security benefits. Organized labor believes this would be "a substantial down payment" on the 50 percent increase that is really needed.

The 50 percent rise was called for by the last AFL-CIO convention, but the delegates acknowledged that it would be "extremely difficult" to get this large an increase through Congress in view of the cost of the Viet Nam war.

Pension benefits were raised in 1958 and again in 1965, but for people dependent on them they are still far below the poverty level. The increases did not even keep up with the rise in the cost of living.

The following questions and answers explain what the increases will do and why they are needed.

MONTHLY SOCIAL SECURITY CASH BENEFITS
UNDER PRESENT LAW AND UNDER PROPOSAL

AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS	RETIRED OR DISABLED WORKER 1/		RETIRED OR DISABLED WORKER AND WIFE 2/		WIDOW AGE 62 OR OVER		YOUNG WIDOW AND 1 CHILD	
	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED
MINIMUM BENEFIT >	$44.00	$70.00	$66.00	$105.00	SOLE SURVIVOR $44.00	$70.00	$66.00	$105.00
$100	63.20	72.70	94.80	109.10	52.20	70.00	94.80	109.10
150	78.20	90.00	117.30	135.00	64.60	74.30	117.40	135.00
200	89.90	103.40	135.90	155.10	74.20	85.40	135.00	155.20
250	101.70	117.00	152.60	175.50	84.00	96.60	152.60	175.60
300	112.40	129.30	168.60	194.00	92.80	106.70	168.60	194.00
350	124.20	142.90	186.30	214.40	102.50	117.90	186.40	214.40
400	135.90	156.30	203.90	234.50	112.20	129.00	204.00	234.60
450	146.00	167.90	219.00	251.90	120.50	138.60	219.00	252.00
500	157.00	180.60	235.50	270.60	129.60	149.00	235.60	271.00
550 3/	168.00	193.20	252.00	283.20	138.60	159.40	252.00	289.80
650	168.00	221.00	252.00	311.00	138.60	182.40	252.00	331.60
750	168.00	248.00	252.00	338.00	138.60	204.60	252.00	372.00
900	168.00	288.00	252.00	378.00	138.60	237.60	252.00	432.00

1/ ASSUMES THAT RETIRED WORKER AND WIFE ARE AGE 65 OR OVER WHEN BENEFITS START.
2/ MAXIMUM POSSIBLE UNDER PRESENT LAW.

Q. Who would get how much of the proposed 20 percent Social Security increase?

A. Every retirement benefit would be raised at least 15%. The biggest proportionate increases would go to the 2½ million retirees who now get only the minimum of $44 a month ($66 for a couple). These minimums would become $70 and $105. Also, the minimums for retirees who were covered for 25 years or more of their working lives would rise to $100 for an individual and $150 for a couple.

The special benefits for persons 72 or older who never qualified for Social Security pensions — a provision adopted along with medicare in 1965 — would be $50 rather than $35 a month ($75 instead of $52.50 for a

strikes. A worker who was disabled at an early age could draw as much as $78,000 to support his family, even at present benefit rates.

Then there's protection for your survivors. A widow with two small children could collect more than $65,000 — again, at present levels.

Q. It looks to me like I'll be paying 5% of everything I earn. Couldn't I buy myself just as much protection from a private insurance company for that kind of money?

A. No. A number of persons are spreading this story, but it just isn't so.

A young man of (say) 25, just entering the work-force, **could not** buy, for the amount he pays in Social Security taxes, a private annuity policy that would pay as much as the pres-

This not only protects the improvident and the unlucky; it protects the prudent against unforeseeable disasters. No private insurance can do that.

Q. Why don't we just put in a cost-of-living escalator on Social Security benefits — to keep them on a par with prices?

A. There is nothing wrong with an escalator arrangement if it is properly applied. But an escalator should not be used as a way of keeping inadequate benefits in the same place. Basic benefits should be raised by 50 percent, quite apart from escalator provisions.

Also, an escalator clause should take into consideration that if the general standard of American life rises, aside from prices, that of Social Security beneficiaries should rise as well.

discussed in terms of the old folks, but actually, it's a young people's program, too.

Suppose one of the old folks got sick. It might have killed you financially, until a couple of years ago. Not anymore, thanks to medicare.

Or you're driving home late one night and some nut with hot wheels knocks you into the branches. If you're just crippled, Social Security will keep you and your hopes alive; if you're dead, Social Security will take care of your wife and kids.

But lets say you get old. The average single member has a Social Security income of less than $1,000 a year; the average couple, about $1,700.

Do you think an increase of 15 or 20 — or even 50 percent — would be "too far"? Would you like to live on this kind of income?

Q. My folks have a union pension plan and so do I. Don't most people have something else besides Social Security to protect them?

A. No. If you do, and your folks do, you belong to a very fortunate minority. Only 15% of those presently retired have any sort of private pension income. The other 85% depend on Social Security alone. About 30% of the present labor force is covered by some sort of private pension arrangement. In another 15 or 20 years, this will show up in the pension statistics. But that will still leave 70% with nothing but Social Security.

Consider just one statistic. About a third of the aged don't have a telephone, because they can't afford it. How would you like that, come 65?

Q. Under the income tax, the

or older who never qualified for Social Security pensions — a provision adopted along with medicare in 1965 — would be $50 rather than $35 a month ($75 instead of $52.50 for a couple). And another 200,000 persons would be added to the 900,000 eligible for such benefits.

For other pensioners — the vast majority — the basic increase would be 15%.

Q. How much are we going to pay for this?

A. Let's just look at the next three years. You are now paying 4.4% in Social Security taxes on everything you earn, up to $6,600 a year. Under the present law, the rate will go up to 4.9% in 1969.

The new proposals would raise your tax rate to 5% (instead of 4.9%) in 1969. Next year, it would increase the earnings base to $7,800.

Now for the dollars and cents. If you earn $7,000 a year, in 1968 — the proposals would cost you an extra $17.60.

If you still earn $7,000 in 1969, the higher tax rates will add another $42. But $35 of this is already scheduled; only $7 would be added by the proposed improvements.

Remember that most of this tax increase is already law. The new bill would amount to only 10¢ on each $100 of earnings.

Bear in mind that you're paying for a Social Security package that includes many other benefits plus retirement.

Q. What "other benefits"?

A. Medicare for the aged is part of the package. So is disability insurance, regardless of age, if you are totally unable to work for a year or more; a lifetime income if catastrophe

A young man of (say) 25, just entering the work-force, **could not** buy, for the amount he pays in Social Security taxes, a private annuity policy that would pay as much as the present Social Security retirement benefit 40 years later.

He **could** buy a private policy that would pay about 25% more than present Social Security retirement benefits **IF** he could add the employer's equal tax payment to his own. That's a very big **IF**, and it's not the only one.

To maintain his private policy, the young man would need to have 40 uninterrupted years of earnings high enough to pay the premiums. A worker can earn maximum benefits over a 10-year period under Social Security.

But that's only part of the story.

The private policy would set a fixed, dollar benefit payable on maturity; Social Security benefits have gone up periodically in the past and are sure to rise in the future.

The private policy would cover retirement income only, except for some insurance provision in the event of death. It would not include (at this price) any disability coverage, much less medicare.

This kind of protection could not be bought at any price. Social Security (unlike private insurance companies) does not need to show a profit, and pays its executives by government rather than by executive-suite standards.

There are other considerations:

Social Security draws on the resources of the whole community to make sure that, in the public interest and for the benefits of all, every employed person has a measure of security in his old age, or in the event of his untimely death or disability.

Also, an escalator clause should take into consideration that if the general standard of American life rises, aside from prices, that of Social Security beneficiaries should rise as well.

Q. But let's say I'm 35 or 40 years away from retirement. I'll pay the money all those years, but I won't get any more benefits than somebody who paid only 10 years at the same rate. Is that fair?

A. Every insurance system is based on averages and probabilities, including Social Security. There is no way of guaranteeing that every participant will get back more than he put in, or even as much. But your chances are infinitely greater under Social Security.

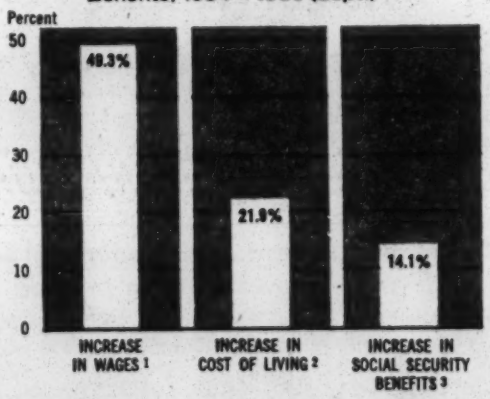
First, you are only putting up half; the employer is matching you. Second, if you live to 65 you have the pension. If you die earlier you have the death benefit and survivors' support. If you're disabled before 65, or sick afterwards, you also collect.

Q. I'm not against helping the old people, but aren't we going a little too far?

A. No, we're not; even from the standpoint of the very young. Sure, Social Security has generally been

THE LAG IN SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

Increases in Wages and Cost of Living Compared to Increase in Social Security Benefits, 1954 – 1966 (Sept.)



1 Increase in Average Hourly Earnings excluding overtime and interindustry shifts.
2 Consumer Price Index.
3 Based on percentage increase in average monthly benefit of a single worker who retired in 1954.

Consider just one statistic. About a third of the aged don't have a telephone, because they can't afford it. How would you like that, come 65?

Q. Under the income tax, the more you make, the higher rate you pay. But everybody pays the same rate on Social Security, even the millionaires. Do you think that's right?

A. No, it's not — but it's not as unfair as it sounds. The benefit formulas are arranged to pay more, in proportion, to those with the lowest earnings. So while the lower-paid are taxed proportionately more when they're working they get a bigger break when they collect.

Q. Let's look down the road a little farther. There's going to be a push for bigger pensions, for expanded medicare. Who's going to pay for that?

A. To a great degree, you are. You want a secure old age, not lavish, but with enough money to live decently. It has to be paid for, one way or another; partly perhaps, with a company pension plan (using money you might otherwise have had in wages) and through Social Security (half paid for by a tax on employers — money you would be unlikely to get otherwise).

You want some kind of protection against the unexpected — death, disability, chronic illness — for yourself and those you're responsible for. Only Social Security can do that job.

Q. But seriously — where will it all end?

A. We hope it won't end until the Social Security concept in the United States catches up with and surpasses the rest of the world.

If West Germany can spend 17 percent of its gross national product; Belgium, 14.4; Britain, 11.1; Ireland, 8.9, for social welfare, surely the United States can do better than 7 percent.

MARCH 1967

IUD Agenda

Copyright © 1967 by Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO. All rights reserved

Published by the
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20006

Agenda is a monthly magazine for people who are working actively on the great unfinished business of democracy's agenda for all humanity.

WALTER P. REUTHER
President

JACK T. CONWAY
Executive Director

JACOB CLAYMAN
Administrative Director

NICHOLAS ZONARICH
Organization Director

LEONARD LESSER
General Counsel

VICE-PRESIDENTS

GEORGE BURDON
WALTER BURKE
CHARLES COGEN
JOHN CRULL
JOSEPH CURRAN
KARL FELLER
GORDON M. FREEMAN
MAX GREENBERG
JOHN F. GRINER
A. F. GROSPIRON
A. F. HARTUNG
RALPH HELSTEIN
PAUL JENNINGS
THOMAS J. LLOYD
WALTER L. MITCHELL
PAUL L. PHILLIPS
WILLIAM POLLOCK
S. FRANK RAFTERY
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
W. VERNIE REED
FRANK ROSENBLUM
P. L. SIEMILLER
LOUIS STULBERG
JERRY WURF

EDITOR

Henry Santiestevan
Director, IUD Information Center

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

Legislative Section
Jack Beidler, Director
Marvin Caplan, Newsletter
Norman Hill, Civil Rights
Collective Bargaining Section
Richard T. Leonard, Director
Stephen Harris, Newsletter
Research Section
Woodrow L. Ginsburg, Director

* * *

IUD Agenda is the official monthly publication of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO. Address all correspondence to the Editor, *IUD Agenda*, 815 16th Street N.W., Washington D.C. 20006. Telephone: Code 202 EX 3-5581. Second class postage paid at the Post Office, Washington, D.C. 35¢ per copy; $3.50 per year.

VOL. 3 NO. 3 PRINTED IN U.S.A. MARCH 1967

Contents

Top of the Agenda

1. 'Save Our Cities' ..... 2 — Excerpts of testimony by Walter P. Reuther on the imaginative steps required to make our cities decent places in which to work and live.

2. 'Model Cities?' ..... 8 — A government expert outlines the intense, coordinated efforts necessary to abolish the slum way of life.

3. A New Answer ..... 12 — The government's rent supplement program suggests a way to link public and private efforts for better homes for low income families.

A New Script for Collective Bargaining ..... 16 — New contracts with Armour & Co. were negotiated six months early—and brought big benefits to the food firm's employees.

'Cruel Paradox—National Disgrace' ..... 19 — Our country's failure to ratify UN Human Rights Agreements conflicts with our leadership role in the free world.

Computers Serving You! ..... 25 — Unions, schools, hospitals are all finding dramatic uses for computers—and we've just scratched the surface of the benefits.

Departments

Organizing Newsletter 23

Economy Newsletter 31

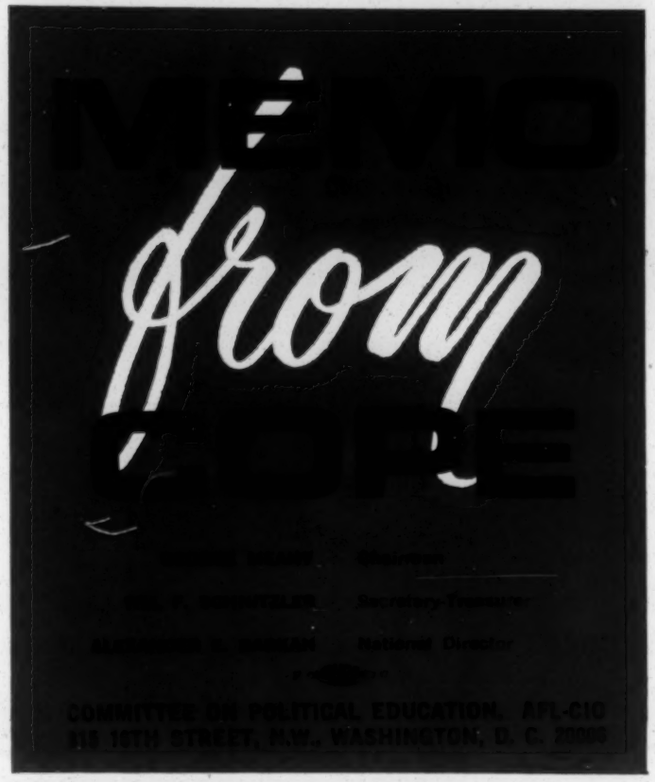
Editorial consultation and design by Maurer, Fleisher, Zon & Associates, Inc.; production and layout by Art Harless; picture editor, John Burwell; cover picture—downtown Baltimore by John Burwell; printed by The McCall Printing Company, National Publishing Division.

The following pages contain excerpts of both the prepared testimony and the question-and-answer discussion when Walter P. Reuther appeared before the Ribicoff Committee of the U.S. Senate.

The date was December 5, 1966. The technical name of the Senate group is the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. Under the leadership of Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D. Conn.), it has been conducting a searching and thoughtful examination of the many problems that confront the American city.

Reuther appeared on behalf of three organizations: as president of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; as president of the UAW; and as chairman of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty.

NO. 7-67 APRIL 3, 1967



Dirksen Plan Again?

1-1 Foes Feint With Left, Set Up Hard Right

The Supreme Court's one man, one vote ruling is under siege again.

The conservative interests that oppose it—the Farm Bureau, some state legislators and right-wing groups—have prevailed on 32 state legislatures to pass resolutions calling for a constitutional convention to overturn the Court decision. This leaves them two short of the two-thirds of the states Article V of the Constitution requires for Congress to call such a convention.

The masterminds behind the campaign appear to be borrowing a gambit from prize-fighting. It's a classic move in boxing. First, you feint with your left. Then, with your opponent distracted—bang—you cross with a hard right.

The feint seems to be the constitutional convention. The hard right appears to be new pressure they can bring on Congress to do the job itself on one man, one vote if enough state legislatures act. They want to breathe new life into the Dirksen amendment which twice fell short of a two-thirds majority in the Senate in recent years.

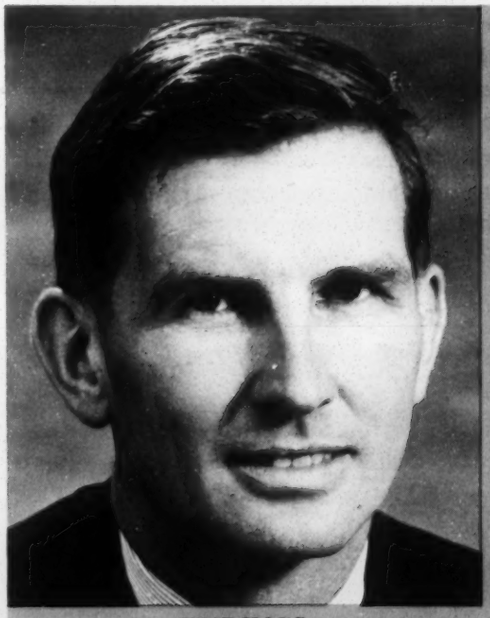
The amendment, proposed by Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) would permit one house of a state legislature to apportion on grounds other than population. In effect, this would destroy the one man, one vote rule by freezing one house of a legislature in a rural-conservative posture.

The Senate has been alerted to the tactics of the fair representation foes. Sens. Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.) and William Proxmire (D.-Wisc.) who led the battle against the Dirksen amendment two years ago haven't been faked out by the left-hand feint. Recently on the Senate floor, Tydings had this to say about it:

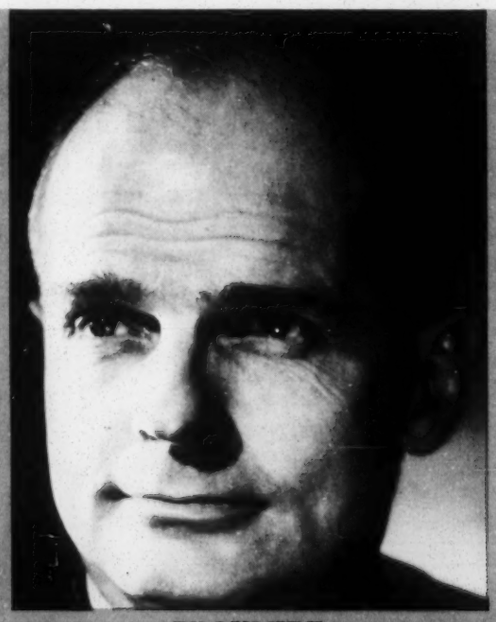
"The idea seems to be to get so many state legislatures to ask for a convention that Congress will be terrified into proposing the kind of pro-malapportionment amendment it has twice rejected in two years. For a constitutional convention . . . could not be limited to the reapportionment issue, but could make wholesale revisions in our cherished and sacred 180-year-old charter of government."

Tydings pointed out the opponents of one man, one

(Continued on Page 3)



TYDINGS



PROXMIRE

. . . Once more into the breach

"After a period of the doldrums the push (to kill 1-and-1) got new drive from last November's electoral upheaval, an event that turned out Democratic majorities and installed Republican. . . . Republicans generally find strong political support in rural areas which were the big losers from legislative reapportionment. . . . Legislatures which previously had been cool toward the constitutional convention scheme embraced it under Republican leadership."—Columnist Thomas O'Neill, Baltimore Sun

EVC Current Issues

What a Difference a Day Makes

Congressional Boxscore
MAJOR LEGISLATION IN 89th CONGRESS
First Session
As of April 2, 1965

Party Line-up

	Dem.	GOP	Vacancies
House Line-up	294	140	1
Senate Line-up	68	32	0

BILL		HOUSE		SENATE		STATUS
Medical Care, Social Security	(HR 6675)	Reported 3/29/65	Debate Scheduled			
Regional Medical Centers	(HR 3140) (S 596)			Hearings Completed		
Appalachia Assistance	(S 3)	Reported 2/17/65	Passed 3/3/65	Reported 1/27/65	Passed 2/1/65	PL 89-4 3/9/65
Area Redevelopment	(HR 6991)					
Elementary-Secondary Education	(HR 2362)	Reported 3/8/65	Passed 3/26/65	Approved by Subcommittee	Debate Scheduled	
Higher Education	(HR 3221) (S 600)	Hearings Underway		Hearings Underway		
Water Pollution Control	(S 4)	Reported 3/31/65		Reported 1/27/65	Passed 1/28/65	
Air Pollution Control						
Omnibus Housing	(HR 5840) (S 1354)	Hearings Underway		Hearings Underway		
Excise Tax Reductions						
Immigration	(HR 2580) (S 500)	Hearings Underway		Hearings Underway		
Coffee Agreement	(S 701)			Reported 2/1/65	Passed 2/2/65	
Foreign Aid		Hearings Underway		Hearings Underway		
Presidential Continuity	(H J Res 1) (S J Res 1)	Reported 3/24/65		Reported 2/10/65	Passed 2/19/65	
Manpower Amendments	(S 974)	Reported 3/15/65	Passed 4/1/65	Reported 3/12/65	Passed 3/16/65	
Right-to-Work Repeal (14b)						
Minimum Wage						
Unemployment Compensation Revisions						
Voting Reforms	(HR 6400) (S 1564)	Hearings Underway		Hearings Underway		
Legislative Reapportionment	(HR 1584) (S J Res 2)			Hearings Underway		
National Arts Foundation	(HR 6050) (S 1483)	Hearings Underway		Hearings Completed		
Drug Controls	(HR 2)	Reported 3/2/65	Passed 3/10/65			
Gold Reserves	(HR 3818)	Reported 2/3/65	Passed 2/9/65	Reported 2/10/65	Passed 2/18/65	PL 89-3 3/4/65

Congressional Boxscore
MAJOR LEGISLATION IN 90th CONGRESS
First Session
As of March 23, 1967

Party Line-up

	Dem.	GOP	Vacancies
House Line-up	246	187	2
Senate Line-up	64	36	0

		HOUSE		SENATE		STATUS
Social Security Amendments	(HR 5710)	Hearings Underway				
Air Pollution Control	(S 780) (HR 4279)			Hearings Underway		
Teacher Corps Funds		Hearings Underway		Hearings Underway		
Elementary Education	(S 1125) (HR 6230)	Hearings Underway				
College Aid	(S 1126) (HR 6232)					
Educational Television	(S 1160) (HR 6736)			Hearings Scheduled		
Model Cities Funds						
Poverty Program						
East-West Trade						
Consular Treaty	(Exec D)	No Action Needed		Reported 3/3/67	Approved 3/16/67	
Foreign Aid Authorization	(HR 7099)	Hearings Scheduled				
Wiretapping	(S 928) (HR 5386)	Hearings Underway		Hearings Underway		
Anticrime Law	(HR 5037)	Hearings Underway		Hearings Underway		
Firearms Control	(S 1) (HR 5384)	Hearings Underway				
Civil Rights	(S 1026) (HR 5700)			Hearings Underway		
Wild Rivers	(S 119)			Hearings Scheduled		
Draft Law Revision						
Viet Nam Supplemental	(HR 7123)	Reported 3/13/67	Passed 3/16/67	Reported 3/17/67	Passed 3/20/67	Cleared 3/21/67
Congressional Reform	(S 355) (HR 2594)			Reported 1/16/67	Passed 3/7/67	
Campaign Financing						
Investment Tax Credit	(HR 6950)	Reported 3/13/67	Passed 3/16/67	Reported 3/23/67	Debate Underway	
Tax Surcharge						
Truth-in-Lending	(S 5)			Hearings Scheduled		

The day that made the difference, of course, was Nov. 8, 1966, election day. And the difference is glaringly apparent in a comparison of the charts at left.

At top left is the *Congressional Quarterly* boxscore on progress of major legislation at about the time of Easter recess in the first session of the 89th Congress, 1965.

Below left is the CQ boxscore as Congress went into its Easter recess little more than a week ago. You can almost feel the difference.

A sense of urgency swept the 89th Congress. There was much to be done, and the liberal class of 1964 that came in on the Johnson landslide meant to do it. By Easter recess in the first session of the 89th Congress:

- Medicare was well along;
- Appalachia aid was already enacted;
- Regional medical centers legislation was underway;
- The House had passed and the Senate was working on sweeping education legislation;
- Both bodies were conducting hearings on higher education;
- Water pollution control was about to go on the books;
- A major housing bill was en route;
- Overhaul of our restrictive immigration laws was imminent;
- Manpower amendments, drug controls and the voting rights bill all were in the works.

As the chart below left shows, no sense of urgency prevails in the 90th Congress. Though there is still much to be done, the congressional will to do it is missing.

It vanished November 8 when the solid liberal majority in Congress was chopped, and the power of the conservative coalition was resurrected.

As the 90th Congress went into the 1967 Easter recess, headway on major legislation was at a minimum, as the chart shows.

The only program enacted involves supplemental funds for the war in Viet Nam. The Senate approved a consular treaty with the Soviet Union. Some progress has been made on the investment tax credit and congressional reform.

Other legislation is in the hearing stage at best. Much of the action centers not on needed new programs but on funding existing programs. Many of these are in trouble in the new Congress.

It's all because of election day 1966, which is something to chew on for there's going to be another important election day in about a year and a half.

1-1 Foes Feint With Left, Set Up Hard Right

(Continued from Page 1)

vote "apparently hope to confront Congress with an ultimatum: Either give us an amendment to reinstate the rotten borough system of state apportionment, or give us a constitutional convention in which all your rights will be up for grabs."

Tydings was referring to the fact that a constitutional convention would be wide open for anything. There's never been one since the Constitution was adopted. There is no apparent limit on what can be brought up in such a convention. It's open-ended. If one were held the conservative and right wing anti-one man, one vote crowd could throw in everything including income tax repeal and any other of their pet projects. Indeed, conceivably even the Bill of Rights could be tampered with.

Senator Proxmire points out facts that make it almost certain, however, that the real aim is another trip to the well with the Dirksen amendment. Proxmire has charged that 26 of the 32 state resolutions were passed by legislatures that were themselves unconstitutionally apportioned at the time of passage.

The further fact that the whole issue of a constitutional convention opens a can of worms Congress could wrestle with for a century indicates the sneak character of the state legislative attack on one man, one vote. These questions are raised:

1. What is a valid call of two-thirds of the legislatures? Should all calls be worded the same? Many of them are differently worded.

2. Is there a time limit during which the required number of legislatures must call for a convention? Some experts say all calls must be submitted to a single Congress. The existing calls span several years.

3. Are calls by malapportioned state legislatures valid? Proxmire, Tydings and other experts say no.

4. Can a state retract its call for a convention? Maryland fell a vote short of doing it. Other states are being urged to rescind theirs.

5. Is Congress obliged to call a convention even if the required number of states demand it?

6. How would Congress go about it if it decided to call a convention? There are no precedents.

7. Could the convention be limited just to the one issue? Most experts think it couldn't be and that an open-end convention would be unavoidable.

8. How would the convention itself be apportioned?

9. How would delegates be chosen? By popular vote? By state legislative appointment?

On almost all these questions the Constitution is silent, and the answers would be hard coming.

The one man, one vote foes must know this, too. And this is why their ploy almost certainly is to blackmail Congress into a new go-around with the Dirksen amendment.

In Orbit for COPE

Question: Is it possible any trade union unit of 100 will contribute $500—$5 a head—to COPE?

Answer: Yes, it's possible. In fact, it's happened.

The 100 members of Transport Workers Local 525 who are in the firemen's unit at Cocoa Beach, Fla., missile base contributed $500 to COPE, $5 per member. The entire local has contributed nearly $2,500 in voluntary collections for COPE.

Heading up the firemen's unit is John Tillis, while the local union president is M. D. Clabaugh.

New Dollar Drive Leaflets Available

Two new leaflets stressing the importance of giving a buck to COPE now are available free of charge, for general distribution. They are COPE Publication No. 172C, "Wanta Lick Some Problems," and No. 173C, "Five Reasons Why You Should Not Give a Buck to COPE—and 1 Reason Why You Should." Order by publication number through COPE, 815-16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C.

Tax Bite Deeper In Other Nations

Taxes bug you? Take heart. You're not hit nearly as hard as citizens in any other major industrial western nation.

This conclusion comes from a study by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The study measured total tax collections as a percentage of gross national product. The U.S. percentage is 27.3. Sweden tops the list with 39 percent, followed by France, 38.5; Austria, 35.25; Norway, 34.9; West Germany, 34.4; Netherlands, 34.1; Britain, 29.9; Belgium and Denmark, 29.7; Italy, 29.6.

Canada and Switzerland, less industrial than the other nations, are slightly below the U.S.

The taxes covered include income, local property, sales, excise, corporate profits, social security and certain taxes unique to European nations.

One-Liners

DESPITE HANKY-PANKY of conservatives and rightists attacking one man, one vote, the Supreme Court has before it several cases to extend the doctrine to county and city governments. The cases will be argued before the Court April 17. They involve the school board in Kent County, Mich.; the governing board of Houston County, Ala.; the board of supervisors, Suffolk County, N.Y.; the council of Virginia Beach, Va.

DON'T GET SICK, whatever you do. Soaring medical costs turn sickness into a luxury few can afford. Experts say a day in the hospital soon will cost an average of $57.93, will balloon to $75 in a few years. In past 10 years, average over-all medical care cost has climbed 27.7 percent across the nation. D.C. led the parade at 38.9; Minneapolis-St. Paul, 38.6; Baltimore, 38.2. Other big jumps: Cleveland, 35.4; Detroit, 35.2; Pittsburgh, 34.6; Chicago, 34.2; Kansas City, 34.1; Cincinnati and Philadelphia, 31.9; San Francisco, 31.1; New York, 29.7; Boston, 28.6. The rise is the fastest in our history.

IN LINE WITH THIS, writer Bob Orben says in *Saturday Review of Literature:* "I can't wait to see that motion picture about socialized medicine in Britain—Born Free."

IT WAS ONE STRIKE, for Sen. Everett Dirksen. He had been advised he would receive the right-wing Order of Lafayette freedom award. Then he went and voted for ratification of the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty. The award was yanked.

ALSO REBUFFED was Alabama's not-so-far-behind-the-scenes ex-governor, George Wallace. Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox told him no dice on any third party move. Maddox had been counted on to bulwark Wallace's expected third party presidential try in 1968.

A BIG SPENDER, AFTER ALL, is what California Gov. Ronald Reagan turns out to be. His campaign pledge of "cut, squeeze and trim" goes down drain as he proposes the biggest state budget in U.S. history, $5.06 billion, a billion more than Governor Rockefeller seeks in New York and a half-billion over Pat Brown's last budget.

SENATE BATTLE LOOMS over campaign financing law passed hurriedly in last days of 89th Congress. The law okays a voluntary check-off of $1 on your tax form to be split between major parties in presidential years. Sen. Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.) wants it repealed, charges use of huge boodle for each party would be uncontrollable particularly in absence of stiffened election reforms. He says, too, it discriminates against minor parties—none would ever benefit—and that it raises constitutional question: If taxpayer can check off $1 for political contribution, why can't he designate how his other tax money is used?

EVERY CITY IN U.S. has too much sulfur oxide in its air, HEW reports. It's one of the big pollutants, comes from burning coal and oil. Safe limit is below .015 parts per million on yearly average. All cities exceed this figure. HEW says this is big reason for increased hospital cases for respiratory and certain infectious diseases.

IT'S A CLUTTERED FIELD currently in GOP presidential sweepstakes. George Romney and Richard Nixon appear definitely in it. Romney for President office opens in Washington. Nixon gives blessing to nationwide Nixon for President Committee. Ronald Reagan's name mentioned often enough in press to stir liberal GOP Ripon Society into public warning against him as a candidate. Some GOP die-hards still plunk for comeback presidential bid by Barry Goldwater, and Goldwater himself said recently Charles Percy might have the best chance of any Republican against President Johnson. Finally, there's still occasional talk of Nelson Rockefeller as possible candidate.

COPE Memo is published every two weeks by the Committee on Political Education, 815 - 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006. Subscription price $1.00 per year.

POSTMASTER — ATTENTION. Notice to Publisher Form 3579 should be sent to C.O.P.E., 815 - 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR PRESS AFL-CIO ASSOCIATION

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

ORDER BLANK FOR "POLITICAL MEMO FROM COPE"

Enclosed is $ ..... Please send ..... subscriptions at $1 a year (25 cents each a year for 10 or more subscriptions mailed to one address) of the "POLITICAL MEMO FROM COPE" to:

Name .....

Address ..... City ..... State .....

Signed ..... Union .....

New? ☐ Renewal? ☐

Mail to: COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

EMORY F VIA-DIR LBR PROG
SOTHRN REG COUN INC
5 FORSYTH ST NW
ATLANTA GA 30303

EV-C Current Issues

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 667-1780 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: No.7-67
April 4, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST "ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE" LEGISLATURES REVIVES

The attempt to upset the Supreme Court reapportionment decisions has taken a new tack. Defeated twice in their efforts to get Congress to approve a constitutional amendment that would nullify the Court ruling that state legislatures must apportion themselves on a "one-man, one-vote" basis, opponents led by Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen have carried the campaign to the states. While they are gaining support here, the prospects for ultimate success are dubious.

A Call for a Constitutional Convention

Article V of the Constitution prescribes that Congress upon "the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states shall call a convention for proposing amendments....." That call is pressing upon Congress as it never has before. Two-thirds of the several states is 34 and already 32 have passed resolutions calling for the Constitutional convention. Dirksen has predicted that the remaining two calls will reach Congress soon.

How it Began

Most of the petitions for a convention are not new. The first of the pending ones were passed in 1963. Indeed, Senators William Proxmire (D., Wisc.) and Joseph Tydings (D., Md.), leaders of the opposition to the convention call, estimate that at least 26 of the 32 state legislatures were malapportioned when they passed their convention resolutions. The Senators contend these petitions are invalid.

However, this issue is not clear. Very little connected with the campaign is clear since there is no precedent for calling a convention. There are numerous questions that need to be settled. Must

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH FOUNDATION
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
MEDICAL COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWMAN STUDENT FEDERATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH — DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant

all of the resolutions be identical? Is a petition good indefinitely? How does Congress go about calling a convention and must it call one if 34 states ask? Most troubling of all is whether a constitutional convention, if it were called, would limit itself solely to an amendment on reapportionment. It is entirely likely that the country would be faced with a "runaway convention" ready to change the Bill of Rights or alter other provisions of the Constitution.

Even if the campaign for the constitutional convention does not succeed, Dirksen may be using it as a means of gaining leverage for another attempt to get the Senate to adopt his amendment. Last year he failed by only seven votes. He may hope that Congress will be sufficiently intimidated by the call from the states to agree to his proposal.

What's at Stake

The present move in the states is aimed at the adoption of an amendment that would permit one house of bicameral legislature to be apportioned on some basis other than population. But such an amendment would almost certainly undermine the progress being made toward reapportioning legislatures responsive to the needs of most of the voters in the states. It could very well result in legislatures where the actions of one house that represented people could be blocked in the other body by the hide-bound, largely rural interests that have for so many years blocked state action on socially progressive legislation.

Maryland provided a vivid example this year of what a fairly reapportioned legislature can do. The reconstituted body passed a fair housing law, a relatively mild one, but one that puts the state firmly on record in support of open occupancy. It would be tragic if such progress were halted or reversed.

A Complicated Matter

Despite the urgency and dangers of the present situation it needs to be handled with caution. The complexities and time tables for adjournment one encounters among the legislatures of 50 states makes it impossible to put forward a single blueprint for action. In some states, vigorous campaigns against convention calls could stir opposition. In any case, there should be close consultation with state legislators who support reapportionment before any campaign is undertaken. Here are some rough guidelines.

At present there are 16 state legislatures meeting and the last two calls may come from them. In two of the states, Alaska and Iowa, the threat is imminent. In each state a convention call has passed the House and is now being considered by committees of the Senate. Groups in the Leadership Conference with strong chapters in Iowa should

keep alert to the situation. An open campaign might be unwise but letters to Governor Harold Hughes expressing concern and asking him to use his influence with the Senate could be helpful here.

In the following states convention calls have been introduced but no action has been taken on them as this MEMO is written: Michigan, Pennsylvania, Vermont and Wisconsin.

In these states, no calls have been introduced as yet: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island. Here no action is needed but your chapters should keep close watch, remembering that the recent calls have usually been rammed through with little advance notice and no debate.

32 Calls

Here are the 32 states in which convention calls have been adopted:

Alabama	Louisiana	North Dakota
Arizona	Maryland	Oklahoma
Arkansas	Minnesota	South Carolina
Colorado	Mississippi	South Dakota
Florida	Missouri	Tennessee
Georgia	Montana	Texas
Idaho	Nebraska	Utah
Illinois	Nevada	Virginia
Indiana	New Hampshire	Washington
Kansas	New Mexico	Wyoming
Kentucky	North Carolina	

Senator Tydings, in a recent speech, presented tables that describe the actions of these states in detail. We include these tables with this MEMO to supply information you may need to plan a course of action for your organization.

Attachment No.1 April 4, 1967

CONVENTION CALLS: WHAT 32 STATES HAVE DONE SO FAR

EXHIBIT 1.—ANALYSIS OF CONVENTION CALLS REGARDING REAPPORTIONMENT RECEIVED BY CONGRESS FROM STATE LEGISLATURES

TABLE A.—*States which have sent memorials to Congress requesting a constitutional convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to permit malapportionment of 1 house of a State legislature*

State	Congress during which convention call made	Year of latest call	Constitutionally apportioned at time of call	Election subsequently held under fair apportionment
Alabama	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Arizona	89th	1965	No	Do.
Arkansas [1]	89th	1965	No	Do.
Florida	89th	1965	No	This week.
Idaho [1]	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Indiana	90th	1967	Yes	Do.
Kansas [1]	89th	1965	No	House only, 1966 (senate continued under court order to reapportion).
Kentucky	89th	1965	Yes	Yes, 1964.
Louisiana	89th	1965	No	Not until January 1968.
Maryland	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Minnesota	89th	1965	No	Do.
Mississippi	89th	1965	No	To be held in 1967.

TABLE A.—*States which have sent memorials to Congress requesting a constitutional convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to permit malapportionment of 1 house of a State legislature*—Continued

State	Congress during which convention call made	Year of latest call	Constitutionally apportioned at time of call	Election subsequently held under fair apportionment
Missouri [1]	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Montana [1]	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1965.
Nebraska	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Nevada [1]	89th	1967	No	Do.
New Hampshire	89th	1965	No	Do.
North Carolina	89th	1965	No	Do.
Oklahoma	89th	1965	Yes	Yes, 1964.
South Carolina [1]	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966 (Senate continues under order to reapportion).
South Dakota [1]	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Texas [1]	89th	1965	No	No.
Utah	89th	1965	No	Yes. 1966.
Virginia [1]	89th	1964	No	Yes, 1965.

[1] These States also memorialized the 88th Cong., requesting a different amendment. See table D.

TABLE B.—*States which reportedly passed such resolutions during the 89th Cong., but apparently did not submit them to that Congress*

State	Congress during which convention call made	Year of latest call	Constitutionally apportioned at time of call	Election subsequently held under fair apportionment
Georgia	89th	1965	No	No.
New Mexico	89th	1965	No	Yes, 1966.
Tennessee	89th	1965	No	Do.

TABLE C.—*States which have reportedly passed such memorials this year, but had not been noted in the Congressional Record as having submitted them to Congress as of Mar. 20, 1967*

State	Congress during which convention call made	Year of latest call	Constitutionally apportioned at time of call	Election subsequently held under fair apportionment
Colorado	90th	1967	Yes	Yes, 1966.
Illinois	90th	1967	Yes	Do.
North Dakota	90th	1967	Yes	Do.

TABLE D.—*States which have sent memorials to Congress requesting a constitutional convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to prevent judicial review of State malapportionment and make it constitutional*

State	Congress during which convention call made	Year of latest call	Constitutionally apportioned at time of call	Election subsequently held under fair apportionment
Washington	88th	1963	No	Yes, 1964 and 1966.
Wyoming	88th	1963	No	Yes, 1966.

NOTE.—In addition to Washington and Wyoming 11 States, all of whose legislatures were subsequently declared unconstitutionally malapportioned, also requested of the 88th Cong., a convention for the purpose of cutting off judicial review of the rotten borough system of State legislative apportionment. These States, all of which are listed in table A as memorializing the 89th Cong., for a different amendment, include: Arkansas, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Virginia.

EV
Res

Joint Resolutions Constitution Committee

REPORT NUMBER TWO

UAW Statement on Principles, Policies and Programs for American Labor Movement

Special Convention

UAW

APRIL 20, 21, 22, 1967

COBO HALL

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

44

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

UAW STATEMENT ON PRINCIPLES, POLICIES AND PROGRAMS FOR THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

On December 28, 1966, the officers of the UAW, upon the instruction of the UAW Executive Board, issued an Administrative Letter to all UAW Local Unions regarding the relationship of the UAW with the AFL-CIO. This Administrative Letter stated in part:

> ". . . the AFL-CIO . . . suffers from a sense of complacency and adherence to the status quo and is not fulfilling the basic aims and purposes which prompted the merger of the AFL and the CIO. The AFL-CIO lacks the social vision, the dynamic thrust, the crusading spirit that should characterize the progressive, modern labor movement which it can and must be if it is to be equal to the new challenges and the new opportunities of our 20th century technological society."

The International Executive Board concluded that the UAW, "is obligated to speak out on fundamental issues and to express openly our Union's disagreements with the AFL-CIO whenever, in our judgment, the failures or inaction of the AFL-CIO require it."

On February 3, 1967 the International Executive Board took further momentous action when it directed its officers to resign from their respective positions on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the AFL-CIO General Board, and the AFL-CIO Standing Committees. These resignations became effective immediately.

In an Administrative Letter dated February 8, 1967, a clarifying statement was issued concerning these resignations and the relationship of the UAW with the AFL-CIO, which stated:

> "The UAW's disagreements with the AFL-CIO are basic and fundamental. They relate directly to democratic trade union principles and policies and the development and implementation of sound union programs. They relate to the overall, far reaching question: What should be the essential role of labor's cause in our 20th century technological society and how best can the labor movement fulfill its purposes and its responsibilities to its members, their families and to the whole of society."

The Administrative Letter noted further that the UAW would advance "Programs and policies for consideration by the American labor movement which we believe are essential to get the American labor movement off dead center and on the march."

Statements have already been issued or will shortly be issued and sent as Administrative Letters to all UAW Local Unions setting forth a program for a national organizing crusade for the American labor movement; a proposal for an overall economic and collective bargaining program for the labor movement; and a proposal for the internal reform and democratization of the AFL-CIO.

These statements contained specific proposals covering a wide range of policies and programs for the labor movement. Essentially these proposals are as follows:

I. Organizing the Unorganized

The UAW proposal for a national organizing crusade is a call for a total effort on the part of the American labor movement to match its will with its resources in the historic task of organizing the millions of unorganized. Its goal is to double the membership of the organized labor movement in the United States in the next 6 years.

To achieve this goal, the UAW specifically proposes:

1. Twenty-five percent of the annual income of the AFL-CIO should be earmarked in a special organizing fund for a massive organizing crusade. Based on the reported income of the AFL-CIO for 1966, which approximates $12.5 million, this proposal would set aside $3.125 million.

2. In addition, each affiliated union should contribute to the special organizing fund a special per capita tax of 7 cents per month. Based on current AFL-CIO membership of 13,600,000 this would add approximately $11.4 million to the $3.125 million earmarked from AFL-CIO income, to make a total of about $14.525 million a year.

3. The commitment to support an organizing crusade of this dimension should extend for a six-year period, subject to continuous review to insure maximum effectiveness. With financial resources of this magnitude, an organizing crusade can be undertaken which would have at least the promise of being equal to the task.

4. The organization efforts flowing from this crusade will, of course, be supplemented by organizational activities and resources of individual affiliated unions and of AFL-CIO departments.

5. One-third of the total organizing fund, but with a minimum of $5 million, should be earmarked annually and directed toward organizing the farm and migratory workers and the millions of working poor, the balance to be allocated for the organizing effort involving the as yet unorganized industrial and construction trades workers, workers in the service industries, the teachers, and the office, technical, professional, Federal government, state and municipal workers.

6. To stimulate the implementation of such a coordinated, comprehensive, cooperative organizing crusade, and as a token of the UAW's good faith and its deep commitment to the task of organizing the unorganized, the UAW International Executive Board is earmarking and putting in escrow $1.5 million which will represent an advance payment on the UAW's obligations under the proposal, when the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions are prepared effectively to implement an organizational crusade of these dimensions.

The 7 cents per capita per month contribution by the affiliates may cause some financial strain to some unions, especially those which are small and weak but which have great organizing potential. These, however, are the very unions which will receive maximum assistance from the overall organizing fund so that, in effect, the strong will be helping the weak to organize and build their unions.

7. An administrative structure should be carefully designed and established to maximize coordination and cooperation and to assume the responsibility for formulating overall policies, developing overall programs and for reviewing organizing activities as they develop. A specific detailed administrative structure has been set forth based essentially on the structure proposed by Walter P. Reuther for a full scale organizing program to the AFL-CIO Executive Council in February, 1961.

8. It is essential and urgent, however, if the great effort to mount a national organizing crusade is to succeed, that the narrow, restrictive policy be abandoned that permits the paper jurisdiction of any one affiliated union to veto the will and desire of other affiliates. This policy has in the past thwarted coordinated and cooperative organizing efforts by the AFL-CIO and it must by now be abundantly clear that to continue to apply such a negative policy of procedure and administration is to deprive the whole labor movement of its great opportunity to bring its total organizing commitment to fruition.

9. Anti-union employers continue in their effort to thwart union organization by defying the law and exploiting National Labor Relations Board procedures. They invoke costly and prolonged litigation which affords them protection while they continue to violate the law. The AFL-CIO Council should establish a special sub-committee of the Executive Council and a special task force of lawyers drawn from the AFL-CIO Legal Department and legal counsel of affiliated unions to make a continuing effort to minimize delays and remove the obstacles to legitimate organizing efforts and the subsequent negotiation of collective bargaining contracts.

10. Appropriate steps should be taken to utilize the creative contribution and the resources of state and local bodies of the AFL-CIO and each affiliate should be urged to mobilize the broadest base of support by encouraging the creation of organizing committees in its local unions so that they may share in the work of the National Organizing Crusade.

With regard to the program to organize the poor both on the farm and in the city, the proposal stresses utilization of the newly emerging concept of "community unionism" which is designed to provide the poor with their own self-sufficient economic organization in their community and cuts across many areas of social and economic need in the communities in which they live: health care, schools, public transportation, sanitation, building maintenance, etc. The concept of "community unionism", it was pointed out, departs from the tradition of jurisdictional claims and the value of dues dollars and could represent a "new tool

for constructive social change which will appropriately reflect the fundamental principles and human and social values" to which the labor movement must be committed.

As a continuing commitment to the UAW's efforts to assist in the tremendous task of organizing farm and migratory workers, it is urged that UAW local unions make further financial contributions to the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee of the AFL-CIO and to emerging farm and migratory worker organizing committees in the various states where UAW local unions are located. These financial contributions, moreover, can be supplemented by personal visits of local union leaders with the farm and migratory workers in the area where their organizing efforts are being undertaken and by supplying food, clothing and other of life's necessities to help them in their cause.

II. Proposal for an Overall Economic and Collective Bargaining Program For The Labor Movement

In order for the American labor movement to fulfill its responsibilities to the workers it represents and to act in the best interests of the nation as a whole, it is essential that it establish an overall economic and collective bargaining program aimed toward achieving equity for wage earners consistent with the overall needs of the economy and the reality of our evolving technology. The UAW has set forth a specific program covering a number of significant areas of concern aimed toward accomplishing this objective. The program urges:

1. Development of a national incomes policy designed to achieve maximum economic growth and maximum employment and to provide workers the greater equity to which they are entitled out of the increased productivity and the greater profitability of our developing technology within the framework of a stable price structure;

2. Adoption of a National Price-Wage Review Board procedure which will bring enlightened public opinion to bear on price and wage determinations without imposing governmental controls, coupled with the establishment of an Office of National Consumer Counsel to act in the interest of the consumer when prices are unnecessarily and excessively high;

3. Adoption of a collective bargaining mechanism which will establish a more rational method to determine the workers' wage and benefit equity. This would involve establishing the basic equity of the worker in contract negotiations and determining his ultimate supplemental equity based on the economic facts after the profits are earned, just as is the practice for determining the equity for management personnel through sharing of the profits;

4. Extension of the concept of "coordinated bargaining" throughout the labor movement so that all unions having bargaining rights with the same company will cooperate in coordinating their negotiating efforts toward common objectives;

5. The establishment of an Electronic Data Processing Center for the entire labor movement to facilitate the gathering and

dissemination of factual information needed to assist union negotiators;

6. The establishment of a United Labor Defense Fund of the labor movement, financed by an annual contribution by all affiliates of $1 per member (based on current AFL-CIO membership, this would amount to $13.6 million a year), to assist workers under attack by anti-union employers bent on destroying their union and denying them the benefits of collective bargaining;

7. The development of a program to unite the labor movement behind individual affiliates whose efforts to negotiate a first contract after winning representation rights are being thwarted by employer user of illegal tactics of delay and harassment;

8. Full mobilization of broad public support to end government procurement policies which provide government subsidies for companies which are found to be in flagrant violation of the law. The J. P. Stevens and Company is a case in point. This company has been found in flagrant violation of the law on numerous counts by the National Labor Relations Board including the illegal discharge and harrassment of scores of its workers and yet this company is still being subsidized by government contracts approximating $75 million dollars;

9. The development and implementation of a positive and constructive program to enable workers in critical and vital public service industries to achieve equity comparable with other workers under circumstances in which workers in these industries will not be forced to resort to strike action that endangers the health and safety of the public.

III. Proposals for Internal Reform and Democratization of the AFL-CIO

The UAW International Executive Board, in the Administrative Letter dated February 8, 1967, took sharp note of the need for internal democratic reforms within the structure of the AFL-CIO which would serve to promote and insure that the programs, policies and activities of the labor movement reflect the high moral and social objectives of labor's cause.

Specifically the UAW proposals for internal reform and democratization of the AFL-CIO include:

1. Establish the AFL-CIO Executive Committee as required by the AFL-CIO Constitution and make it a meaningful, functioning Committee;

2. Expand the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO to make it more representative of all sections of the labor movement and instill new ideas, new vision and new vitality;

3. Provide the AFL-CIO General Board the opportunity to share fully in leadership responsibility in shaping major program and policy decisions and in insuring their effective implementation;

General Board meetings should be scheduled for two or three-day sessions at least three times a year with the right of the members of the General Board to add to the agenda of such meetings;

4. Strengthen the work and responsibility of Standing Committees to enable them to make their maximum constructive contribution to the labor movement;

5. Provide a procedure for keeping verbatim minutes of Executive Council meetings in keeping with the normal practice of democratic legislative bodies;

6. Establish a Public Review Board for the labor movement modeled after the UAW Public Review Board and charged with the responsibility to enforce the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Code and to defend the democratic rights of members;

7. Strengthen the state and local federations and councils by provision in the AFL-CIO Constitution to insure that local unions, chapters or lodges of AFL-CIO affiliates will participate fully in and assume their proportionate share of the cost to perform the essential functions of state, and local bodies of the AFL-CIO.

IV. Labor's Role and Responsibility in the Community

In addition to the specific proposals already set forth and described in detail by the UAW in earlier Administrative Letters, additional programs should be undertaken by the American labor movement reflecting its role and responsibility in the community-at-large.

The history of the free labor movement in the United States and other democratic countries has been a history of labor's involvement in bringing about basic constructive social change so that human dignity and social justice could be made more universal and the superiority of men over machines and the priority of human rights over property rights could be established. The American labor movement had the stars of social idealism in its eyes since its early beginning when it fought to abolish child labor, to establish the 8-hour day, to win free public education for all our children and to win social security and human dignity for people in the autumn years of their lives.

When a labor movement loses this sense of historic purpose of advancing the frontiers of human betterment and human brotherhood motivated by social idealism, it ceases to be a labor movement. The difference between a labor **movement** and a labor **organization** is its measure of social idealism and human commitment.

Continuing objective and critical self-examnation is the hallmark of an organization with social idealism. If the labor movement is to fulfill its ultimate aims and purposes as a constructive force for social change, it must consistently search within itself for new answers to new problems which will benefit the whole of society. Only in this way can it anticipate the necessary broad public support essential to the labor movement's commitment as a vital force for economic and social progress.

The prestige, the influence and the effectiveness of the AFL-CIO

can be enhanced if it will demonstrate the intellectual courage and the self-discipline needed for objective self-examination—if it will ask itself what is wrong with the labor movement as well as what is wrong outside the labor movement.

In this regard, the labor movement cannot overlook the results of the national survey undertaken in April 1966 in which key occupations throughout the nation were given ratings by the public at large. The results of this survey showed that labor leaders ranked 16th out of a total of 17 of these key occupations in the country with only the advertising men—the "Madison Avenue hucksters"—rated lower than labor leaders.

The influence of the American labor movement can only continue to diminish unless the AFL-CIO recognizes more than it has in the past that it cannot be a narrow and restricted pressure group but must reflect the interests of all of society and it must translate these noble commitments beyond the phrases of pious platitudes into specific activities aimed at reducing or eliminating the social ills of mankind, bearing always in mind that the labor movement must not isolate itself but must act as a responsible partner in a democratic community.

The labor movement must participate actively and intensely in broad community programs and activities such as:

1. The development of programs and policies for labor to play its rightful role and meet its responsibilities in the task of rebuilding our cities and rural areas and making low-cost, high quality housing available through the use of the new tools of science and technology in creating a wholesome living environment worthy of free men.

   The AFL-CIO has an immediate and urgent obligation to play a leading role in the great effort to rebuild our cities, eliminate the slums and develop an economic and social base for the deprived which will help them to lift themselves out of their squalor.

   Such a gigantic effort must recognize the need to develop programs and policies that will make it possible to utilize the new tools of science and technology essential to rebuilding not only our cities, but our rural areas as well. Utilization of new technology, new means of production and construction in erecting buildings and in rehabilitating the old but repairable structures is a necessary aspect of such a rebuilding program. The massiveness of this undertaking requires our nation to apply the newest technology to construction to insure that the structures will be sound and that the costs of construction will be reduced. The task of rebuilding America and creating a wholesome, new and attractive living environment worthy of free people will open up new opportunities for higher and more secure and steady employment for workers in the construction and related industries.

2. Providing educational opportunities to facilitate maximum growth and development of America's children and youth;

3. Assuring a fuller measure of security and dignity for America's

older citizens through more adequate negotiated pensions and through a major improvement in our Social Security system in order to provide workers a minimum income security during their retirement years equal to two-thirds of their wage averaged over the 10 years of highest earnings. The Social Security system will never provide adequate benefits so long as it relies solely on the payroll tax as the source of its financing. Workers in general and young workers in particular who are confronted with the problems of growing families have been asked to carry a disproportionate burden of the cost of Social Security and they should be relieved of this burden by the Federal government assessing one-third of the cost out of general tax revenues.

4. Removing for every American the economic barriers to access to high quality comprehensive medical and health care by strengthening pre-paid group practice plans and ultimately by achieving national health insurance service using the best features of the voluntary group plans as the basis for its structure.

5. Demonstrating greater courage and compassion in extending equal rights and equal opportunity to every American not only at the community level and through legislation, but, of major importance, within the labor movement itself.

   The AFL-CIO should demonstrate the will and commit the resources needed to undertake an affirmative and deliberately planned program to break down the barriers of discrimination within its own affiliates and to carry out specific programs of apprenticeship pre-training and tutorial assistance in cooperation with its affiliates in order to open up new avenues for Negroes, Mexican Americans and other minority groups to find jobs among those trades where job openings are still closed to them or are at best minimal in number. This effort is needed not only as a matter of basic morality, but to hasten the day when the disenfranchised will consider the labor movement truly their partner in the economic and social struggle for equality.

6. Working with government and private groups in developing economic programs and policies to achieve maximum economic growth and expansion of our national economy, to the end that every American able and willing to work may be assured the opportunity of a socially useful and rewarding job;

7. Providing affirmative and constructive leadership and committing adequate resources necessary to assume full partnership with other groups in the community working to supplement government programs in an all out crusade to abolish human poverty in this land of plenty, in such efforts as are currently being undertaken by the broadly based Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

8. Assuring a more active role at the federal, state and local community level in cooperation with other citizen groups to promote needed programs to conserve and develop our natural resources, to eliminate pollution of air and water and to beautify and improve our living environment;

9. Sponsoring joint conferences and seminars with the liberal intellectual and academic community and with youth groups in order to build and strengthen the historic alliance with those who can and will be labor's natural allies in the broad effort to advance the common good.

American Labor's Relationship with and Responsibility Toward Strengthening the Free World Labor Movement

The American labor movement must build understanding and cooperation with the labor movements throughout the free world in the common effort to extend the frontiers of economic and social justice and the achievement of dignity and freedom in the world. It is necessary for the AFL-CIO to re-examine and re-evaluate in depth its programs and policies and its attitudes toward and its relationship with the rest of the free world labor movement. This re-examination is essential if the American labor movement is to avoid being further isolated and ineffective and if it is to be one partner in a grand alliance of labor movements all over the free world. It must exercise discretion and sympathetic understanding in the knowledge that the solidarity of the free world labor movement cannot be achieved by a monolithic approach but its unity must be built out of the substance and splendor of diversity.

The Role and Responsibility of American Labor in a Changing World

The American labor movement must play a vital role in developing and extending freedom, and must continue to resist communism and all forms of totalitarianism that would enslave the human spirit.

It must also accept its responsibility toward achieving greater understanding and deeper appreciation of the need to remove the curtain which currently divides the world and the two massive antagonistic power blocs so that the way can eventually be paved toward achieving peaceful agreement. Thus the American labor movement has its obligation to help reduce world tension by helping to build bridges of international understanding leading toward a reduction in armaments, removal of the threat of nuclear annihilation and the building of a just and enduring peace in which people with diverse economic and social systems can live peacefully in a more rational and responsible world community.

The labor movement must play its role in this broad area of man's search for a just peace for the question of peace is the question of human survival. The challenge before the whole of the human family is to end the drift toward nuclear war and find a way to harness man's creative genius in the field of science and technology to man's peaceful purposes.

Now Therefore Be it

RESOLVED: That this Special Convention of the UAW

1. Commends the officers and International Executive Board of the UAW for the actions already taken with regard to the UAW relationship with the AFL-CIO.

2. Gives unqualified support to the programs and policies recommended by the UAW International Executive Board as set forth herein to get the American labor movement off dead center and on the march, and urges their prompt and full implementation.

3. Directs the UAW International Executive Board to present these proposed programs and policies to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO at an appropriate time after the completion of 1967 UAW collective bargaining negotiations.

4. Authorizes and directs the UAW International Executive Board, upon continuing review of the policies, programs and activities of the AFL-CIO, to take whatever action it deems necessary and appropriate with regard to the relationship of the UAW to the AFL-CIO in the best interests of the UAW membership and their families, the labor movement and the nation as a whole.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

April, 1967

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CHANGES JURY SELECTION SYSTEM

In the past, Georgia grand and trial juries were selected from tax digests, which were frequently segregated, and which always eliminated the non-property owner from selection as a juror.

The ACLU in the past three years has brought court challenges all over the South of the convictions of Negro defendants before juries which systematically excluded Negroes from service as jurors. A notable case in Georgia was that of Leon Davis and Phil Whitus, both sentenced to death by an all-white jury almost seven years ago. In January, 1967, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that they did not receive a fair trial and ordered Georgia to re-try them before a desegregated jury.

As a result of this decision and others, the General Assembly realized that many convictions could be challenged on the same grounds. It therefore passed new legislation abandoning the tax digest and basing selection upon voting lists:

"In composing such list they (the jury commissioners) shall select a fairly representative cross-section of the upright and intelligent citizens of the county from the official registered voter list which was used in the last preceding general election. If at any time, it appears to the jury commissioners that the jury list... is not a fairly representative cross section...they shall supplement such list by going out into the county and personally acquainting themselves with other citizens of the county, including upright and intelligent citizens of any significantly identifiable group which may not be fairly represented thereon."

This is an improvement, but it still permits the jury commissioners to discriminate in their selection of certain jurors and rejection of others.

The ACLU takes the position that the only way to insure a non-discriminatory jury panel is by random selection. That is, after eliminating those whose handicaps would prevent useful service -- the blind or deaf, mentally ill or retarded, inability to understand English, those with previous criminal records, etc. -- selection of the panel should be made by picking every tenth name on the list, or every twentieth, or whatever number is required, without regard to occupation, address, race or other individual characteristics.

Current Issues [ca. Apr., 1967]

PLENARY BOARD ASKS ACLU CONSTITUTION REVISION

Kieve Landesberg, ACLU of Georgia Executive Committee member, was our delegate to the ACLU Plenary Board meeting in New York, March 18th and 19th. The Plenary Board acted on the following:

Statement of Policy: Since 1940, the ACLU Constitution has contained the following sentence: "The ACLU needs and welcomes the support of all those — and only those — whose devotion to civil liberties is not qualified by adherence to Communist, Fascist, KKK or other totalitarian doctrine."

Some years ago, the Southern California affiliate proposed dropping the sentence in favor of what they felt was a more meaningful statement supporting the positive goals of the ACLU. They felt that an individual committed to ACLU goals could not, ipso facto, be an adherent of totalitarian doctrines. To impose this test, they argued, was impracticalbe, because we could not, in any case, investigate the attitudes of ACLU members.

Those opposed to dropping the 1940 Resolution felt that this disclaimer is necessary for the ACLU to maintain its non-partisan defense of civil liberties. The general public, they argued, needs to know that while the ACLU defends individuals regardless of their political views, adherents of totalitarianism or racists will not be allowed as members who could affect ACLU programs and policies.

The policy finally adopted by the Plenary Board is somewhere between these two positions. The Board voted to require that ACLU spokesmen, including all officers, board members and staff personnel must be in accord with the objectives of the ACLU as stated in the Constitution, and that these officers, board members and staff must not advocate fascist, communist or racist doctrines. Since this resolution is limited to a small category of members, membership cards will no longer carry the statement quoted above.

This new resolution will be submitted to the ACLU Electors this Spring. Two-thirds of the Electors -- the National Committee, the Plenary Board and the Boards of Directors of the affiliates -- must approve it before it becomes part of the ACLU Constitution.

Roger Baldwin Foundation: The Plenary Board voted to create a new ACLU arm which would enable us to expand ACLU programs by raising tax exempt funds. The Foundation will accept tax-exempt contributions of $300 and up. It will be set up not to compete with affiliate fund-raising efforts.

Dirksen Amendment: The Plenary Board noted that 32 of the required 34 states have passed resolutions calling for a Constitutional Convention to abrogate the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. Many constitutional lawyers feel that such a Convention might not be limited to just the Dirksen Amendment, but could propose radical amendment of other Constitutional provisions. (Repealing the Bill of Rights might be one horrendous possibility.) Affiliates whose states had not passed such resolutions were urged to exert pressure to prevent their legislatures from so doing.

DIRKSEN AMENDMENT, PLENARY BOARD, CON'T.

Georgia has already passed such a resolution. Observers of the last Georgia election will not be surprised to learn that the Georgia resolution, instead of being sent to Congress, was misdirected to the Library of Congress. This is in keeping with the fine tradition of missing ballots for which our State is justly famous.

Since our General Assembly has already acted, there is nothing for Georgians to do but keep their fingers crossed — hard.

TRESPASSING CONVICTION SET ASIDE

On March 16th, Judge Dan Duke issued an order setting aside the previous conviction of two ACLU clients for trespassing. In so doing, Judge Duke agreed with the contention of ACLU attorney Albert Horn, who said that no trespass had occurred because the initiative to claim trespass had come not from the property owner but from police officers. Judge Duke also stated that the anti-trespass statute itself was of "questionable constitutionality."

The situation of the two ACLU clients is by no means unique. There have been, and continue to be cases in which police officers make arrests for trespassing, loitering and loafing in places of public accommodation, based not on complaints from the owners but on their own initiative and for their own purposes.

In view of these facts, ACLU President Hugh Gibert wrote to Fulton County Solicitor William E. Spence inquiring whether or not his office intended to bring further prosecutions of the same type.

Mr. Spence replied that "under the circumstances (of this case) I will continue to prosecute under the anti-trespass statute, inasmuch as I conscientiously believe this to be the law and even though my position may be reversed."

GEORGIA ACLU SEEKS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

At the March Executive Committee meeting, Executive Director Florence Robin announced that her family will be moving to Maryland around June 1st. E. T. Kehrer, Hugh Gibert and Edward Ladd were appointed a sub-committee to seek her replacement.

The sub-committee in turn asks ACLU members to tell them about likely candidates. The job is headquartered in Atlanta and pays about $7,500 a year. Understanding of and commitment to ACLU policies are essential; professional experience in a voluntary organization would be useful. Please send your suggestions to the ACLU office at 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., or telephone 404/523-5398.

NATIONAL CRIME COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

"Every time a crime commission is appointed, I shudder," an ACLU Director from another state commented recently. And with good reason. Most of them have generated nothing but scare headlines about the increase in crime and the need to stop "coddling" offenders.

But the President's Commission on Law Enforcement is a marked exception. Its report, issued last month, is a searching examination of the failure of our correctional system, with recommendations for improvement while safeguarding individual liberties. Among the proposals are many which the ACLU has long supported:

Juveniles:

Limit police custody of juveniles to instances where there is objective, specific cause
Increase referrals to community agencies
Narrow juvenile court jurisdiction over non-criminal matters
Provide counsel wherever coercive action is possible.

Community relations:

Establish citizen advisory councils in minority-group areas
Recruit more minority-group officers
Provide adequate procedures for processing citizens grievances against all public officials.

Courts:

Provide defense counsel and probation officers in courts now lacking them
Abolish or reform justices of the peace and U.S. Commissioners
Establish bail projects
Establish station house release and summons procedures
Establish standards for publicity in criminal cases
Eliminate criminal treatment of drunkenness when not accompanied by otherwise unlawful conduct.

Other recommendations deal with upgrading police department salaries and standards, reorganization of correctional institutions, improvement of court procedures, expansion of private research, and establishment of a national agency to coordinate crime research.

We have a twelve-page summary of the Commission's findings, and if there is enough of a demand for it, we will be glad to rerun it for interested members. You might want to call the report to the attention of your local high school and college social studies department, your City Council, Police Department and state legislator.

THIS IS YOUR BALLOT

On February 20th, all ACLU of Georgia members were mailed the slate prepared by the Nominating Committee. No additional nominations having been received in the constitutionally allowed period, the slate of officers is as follows:

President:	E. T. Kehrer, Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
1st Vice-President:	William Alexander, Attorney, Member of Georgia Legislature
2nd Vice-President:	Dr. Faye Goldberg, Psychologist, Member of Morehouse Faculty
Secretary:	Mrs. John Morris, Community Leader
Treasurer:	John Glustrom, Businessman

The Georgia ACLU Executive Committee submits the following Constitutional Amendment:

Article VII - Executive Committee

To the following sentence in Paragraph 1:

"The Executive Committee is to be composed of the duly elected officers, five members of the Advisory Board and the chairmen of the Standing Committees"

add this phrase:

"plus the chairman of each local chapter or an individual designated by the chapter in his place."

This addition is in recognition of the fact that local chapters -- we now have active ones in Athens and Macon -- should share in the day-to-day decision-making processes of our affiliate.

- -

Do not sign the ballot. Sign only the self-addressed envelope.

I vote for the Nominating Committee's slate. _____

I vote for the proposed Constitutional Amendment _____

I vote against the proposed Constitutional Amendment _____

NO. 8-67 APRIL 17, 1967

from

GEORGE MEANY, Chairman WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer ALEXANDER E. BARKAN, National Director

EVE - Current Issues

'66 LOOKING BACK

LOOKING AHEAD '68

Early analyses by liberals of 1966 election results tended to go off the deep end of gloom. There's no question about it, the results were dispiriting: More than 40 liberal House members defeated, six liberal governors and two liberal senators swept aside.

But looked at more calmly than it was possible to do in the immediate aftermath of election day, the results fall into clearer perspective. These facts emerge:

• The extent of the off-year swing against the party in control of the White House was greater than usual (47 House seats lost against an average of 37 since the turn of the century) for a significant reason: The President's lopsided 1964 victory distorted traditional voting patterns in many districts, but only temporarily. Many of them turned back into standard shape in 1966, defeating newly-elected liberals, and returned to their conservative norm. At the same time, on a more encouraging note, the normal Senate loss of five seats by the party controlling the White House was reduced in 1966.

• Compared to the last off-year election—1962—COPE-endorsed candidates just about held their own. The number of successful COPE-endorsed House candidates in 1966 was 182. In 1962, a year regarded as a good one for liberals because the usual off-year reverses were minimized, 190 COPE-endorsed House candidates were elected. (In party terms, Democrats elected one more House member outside the south in 1966—165—than in 1962.)

Where the Vote Increased Over '62

34 marginal Congressional Districts where the vote percentage of COPE-endorsed incumbents was higher in 1966 than in 1962:

1966 COPE-endorsed candidates	Percent 1962	Percent 1966	Percent Increase
California			
37. Van Deerlin	51.4	61.1	9.7
Colorado			
2. (McVicker †)	45.1	47.1	2.0
3. Evans †	44.3	51.7	4.4
Connecticut			
4. Irwin †	48.3	50.9	2.6
Illinois			
19. (Schisler †)	42.2	47.6	5.4*
Indiana			
9. Hamilton †	49.6	53.8	4.2
Iowa			
1. (Schmidhauser †)	38.9	48.3	9.4*
2. Culver †	47.2	53.9	6.7*
4. (Bandstra †)	44.2	48.3	4.1*
6. (Greigg †)	41.5	42.5	1.0*
Maine			
2. Hathaway †	48.9	56.5	7.6*
Michigan			
11. (Clevenger †)	40.7	48.2	7.5
New Jersey			
2. (McGrath †)	46.8	46.9	0.1
New York			
3. Wolff †	38.3	50.3	12.0
5. Tenzer †	42.5	49.9	7.4
15. Carey	50.2	56.8	6.6
25. Ottinger †	38.5	54.6	16.1
27. Dow †	42.1	47.2	5.1
28. Resnick †	35.9	50.3	14.4
34. Hanley †	43.4	55.1	11.7
39. McCarthy †	35.1	52.3	17.2
North Dakota			
2. (Redlin †)	46.0	48.1	2.1
Ohio			
10. (Moeller †)	47.3	48.0	0.7*
17. (Secrest)	44.0	44.7	0.7*
Pennsylvania			
19. (Craley †)	43.2	48.3	5.1
24. Vigorito †	48.6	55.2	6.6
Washington			
2. Meeds †	40.2	63.1	22.9*
5. Foley †	35.6	56.8	21.2*
6. Hicks †	28.9	60.5	31.6
7. Adams †	43.5	63.7	20.2*
Wisconsin			
1. (Stalbaum †)	47.8	49.0	1.2
2. Kastenmeier	53.6	58.0	4.4
6. (Race †)	40.1	47.6	7.5
Wyoming			
AL. (Roncalio's seat †)	38.6	47.3	8.7

† Class of '64
Candidates in parenthesis lost in 1966
* Based on unofficial returns

AFL-CIO HEADQUARTERS
COPE PHONES
'RS. CE 761-0403
CAPT. ARKERS 761-0404
GENCY PE 452-4181
COPE PHONES
BLOCK WORKER REPORTS and GET-OUT THE-VOTE
761-040

- Thirty-four liberal House members increased their party's share of the vote over 1962, a more accurate measure of comparison than 1964. Of these 34, 20 were victorious in 1966.

- Almost half the first-term liberals elected in the Johnson sweep of 1964 were re-elected in 1966, indicating they have solidified their positions in their respective districts. Seven of these actually increased their margins in 1966.

There is no glossing over the scope of the liberal defeat in 1966. Yet, it can be said that without COPE's best effort ever the defeat would have been more severe. Most of the new liberals who survived 1966 made it by slim margins, and in many instances COPE's program provided the margin.

SOME OF THE FACTORS

Prior to the election, it had become clear that so-called "white backlash" had taken its toll among union members as in the community at-large. Though its precise effect is beyond accurate measurement, some conclusions about it can be made.

1. In 1966 voting statistics, backlash shows up most often not as a *switch* but as a *drop* in voter turnout in blue collar and middle income areas. In Cicero, Illinois, for example — where racial feelings were strong — the Democratic vote dropped about 25% from 1962 senatorial figures, and the Republican vote dipped slightly. Senator Paul Douglas' personal vote in Cicero plunged sharply from 19,678 in 1960, when he last ran, to only 7,823 in 1966. In the 1960-1966 comparison, the GOP vote only gained by 3,500, indicating less a massive switch in Cicero to the GOP than an unwillingness among Democratic voters to vote for a strongly pro-civil rights Democrat. They stayed home.

2. In state after state, the Democratic vote failed to come out in numbers comparable to 1962, the last off-year election. The most extreme example occurred in Detroit, where Governor Romney actually polled 11,000 *fewer* votes than in 1962, but the Democratic gubernatorial vote plummeted by 152,000.

Where They Stayed Home

DETROIT
(Gubernatorial Vote)

1962	1966	VOTE CHANGE
D. 412,145	D. 260,660	D. Minus 151,485
R. 204,309	R. 192,564	R. Minus 11,745

Blue Collar Wards

D. 52,843	D. 33,558	D. Minus 19,285
R. 14,269	R. 14,637	R. Plus 368

Where They Switched

LOS ANGELES
(Gubernatorial Vote)

1962	1966	VOTE CHANGE
D. 1,159,763	D. 1,014,928	D. Minus 144,835
R. 1,044,354	R. 1,350,074	R. Plus 305,720

Blue Collar Wards

D. 39,916	D. 28,219	D. Minus 11,697
R. 28,801	R. 40,487	R. Plus 11,686

ALAMEDA COUNTY
(Gubernatorial Vote)

1962	1966	VOTE CHANGE
D. 205,559	D. 187,267	D. Minus 18,292
R. 144,315	R. 184,959	R. Plus 40,644

Blue Collar Town
(In Alameda County)

D. 15,718	D. 11,733	D. Minus 3,985
R. 10,482	R. 15,085	R. Plus 4,603

3. In blue collar and middle income wards, the pattern was the same in many cities as in Detroit, notably in Chicago, Philadelphia, Denver, Milwaukee, Phoenix, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Louisville, Memphis. More than through actual voter defection, then, liberal candidates in these areas were hurt by the stay-at-homes.

Yet, there *was* vote-switching in some areas, and much of it must be attributed to backlash. Its most serious effects were felt in California.

The California gubernatorial battle came on the heels of two years of intense public focus on racial issues—the 1964 open housing referendum, 1965 riots in Watts, 1966 riots in San Francisco and, a week before the election, highly-publicized vandalism in Alameda.

One assembly district in Alameda switched from 59 percent for Gov. Pat Brown in 1962 to 65 percent for his victorious GOP opponent Ronald Reagan, in 1966. A similar district in Los Angeles switched from 58 percent for Brown in 1962 to 65 percent for Reagan in 1966.

Similar vote-switching occurred in blue collar wards in Omaha, Nebraska, where riots occurred shortly before election day, and in Baltimore where a Democratic candidate made an open racist appeal.

A final problem factor was the sharp drop in the Negro vote from 1962 in all but a few areas outside the south. This drop cut most deeply in the races of liberal Reps. John Gilligan in Cincinnati and George Grider in Tennessee, Senator Paul Douglas in Illinois and Representative Carlton Sickles in the Maryland Democratic gubernatorial primary.

COPE'S ROLE IN 1966

One of the ironies of 1966 was that widespread defeat of liberals came in a year when COPE performed better than ever. It brought home the lesson—by no means a new one—that COPE, though a significant factor, is but *one* factor in an election. Labor can never account for more than a minority of votes. In close situations, it can provide the margin of victory. In a landslide situation similar to 1966, it can at best take satisfaction in helping prevent even more calamitous results.

Two major factors helped stem what could have been a more far-reaching electoral defeat for liberalism:

1. COPE was provided with more assistance than ever before, from President Meany and the Executive Council through to the ranks of state and local central bodies and from the international unions. From all, COPE had more cooperation, more manpower, membership lists for data processing pilot projects and more coordination of campaign contributions. This produced the best organizational effort ever mounted by COPE.

2. Planning and organizing for the 1966 elections began early in 1965 and continued through the campaign.

These two factors helped achieve the following results:

- Eleven COPE-endorsed House candidates actually increased their winning percentage over 1964.
- In New York, all seven new congressmen won reelection in districts which had been strongly conservative in 1962. (Representative Joseph Resnick's 28th district went 64.1 percent Republican in 1962. Representative James Hanley from Syracuse upped his margin in the 34th district from 51.2 percent in 1964 to 55.1 percent in 1966.)

Where the Vote Increased Over '64

11 Congressional Districts where COPE-endorsed candidates drew a higher percentage of votes in 1966 than in 1964:

1966 COPE-endorsed candidates	Percent 1962	Percent 1966	Percent Increase
California			
22. Corman	50.5	53.4	2.9
37. Van Deerlin	58.2	61.1	2.9
Georgia			
3. Brinkley	42.6	61.8	19.2*
Iowa			
2. Culver †	52.2	53.9	1.7*
New York			
15. Carey	53.6	56.8	3.2
34. Hanley †	51.2	55.1	3.9
Pennsylvania			
24. Vigorito †	50.8	55.2	4.4
Washington			
2. Meeds †	54.9	63.1	8.2
5. Foley †	53.5	56.8	3.3
6. Hicks †	52.1	60.5	8.4
7. Adams †	55.5	63.7	8.2

† Class of '64
* Based on unofficial returns

- In Washington, all four new congressmen increased their majorities substantially. Representative Brock Adams won by 63.7 percent in Seattle, while Republicans were winning most lesser offices.
- In New Jersey, two new congressmen won reelection and a third lost by a tiny margin.
- In Pennsylvania's 24th district (Erie), new Congressman Joseph Vigorito upped his majority by nearly three percent, winning with 54.4 percent while the Republican gubernatorial candidate carried his district by 50.6 percent. In the 19th district (York), new Congressman Neiman Craley lost by only 1.5 percent, while the Republican gubernatorial candidate carried his district by 9.3 percent.

- In Colorado, new Congressman Frank Evans won by 51 percent in the Pueblo district which went 54.7 percent Republican in 1962.
- In Connecticut's 4th district (Bridgeport), Representative Don Irwin won the seat he lost in 1962.
- In Illinois, new Congressman Gale Schisler lost the 19th district (Rock Island) by 2.4 percent, while Charles Percy carried the same district by 4.9 percent. (It was 58 percent Republican in 1962.)
- Both Maine districts and the governorship went Republican in 1962 and Democratic in 1966.
- In Michigan, new Congressman Weston Vivian lost the 2nd district by 1.4 percent, while Governor Romney carried it by 18.6 percent. New Congressman Ray Clevenger lost his 11th district in the Upper Peninsula by 1.8 percent, while Romney carried it by 9.8 percent.

These accomplishments, however, cannot obscure the disturbing problems which already have been discussed. They were:

1. the failure of many of our members to vote in spite of our best efforts, and
2. the susceptibility of our own members to racist arguments on civil rights issues.

Both problems can be simply phrased but not easily met. Answers perhaps can be found within the framework of the following known facts:

1. As the average age of the population decreases, so does the average age of union members.

In the next five years, 26 million new voters between the ages of 21 and 23 will be added to the electorate. As new voters, they will have no historical memory of Franklin Roosevelt, the depression or World War II. Many of them will be new union members, but they will have no memory of hard times or of the union battles fought and won, from which they are reaping the benefits.

2. More and more, our white members, with the rest of the white population, will live in suburbs.

Between 1960 and 1965 the white population in all cities, large and small, dropped by more than 250,000. Given the normal growth of a stable population, it should have increased by 4.5 million. Instead, these and more joined the people moving from rural areas and young people starting new families to swell the suburban population by 9.25 million over the same five-year period.

Our organizational structure is traditionally based in central cities. Our problem arises in organizing and educating members who live far beyond the normal jurisdiction of the local central body.

3. Cities are increasingly becoming Negro ghettos. Between 1960 and 1965, the Negro population in cities increased two million, and, in the suburbs, only 400,000.

Our concern relates, not only to our own Negro members in their urban community, but the larger problems of maintaining lines of political communication between all sectors of our organization and our natural allies.

To meet these new circumstances the following approaches seem worth considering.

1. Intensified political education through existing national and state AFL-CIO machinery and in international unions, with special appeals to our younger members.

2. Development of local COPE's on a community basis in order to "go where our members live," which, increasingly, will be in the suburbs.

1968 ELECTIONS

There is no doubt that 1968 will not be an easy year. According to polls, the President's popularity has slipped despite an unmatched record of domestic achievements. The Republicans are unlikely to kick the election away as they did in 1964. And on the President's fate rests the fortunes of other liberal candidates.

The 1966 elections starkly illustrated the penalty liberalism must pay when there is a large incidence of stay-at-home voters. The stay-at-homes in too many cases are union members and others normally most likely to vote for liberal candidates.

The potential effect of large numbers sitting out the 1968 elections can best be understood by examining two Senate races of 1962 won by liberals by close margins. The same senators—Joseph Clark, Pa., and Gaylord Nelson, Wisc.—will be candidates again in 1968. The figures show 1962 votes and 1966 votes in statewide campaigns in states represented by these senators.

PENNSYLVANIA

1962 Clark-D vs. Van Zandt-R	1966 Shapp-D vs. Shafer-R Gubernatorial	VOTE CHANGE
D. 2,238,383	D. 1,868,719	D. Minus 369,664
R. 2,134,649	R. 2,110,349	R. Minus 34,300

WISCONSIN

1962 Nelson-D vs. Wiley-R	1966 Knowles-R vs. Lucey-D Gubernatorial	VOTE CHANGE
D. 637,491	D. 539,258	D. Minus 98,233
R. 625,536	R. 626,041	R. Plus 505

In Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, the high cost of stay-at-homes is startlingly apparent. In Pennsylvania, the GOP vote in a statewide campaign actually declined by 34,300 from 1962 to 1966. But the defeat of COPE-endorsed Milton Shapp is clearly traced to the stay-at-home liberal vote. The Democratic vote declined by 369,664 from 1962 to 1966.

In Wisconsin, the GOP vote gained only 505 from 1962 to 1966, but the Democratic vote declined by 98,233. Here, too, the clear difference was in the large numbers of stay-at-home voters.

Senator Clark won with only 51.1 percent of the vote in 1962, Senator Nelson with only 52.6 percent. Failure of a substantial number of liberals to vote in 1968—as was the case in 1966—could doom their re-election chances.

Other liberal senators face similar re-election problems: Birch Bayh in Indiana, who won with only 50.3 percent of the vote in 1962; Abraham Ribicoff in Connecticut, 51.3 percent; Warren Magnuson of Washington, 52.6 percent; Frank Church of Idaho, 54.7 percent.

In addition to these and other senators, more than a score of marginal liberals in the House will rely for re-election on the heaviest possible turnout among union members and their families.

The broad problems of 1968 have been outlined. It is the solutions that must be filled in. No solutions are guaranteed, but certain questions are suggested:

1. Where does political action and education fit into the program of your international union, local union, state or central body?
2. How much of the resources of these respective bodies is directed to political action and education?
3. Has there been a pattern of increased awareness of the need for political action and education, and has it been translated into action? If not, why?

The answers to these questions might, in part, produce the solutions to the problems confronting labor's political effort in 1968.

COPE Memo is published every two weeks by the Committee on Political Education, 815 - 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006. Subscription price $1.00 per year.

POSTMASTER — ATTENTION. Notice to Publisher Form 3579 should be sent to C.O.P.E., 815 - 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR PRESS AFL - CIO ASSOCIATION

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

ORDER BLANK FOR "POLITICAL MEMO FROM COPE"

Enclosed is $ ..... Please send ..... subscriptions at $1 a year (25 cents each a year for 10 or more subscriptions mailed to one address) of the "POLITICAL MEMO FROM COPE" to:

Name .....

Address ..... City ..... State .....

Signed ..... Union .....

New? ☐ Renewal? ☐

Mail to: COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

EMORY F VIA-DIR LBR PROG
SOTHRN REG COUN INC
5 FORSYTH ST NW
ATLANTA GA 30303

Current Issues

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C.
by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 7, No. 18 — May 1, 1967

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

America's school children will be short-changed if GOP tactics prevail in Congress

"It is a time of testing for American education. We must not lose all we have gained by rewriting our laws or by playing for partisan political advantage."

—President Lyndon Johnson, April 28, 1967

House Republicans, led by Minnesota Cong. Albert Quie, are playing with fire again. And if they aren't stopped soon, a lot of American youngsters are going to get burned.

It's no secret that the GOPers have been waiting for a chance to knock big chunks out of President Johnson's Great Society program. But Quie's assault on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) came as a surprise to Washington legislative experts.

Most Democrats expected the heavy fighting would focus around the controversial poverty program or the model cities bill. Few thought the Republicans would try to make a political football out of federal help for schools.

ESEA was first passed in 1965 by what the President called "the Education Congress." Its passage marked the first time Congress ever voted funds to help local schools solve their financial problems—and many have called it the single, most important law the 89th enacted.

With its passage Congress finally acknowledged that well-educated Americans are essential to the nation's security and the federal government has a duty to expand, improve and help pay for good schools.

In its first year ESEA pumped over a billion dollars into the school districts that needed it most to relieve overcrowded classrooms and beef up understaffed faculties.

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued from page 1)

In less than two years ESEA has racked up an impressive record. Seven million children from low income families have gotten the extra tutoring they need to make the most of their school years. Forty-nine million youngsters—in virtually every school in the land—have gotten new libraries or books. And ten million more have learned better and faster, while helping to pioneer new teaching methods.

The original bill skillfully steered its way through greatly troubled waters. Every other school-aid bill proposed during the last generation ran afoul of racial and religious antagonisms. ESEA passed because it deals only with entire school districts, and not with individual schools.

Although federal funds are controlled by public officials, parochial schools are eligible for grants if they are located in a district that qualifies for aid. Their needs are included along with the needs of public school children when the district submits its request. This system satisfies those who fear direct grants to religious schools would violate the Constitution's requirement that church and state be separate.

Republicans on the House Education and Labor Committee now propose to replace this flexible, successful compromise with a complicated, inferior plan of giving block school grants to state governments instead of to school districts.

Some observers don't think Quie seriously thought his bill had a chance of passing on the floor. But he suddenly—almost by accident—found himself surrounded by friends.

His approach appeals to southern states' righters and racists because it would weaken federal authority and increase state powers. It also appeals to congressmen who have been conned into backing the Republican tax-sharing schemes which would end most Great Society programs and give their funds directly to the states.

Quie also picked up considerable support by announcing that his plan would provide more money than ESEA does. Stunned Office of Education officials checked his figures—and then got angry. They found Quie had compared his bill's fiscal authorization with what he guesses ESEA might ask for next year.

What northern states would lose

New York	**$120 million**
Illinois	**8 million**
California	**3 million**

"It's like comparing apples with oranges," one OE representative snapped. **"And we've had to waste a couple of hectic weeks trying to make sure everyone understands the truth."**

The most misleading thing about Quie's figures is that his bill would actually decrease federal school aid by about $300 million next year.

To make matters worse, twenty-five states would receive substantially less under the Quie bill than they now get from ESEA. They include all the southern and border states, except Maryland, and some of our largest and most needy states.

New York, for example, would be the hardest hit, coming out $120 million in the hole. North Carolina and Mississippi would tie for second place, losing about $50 million each.

The current allocation of grant funds would be drastically changed because the Quie bill uses a new formula to

(Continued on page 3)

America grows—and so do its education problems. Each dollar invested in schools returns ten fold as kids learn—and earn.

(Continued from page 2)

determine who gets what. Instead of investing education money in areas where schools are worst, he wants to award grants on the basis of how much total personal income each state has.

Poorer States Lose Out

Not until last week did some of the poorer states realize that this system would shift much of their precious federal allowance to the richer states.

Our parochial schools are also beginning to wake up to the fact that many state governments would give all of Quie's money to public schools. Thirty-five states actually have laws forbidding grants to private or church schools.

What the Quie bill will cost the South

If Congress votes to replace the Elementary and Secondary Education Act with Cong. Quie's proposal, eleven Southern states will lose more than $300 million in federal aid to schools.

Alabama	**$32 million**	**N. Carolina**	**$50 million**
Florida	**6 million**	**S. Carolina**	**33 million**
Georgia	**30 million**	**Tennessee**	**30 million**
Louisiana	**19 million**	**Texas**	**25 million**
Mississippi	**48 million**	**Virginia**	**13 million**
	W. Virginia	**$12 million**	

Other interested groups have pinpointed additional trouble spots if Quie's bill replaces ESEA. Some state education departments are simply not capable of administering so large a program. **"Administratively,"** one government spokesman said, **"Quie's bill would throw American education into chaos. It would change all the ground rules and upset patterns of successful innovation and service begun in the past two years."**

"And," he added, **"school districts won't be able to plan for the future because they won't know until the last minute how much they'll be able to get. ESEA has already worked out a whole chart of entitlements so every district in the country knows how much of the pie it'll get each year."**

The Quie proposal would also wipe out several of ESEA's most vital projects. Lost would be the National Teacher Corps, programs for the children of migrant workers, foster children, and American Indians. The new bill would also kill the Defense Department's overseas schools, and end special education for handicapped, neglected or delinquent children.

Another shortcoming in the Quie bill is the fact that only half its money is earmarked for the schools that need it most. ESEA requires that 80 percent be spent in poverty areas. It's interesting to note, however, that even with this stern restriction in the present law, more than 95 percent of our nation's counties are eligible for ESEA grants this year.

Serious Drawback to Cities

Perhaps the serious drawback to the bill, however, is that it offers absolutely no hope or guarantee that cities—where the big education problems fester—will get a fair share of the Quie grants. Most large and medium-sized cities already have a hard time getting along with their small-town-controlled state governments.

Since the governors and state legislators would control school funds under the Quie bill, cities would have to go hat-in-hand to their state capitols—and settle quietly for whatever they get.

Faced with so many disgruntled groups, Cong. Quie last week took some desperate measures to scotch-tape his splintering coalition back together.

He set up a special fund for parochial schools, deleted almost any section of the bill that someone objected to and added almost everything anyone asked to have thrown in.

No one's quite sure what will happen when the bill hits the House floor possibly late next week for action. No major education association favors the Quie amendment and most teachers and school officials say that ESEA has worked well because of the flexibility and freedom it allows local school boards. The Quie bill would let the states control federal money for education as rigidly as they want to.

If the southern Democrats and the Republicans join forces to substitute Quie's bill for the existing law, they may kill federal aid to schools altogether. If Quie's plan is substituted for ESEA, many Catholic congressmen and representatives from the big cities would probably vote against the bill's final passage.

What'll happen to our schools if the Republican wrecking crew wins on this issue? Cong. Joseph Resnick (D-NY) says, **"The Quie amendment is based on an old Republican operational philosophy: the people be damned, especially those in need, whether they are in need of education or housing or help.**

"As a New York Congressman, I could not possibly vote for this proposal. We cannot hope to achieve New York's educational goals with less money. On this score alone, the Quie amendment would be a catastrophe for education in New York State now and for years to come."

WEEKEND WRAPUP

The war escalates, Congress gropes forward with a host of political hot potatoes, the President's school program gets slapped around by Republicans, Stalin's daughter charms America, George Wallace gets a raucous reception up north. It was that kind of week. . . . **Senate critics of escalation** spoke out last week making an 11th hour bid for an end to bombing, as General Westmoreland addressed Congress. South Dakota's Sen. McGovern states: *"Myself and others have predicted that each new escalation of forces on our part would lead to a further escalation on the other side, thus setting the stage for a larger and bloodier war on the Asian mainland. One of the difficulties in this formula is that in this kind of guerilla war, 10 additional soldiers on our side can be offset by one soldier on the other side, which gives them an enormous advantage in a war of attrition. This is the very course that most of our best generals have warned against for many years."* General Westmoreland in an unprecedented personal plea to Congress asked Americans to press on to victory in Vietnam, praising the valor of American troops of all races and creeds. . . . **Funny World Department:** Notes Jim Wechsler in New York Post: *"One evening in Moscow 30 years ago, an American visitor named Norman Thomas attended a ballet. He recalls now that the 12-year-old daughter of Josef Stalin arrived alone and slipped quietly into a box; her father appeared later. Thomas' journey to the Soviet Union was unusual because he had long been an eloquent critic of Stalin's rule—and continued to be. Three decades later there is an even more unusual sequel; his son Evan Thomas, of Harper and Row, will edit Svetlana Stalin's book. Reminiscing about these events, he remarked: 'If people had told me that night that Miss Stalin would come here as a dissident in 1967 and that my son would be her editor, I'd have said they were out of their minds. It's an awfully funny world.'"* . . . How much is the **oil deplention allowance** costing the American taxpayer? New calculations by the staff of the Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation shows that it's depriving the U.S. Treasury of $4 billion a year. That's $4 billion the rest of us dig down in our jeans and pay ourselves. It's utterly disgraceful, and Americans should raise the roof demanding this depletion allowance for wealthy oil companies be wiped out or drastically reduced. $4 billion! We could build a lot of schoolhouses and buy a lot of parks with that. According to Sen. Phil Hart of Michigan a company like Standard Oil of New Jersey had net income of $1.6 billion in 1965 but paid out only 4.9 percent in United States taxes. The normal corporation tax is 52 percent. An ordinary American citizen with $4,000 yearly income pays $800 or 20 percent tax. Is that justice? . . . A Lou Harris poll this year says **77 percent of Americans favor the right to strike,** and among union members 84 percent favor the right to strike. Those supporting strikes say, *"the strike is the only ultimate weapon of unions, is part of the free union system, and in some cases is the only way to win demands."* . . . **Congresswoman Julia Hansen** of Washington State is the only female member of Congress who's ever served as chairman of a subcommittee handling a bill on the floor of House of Representatives—and last week she came through with flying colors, her Interior Department and related agencies appropriations completely unscathed. An attempt by some Republicans to knock down this budget by 5 percent, willy-nilly, was defeated handily. . . . If you've seen one Redwood, you've seen them all—so said Gov. Ronald Reagan of California during his campaign (and it almost did him in). Those Redwoods are falling to the axes of greedy lumber companies and time is running out to save them. Lumber companies are furiously trying to befuddle the issue, but the fight is on in Congress to save the Redwoods and establish a **Redwood National Park.** . . . In 9 months with the help of **federal voting examiners,** 10,000 Negroes in Dallas County, Alabama, got their names on the voting rolls. Until the Civil Rights Act of 1965, only 1515 out of 15,115 were registered to vote, mostly by court decree. Gov. Wallace, please take note.

"THEY'RE SIMPLE, HAPPY FOLK—KNOWLEDGE WOULD JUST CONFUSE THEM"

The Quie bill "would be disastrous for educational advancement in this country. It's a political bill to round up votes. It's jerry-built legislation at its worst."—*Cong. Carl Albert*

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Roy Reuther, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 200

THIS WEEK

Federal school aid in danger as Congress takes up education bill

NEWSPAPER

UAW-WR
LABOR PROGRAM
SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST N W -INC
ATLANTA GA 30303

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 7, No. 19 May 8, 1967

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

Wilbur Mills—*Arkansas*
Cecil King—*Los Angeles*
Hale Boggs—*New Orleans*
Frank Karsten—*St. Louis*
John Watts—*Kentucky*
Al Ullman—*Oregon*
James Burke—*Massachusetts*

Write letters to these members of the House Ways and Means Committee—put a floor of decency under Social Security—use general revenue financing—boost benefits 50 percent

Martha Griffiths—*Detroit*
George Rhodes—*Reading, Pa.*
Dan Rostenkowski—*Chicago*
Phil Landrum—*Georgia*
Charles Vanik—*Cleveland*
Richard Fulton—*Nashville, Tenn.*
Jake Gilbert—*New York City*

Need letters to Congress to pry loose good bill on Social Security

American workers—young and old alike—have a big stake in what's going on in the House Ways and Means Committee this month. That's where the Social Security amendments of 1967 will come from.

And once the Committee agrees on how much to increase Social Security benefits and coverage, that's it. There can be no changes made on the House floor. Representatives can only vote the bill up or down at that point.

So it's critical for all workers who want financial security in retirement to let their Congressman and the Committee know what needs to be done—before it takes the final vote.

UAW President Walter Reuther said, in his March testimony before the Committee, that **"the goal of our Social Security system should be to assure retiring workers a life-time income of two-thirds of their average earnings, with regular increases to keep pace with changing economic conditions."**

As a first step toward that goal he proposed an immediate, across-the-board increase of 50 percent in benefit payments. There should also be a guarantee that single retirees and disabled workers will get at least $100 a month, and a minimum of $150 for retired couples.

To pay for part of these increases, President Reuther advanced an idea which has rapidly gained nation-wide support. Instead of socking workers and employers for all the extra money, he asked that the federal government share one-third of the program's total cost by making contributions from its tax receipts and other income.

He also proposed a built-in cost-of-living increase and additional regular benefit hikes so senior citizens can share in America's constantly rising standard of living.

Reuther further asked the Committee to extend Social Security coverage to another 200,000 city workers, 500,000 farm workers and that widows receive 100 percent of their deceased husband's benefits.

"The great fear we have is that some obscure bureaucratic decision will be made and appear casually in the Federal Register which will turn over a trillion dollar asset to private oil companies—and that will be the end of it so far as the American people are concerned"

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, as Vice President of the UAW and a member of our International Executive Board's Committee on Conservation and Natural Resources Development, I am grateful for this opportunity to express the views of our membership on the vast problem of oil shale and the dangers of monopolistic development of this great national treasure.

1) *On behalf of the officers of our organization and our membership, let me say we are deeply indebted to you, Senator Hart, and to other members of your subcommittee and to the staff of the subcommittee, for holding these hearings to explore and shed light on the problem presented by this immense resource.*

We have followed the testimony of the many expert witnesses you have called and we feel that you are doing a great public service to enlighten the American people on what is at stake in development of oil shale, variously estimated to be worth anywhere from $300 billion to the staggering sum of $2 trillion.

2) The UAW feels that the public interest must be uppermost in any consideration of oil shale.

As you have heard many times by now, nearly 80 percent of the surveyed deposits of oil shale are on public lands. The past history of careless leasing of government lands rich in oil and minerals is all too tragic to allow any future leasing to be handled with less than the most prudent and circumspect regard for what is best for the American people. **Congress has a sacred duty to prevent another Teapot Dome.**

3) **We agree with the western Senators who would like to see oil shale developed soon.** As a previous witness from the UAW told the Senate Interior Committee earlier this year, **"a frozen asset is no asset at all."** If the royalties from oil shale are to be used for education, for outdoor recreational land acquisition for Social Security benefits, for rebuilding American cities—it will do no good to dilly-dally around for years tilting at legalistic windmills. We do not for a moment believe that oil shale royalties can pick up the tab for all of America's neglected social needs. *The sooner an equitable system of oil shale development can be agreed upon by all of the interested parties—including Congress—the sooner its revenues will be available to the American people.*

4) • **We favor a public corporation along TVA or Bonneville lines to act as a public yardstick to prod the private oil companies to develop their own oil shale deposits and to help keep them honest in pricing oil for the rest of the American people.** The history of TVA and Bonneville shows that electric power rates become steeper the further away they radiate from Grand Coulee and the Tennessee Valley. The wonderful thing about TVA and Bonneville is that private industry and even the privately-owned utilities have grown and prospered from the stimulus of these two public corporations.

We are not necessarily suggesting that a public corporation develop all publicly-owner oil shale deposits—perhaps only enough to spur and prod the private oil companies to respond with what they presently own.

And as a reward for good public behavior on their own land, these private oil companies conceivably could be granted leases on public land so long as an oil shale public corporation was there to protect consumers in pricing.

5) **We fear as other witnesses before this subcommittee have indicated that oil shale prospects may have been oversold as utopia.** Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah may be in for a rude shock to find that private oil companies would only sit on their leases and there would be no guarantee to the people of those states that any oil, any revenue, or any other public benefit would emerge if Congress and the Secretary of Interior did everything the private oil companies ask of them.

6) **We believe there are genuine, but not insurmountable questions of conservation which cannot be dismissed lightly.** Watersheds, the configuration of terrain, and wildlife would certainly be affected by extraction of oil shale at the present time. These are not questions of monopoly, but they deserve attention by all public-spirited citizens.

Oil shale—a yardstick to keep oil companies honest in pricing

7) **It is absolutely essential to the American people that the allocation of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 be changed to reflect contemporary needs.** As the subcommittee well knows, the present allocation calls for 52½ percent for reclamation, 37½ percent to the states, and only 10 percent to the Federal Government. This formula is totally unrealistic and before any accepted leasing system is approved by the Secretary of Interior, he should ask and the Congress should support a new allocation fair to the pressing needs of our times and to the American people whose assets these are.

STATEMENT OF PAT GREATHOUSE
VICE PRESIDENT

UNITED AUTOMOBILE,
AEROSPACE AND AGRICULTURAL
IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE
ON MONOPOLY AND ANTITRUST LEGISLATION
May 5, 1967

Facts on oil shale

Buried deep beneath the rugged terrain of Wyoming, Utah and Colorado—on lands still owned by the federal government—is the world's greatest untapped oil supply.

Locked solidly into layers of shale rock, the oil is worth $2.5 trillion—enough to give every single American family a check for $40,000.

The oil's there and it belongs to the taxpayers, but nobody's figured out how to get it out cheaply enough, yet. But the experts promise a technical breakthrough any day now.

The shale contains about two trillion barrels of oil—enough to triple the entire world's current reserves, and last the U.S. for hundreds of years.

If the government leases the land to private oil development companies, as it does with many publicly-owned natural resources, the taxpayers' cut—from royalties—would be $300 billion.

8) **The oil depletion allowance of 27½ percent should not go unscathed in any leasing arrangement permitted for oil shale.** Oil shale, we are led to understand, "is a known geological structure and has no costly discovery costs"—in the words of the former director of the Bureau of Land Management, Mr. Charles Stoddard. He asks the question: "Should the oil depletion allowance apply to oil shale development on public lands?' We think not and beseech Congress accordingly.

9) **Some kind of public advisory or watchdog committee with power to make binding recommendations should be created by Congress.** The American people cannot afford to have a trillion dollar asset turned over to the private oil companies with few questions asked and little voice in what happens once a government lease has been granted. There are many men in public life with no axes to grind, such as the Chairman of this subcommittee, Senator Philip A. Hart, who would be ideally suited to serve on such a public watchdog committee. **The great fear we have is that some obscure bureaucratic decision will be made and appear casually in the Federal Register which will turn over a trillion dollar asset to private oil companies—and that will be the end of it so far as the American people are concerned.**

Former Senator Paul Douglas, an eminently respected economist in his own right with a long-standing record of unimpeachable integrity, would be an ideal chairman for a public watchdog committee. The private oil companies should welcome such a move. **If their actions and their policies can stand the scrutiny of such men as Senator Philip Hart and former Senator Paul Douglas, they can stand before all the American people with a clear conscience—and our own fears as private citizens would be laid to rest.**

10) **This subcommittee should make sure that any government leasing by an oil company does not impede the extration of minerals needed for the production of aluminum, and any leasing by aluminum companies does not impede the extraction of oil.** Surely this is concern for the Senate Subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly Legislation. There is a clear duty to the Congress and to the people of this country on this point.

Let me reassert the UAW's conviction that we welcome the development of oil shale. **The American people want this treasure unlocked and used for the benefit of mankind as a source of energy, as a public yardstick to protect the pricing of oil, and as a way to finance many neglected needs of our times.**

Again we thank you, Mr. Chairman and your subcommittee and your staff, for scheduling these hearings so that American people can better understand what is at stake in the public lodestone of oil shale.

We especially thank you for assembling a broad spectrum of expert witnesses who have discussed this matter pro and con.

Only in this way can the Secretary of Interior and the Administration, the Congress and the American people, make the kind of equitable and publicly-acceptable decisions which must be made on oil shale.

"The value of this oil shale at present rates is enough to pay off our national debt and give a check of at least $11,000 to every person in this country."

—U.S. Senator Philip Hart

WEEKEND WRAPUP

The 90th Congress first sessions nearly reached the halfway mark, and what do we have to show for this more conservative, go-slow Congress? Not much. No major bills have become law and the school bill may be in trouble, as Democrats and Republicans spar on tactics. Last week **the tide against the Quie bill began to turn** as parochial schools and schools with a high percentage of poor families got the full import of Quie's GOP bait. Letters began to roll into Congress by the truck load—but the outcome was still touch and go. . . . Did you know the **federal government gives your tax money to irrigate big farms** in the West and these farms can take 40 years to pay it back, interest free? Some of the most reactionary congressmen in America never blink an eye over this huge gift of free water. . . . *Are You Mad at the President?*—asks a new COPE leaflet with some sharp change of pace. *"Aren't we Americans supposed to be?,"* it continues. *"Isn't it one of our favorite pastimes, being mad at Presidents? Who else is to blame if things aren't exactly as we think they should be?"* And then it says *"you're probably mad at President Johnson because —There are six million more people at work . . . The jobless rate has dropped . . . Three million older Americans have received hospital care . . . Passage of his Elementary and Secondary Education Act is now helping eight million disadvantaged children . . . Library books, text books and other educational materials have been provided for 49 million schools children . . . More than 135,000 needy college students are able to pursue their education through direct grants . . . More than four million Americans have moved above the poverty line . . . Eight million more workers are covered by minimum wage.—The President is trying to do something to clean up the poisoned air we breathe.—Sure, You're Mad at the President, Who Wouldn't Be?"* If you'd like a copy of the whole thing, write the UAW Washington Office and we'll send you one. It's a neat production. . . . Family farmers, the kind who belong to the Farmers Union and National Farmers Organization, are up in arms these days. Farm prices have collapsed while inflation bites at what farmers buy. Big farmers are rolling in money and pay their farm workers the lowest wages on record. Last year **agricultural wages** (weighted average of all farm wages on a per hour basis, according to 1967 Economic Report to the President) were only $1.07, while the average for manufacturing workers during the same time was $2.75 an hour. To make matters more unfair to farm workers, productivity for farm workers rose from 103 percent in 1958 to 155.8 percent in 1966, while non-farm productivity went up during the same time from 99.7 percent to only 125.3. That's why the American labor movement is asking Congress to give farm workers the same protection under the basic labor-management act which other workers now have—so farm workers can organize and bargain like everybody else. It'll help the family farmer, too—because today a farmer, his wife and children must compete on their farm with low wages paid by those giant "agri-businesses" . . . **UAW's General Counsel Steve Schlossberg** told an Equal Employment Commission hearing last week: UAW has 200,000 women members, over 800 women in UAW ranks have been elected to top positions in their local unions, thousands more serve as stewards, there are three women department heads including Board Member Olga Madar, and 16 UAW women are fulltime staff representatives. Schlossberg said so-called state protective laws for women are used *"to circumvent our collective bargaining contracts and to discriminate against women who are members of our union. . . . The contracts we negotiate with employers provide for equal pay, equal job opportunity, equal seniority, training, etc.—and I couldn't begin to estimate the number of grievances we have taken all the way to arbitration in an effort to enforce a contract only to be stymied by one or another of the so-called state 'protective laws.'"* . . . **Good Idea Department:** New York Cong. Resnick wants major TV networks to hold televised debates between congressional leaders on the education and poverty bills.

—Ed Hinrichs, Capitol Times

WASHINGTON REPORT
printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department
Roy Reuther, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO
UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20

THIS WEEK

America's dreams can come true with oil shale royalties

UAW-WR
LABOR PROGRAM
SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST N W -INC
ATLANTA GA 30303

NEWSPAPER

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

EV - Current Issues

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 7, No. 21 May 22, 1967

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

Nelson drug probe reveals huge profits excessive prices

Witnesses tell Senate small business committee that drug companies have been hoodwinking Americans with fancy brand names, charging astronomical prices for drugs which can be bought with "generic" or chemical names.

America gets richer, the rich get richer—and the rest of us don't seem to do so well.

Not so long ago, oil millionaires and their big fat tax loopholes made the papers—and wage earners—wince. It turned out that gimmicks like their depletion allowances and intangible drilling deductions cost the Treasury better than a billion dollars a year in lost revenue.

Next, Cong. Charles Vanik (D-Ohio) uncovered the car safety equipment scandal which bloated GM's already astronomical profits by an extra $100 million last year. He found that while GM was boasting a six dollar price cut on these lifesaving accessories, it was actually making a new profit of $25 on every car.

Things got worse as we moved into 1967. A former TV executive finally told the truth about commercial television. In return for the free gift of America's airways, we get a lot of crummy programs and the networks get a $2 billion a year business.

Then, just a few weeks ago, the Senate Antitrust subcommittee staggered U.S. drivers with the inside story of the auto insurance racket. The insurance companies get away with murder because they control all the state commissions that are supposed to regulate them and protect the public.

But apparently we're not out of the woods yet. Last week Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis) sicked his Monopoly subcommittee on the high-riding American drug industry. He's already heard dozens of unbelievable stories about price gouging, price fixing and shady deals between doctors and pharmacies.

(Continued on page 2)

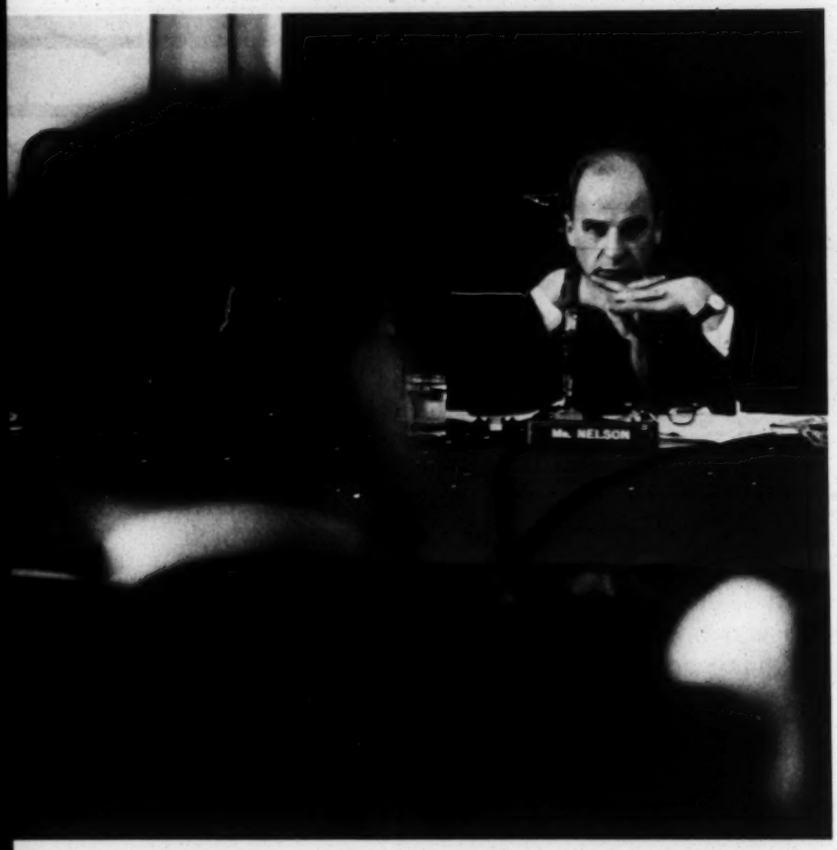
"The American public deserves to know how to get a better buy for its drug dollar. Our first week's hearings have pointed out the inconceivable differences between the prices various cities pay for the same drugs used in their public hospitals and health programs. In some cities taxpayers are paying as much as forty times more for drugs than taxpayers in other cities."

—U.S. Senator Gaylord Nelson, April 16, 1967

"The Monopoly subcommittee has heard testimony from a number of professionals who favor prescribing drugs by their generic names whenever possible, instead of by their higher priced brand names. Food and Drug Administration research shows beyond a doubt that the cheaper drugs are just as good, if not better, than the ones most doctors prescribe."

—Senator Gaylord Nelson, May, 1967

Drug companies say quality is better controlled with brand names, but Senate hearing showed that government makes rigid tests and government agencies save taxpayers money when making purchases for armed services.



(Continued from page 1)

Drugs are a five billion dollar a year business in this country and it's easy to see why. Recent surveys report that prices have sky-rocketed as much as fifty percent in the last ten years.

But price hikes aren't the real problem. Drugs are sold either by a brand name or by a chemical (generic) name. Salicylic acid is the generic name for aspirin, for example.

Drug manufacturers have made millions by using simple names instead of long, technical descriptions of the drug's contents. Most doctors play along with the name-game by prescribing medicine sold under these much more costly brand names.

Patients who want medicine to help control their weight usually get an Rx for dexedrine. And they pay through the nose—$40 per 1000—for buying it by its easy-to-remember brand name. If doctors prescribed dextroamphetamine sulfate instead, the same quantity would cost only $1.50.

Hard to believe? Impossible that an American business can get away with mark ups of 4000 percent? Most companies are satisfied—and make plenty of money—with mark up of fifty or sixty percent.

Here's another example—and it's only one of thousands—of how the drug industry robs sick and dying Americans of hundreds of millions of dollars a year.

Ask for peritrate if you have heart trouble and you'll pay about $40 per 1000. But if your doctor cares enough about your pocketbook, he'll prescribe exactly the same drug—even though it takes him a few more seconds to write out the longer chemical name.

It'll be worthwhile if he does, however, because the corner druggist will sell you a thousand for about four dollars.

(Continued on page 3)

What a difference a name makes

Brand name	*Cost/1000*	*Chemical name*	*Cost/1000*
Serpasil (blood pressure)	**$23.50**	**Reserpine**	**$ 1.10**
Meticorten (asthma)	**30.00**	**Prednisone**	**3.00**
Nembutal (sleep)	**16.00**	**Sodium pentobarbital**	**4.00**
Dexedrine (weight control)	**40.00**	**Dextroamphetamine**	**1.50**
Chlor-Trimeton (antihistamine)	**20.60**	**Chlorpheniramine maleate**	**2.00**
Peritrate (heart)	**20.00**	**Pentaerythminthiol**	**1.50**
Miltown (tranquilizer)	**80.00**	**Meprobromate**	**20.00**

Most doctors prescribe drugs by their brand names. In most cases the same medicine—exactly the same—can be bought under its much cheaper chemical name.

Nelson's investigation got national attention to excessive profiteering which major drug firms make at expense of hardpressed consumers, especially older people. Blue Carstenson of Farmers Union shows bottle to prove a point.

(Continued from page 2)

And generic name drugs are just as safe, just as thoroughly tested as brand name drugs. Bethesda Naval Hospital in Washington, D.C., has the awesome responsibility of caring for the health needs of our President.

President Johnson's surgery was performed there and most of our nation's leaders use Bethesda when they get sick in the Capital.

Bethesda uses nothing but generic name drugs. Buying them this cheaper way, the hospital's purchasing officers estimate they've saved taxpayers over eleven million dollars in the last six years.

Why don't our M.D.s give us a break when they write our prescriptions? Why should they make a family pay $1650 for penicillin during a child's long bout with rheumatic fever when a stroke of the pen would reduce the cost to $375?

You just can't win

This summer UAW collective bargaining committees will spend long hours hammering out new contracts. One problem will be to get the companies to contribute more money to our health care plans.

A lot of this extra money will be spent for doctors' fees and hospital bills. But a lot will be used to buy drugs and medicine for workers and their families.

And much of what our health plans spend on drugs will be wasted! There's no point in winning a better health care deal at the table if we let the drug manufacturers steal it as soon as we get it.

Let Wisconsin Senator Gaylord Nelson know you support his investigations into this profiteering industry. And be sure to write your own Congressman and Senators. Tell them you want a law—this year—that will stop doctors from pushing the high price pills and make public hospitals spend taxpayers' money to buy the best drugs—at the best price.

Last year Senator Philip Hart (D-Mich.) did some checking with his Antitrust subcommittee. He found a couple of very logical reasons why some doctors prefer the expensive drugs.

Some, he discovered, own all or part of a nearby pharmacy. Naturally, they steer patients there—and their druggist buddies soak them for brand name pills.

Another method for gypping us when we're too sick to care was reported in *Life* magazine last June. Physicians sometimes sell drugs directly to their patients from their own offices. One California M.D. was caught charging $16 per hundred for pills he got for $2.50.

Not all doctors are crooks, of course. Many of them say they prescribe the high cost drugs because they're safer, more reliable and more fully tested.

Sen. Nelson's hearings have exploded that myth already. Last week the Senator said, *"The Monopoly subcommittee has heard testimony from a number of professionals who favor prescribing drugs by their generic names whenever possible, instead of by their higher priced brand names.*

"Food and Drug Administration research shows beyond a doubt that th echeaper drugs are just as good, if not better, than the ones most doctors prescribe."

Other physicians have been taken in by the drug firms' story that research and testing costs are so high they have to push brand names—and use huge mark ups—to make any money.

But Nelson was ready—and eager—to shoot the drug makers down on this point, too. He stopped the show by producing the facts about thorazine—a tranquilizer widely used to treat mental patients.

It was developed entirely in France and a French firm paid for all the research and test costs. Yet Smith, Kline & French, the American company licensed to sell it here, wholesales them for $6.06 per hundred.

The drug people have so far been unable to explain to anyone's satisfaction why the exact same drug sells for only $1.08 in Paris and London.

The drug companies soak Americans two ways. As patients, most of us unknowingly buy the most costly brands on the market. And, as taxpayers, we subsidize the drug firms all over again.

This year, drugs bought with public funds for Medicare patients and under welfare programs will cost us more than $200 million. And there are some much-needed new proposals in the Congressional mill that may double that amount.

But unless Congress takes action to protect taxpayers by requiring public hospitals and health plans to buy generic drugs, most of our money will help swell drug makers' profits at our expense.

WEEKEND WRAPUP

The text for this week's sermon, brothers and sisters, is taken from **Charles Dickens:** *"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was an age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was an epoch of belief, it was the epoch in incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way—in short, it was like the world we live in."* A major diplomat from a communist nation defects, the ravages of a bloody war rage on, Congress knifes hopes for better housing for America's poor, the times are booming for most Americans, bitterness erupts in violence in Texas at a Negro college, more Americans will take longer vacations at better pay than ever before in our history. You could call it a crazy, mixed-up world. There's plenty of doom for the doomsdayers. It takes a great optimist to remain cheerful—and such a man is Vice President Humphrey. Last week the Veep told Washington businessmen to work hard now to build playgrounds and provide jobs for youngsters from the slums or live to regret a long, hot summer: *"We need preventative medicine before we are struck down by the disease of violence. My blood is red hot for doing something constructive around here."* . . . Few people heard it and only faint glimpses of it got on television—but **last week's legislative battle over rent supplements for the poor** was a dangerous sample of the fix this country's in. Some Republicans honestly feel they are promoting positive alternatives—but while the debate waxes for weeks, the problems deepen. A liberal congressman wagged his finger at the Republican side of the aisle last week and said: *"The poor are not going to disappear. They're here right now and they're going to stay here until we do something."* The late Sen. Robert Taft was a bona fide conservative always impressed with facts. While he lived he accepted the necessity for doing something in housing, education, and medical care. Today's breed of GOP conservatives are too often willing to win a vote and forget the problem. Next time you see a rotting row of slum properties—remember last week's defeat of rent supplements in the House of Representatives. Some 35 courageous Republicans rose above partisanship to cast a vote for progress on model cities, but only 11 cast votes for rent supplements. Many conservative Democrats—who love government money for cotton subsidies and cheap government irrigation water—voted against their party's President, their party's platform, and against the hard facts of human misery and rotting cities. These 11 Republicans bucked the tide to vote for rent supplements: *Whalen, Mathias—Md., Reid, Kupferman, Halpern, Button, Horton, Brown—Mich., Morse, Gude, Mosher, Harvey.* . . . It's hard to get very excited about Republican schemes for tax-

Destruction Of Civilian Centers, U.S.A.

sharing when you look at the Republican record on rent supplements and model cities. Reason to mistrust any transfer of federal money back to states without strings is simple: cities have been starved and consistently neglected by backwoodsy types, witness last week's vote. Prevailing conservative mood in Congress among most Republicans and some Democrats shows a shortsighted anti-city frame of mind. . . . **Social Security's a bargain,** like we noted last week in this column—but not unless Congress does something to improve it this year. House Ways and Means Committee still mulls over pros and cons of suggested changes—and there's no clue yet what Chairman Wilbur Mills and his colleagues expect to do. Here's another way to figure what it can be if Congress acts: Suppose you become totally and permanently disabled when you're 30—and you're 22 now. You, your wife and your child will receive benefits that could add up to $230,000 based on normal life expectancy. It will have cost you only $3,858—that's quite a bargain and you could never buy insurance for that. . . . You want to fight the rightwing hate-peddlers who use the radio to attack your government? **Institute for American Democracy** has a $1 manual called "How to Combat Air Pollution" using the FCC's fairness doctrine. Write UAW Washington Office or IAD, 1330 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D. C. 20005. . . . South Dakota's **George McGovern** said soberly in his May newsletter to 100,000 residents of his state: *"It took more courage for me to speak out on the Senate floor recently than to fly any one of the bombing missions I flew as a pilot in World War II. It takes no courage to cheer from the sidelines and call on our soldiers to fight harder. It is the troops who will die, not the cheerleaders. I have observed that the noisest warhawks are often those who have never seen a young soldier die in battle."*

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Roy Reuther, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

Nelson probe of drug prices shows how public gets gouged.

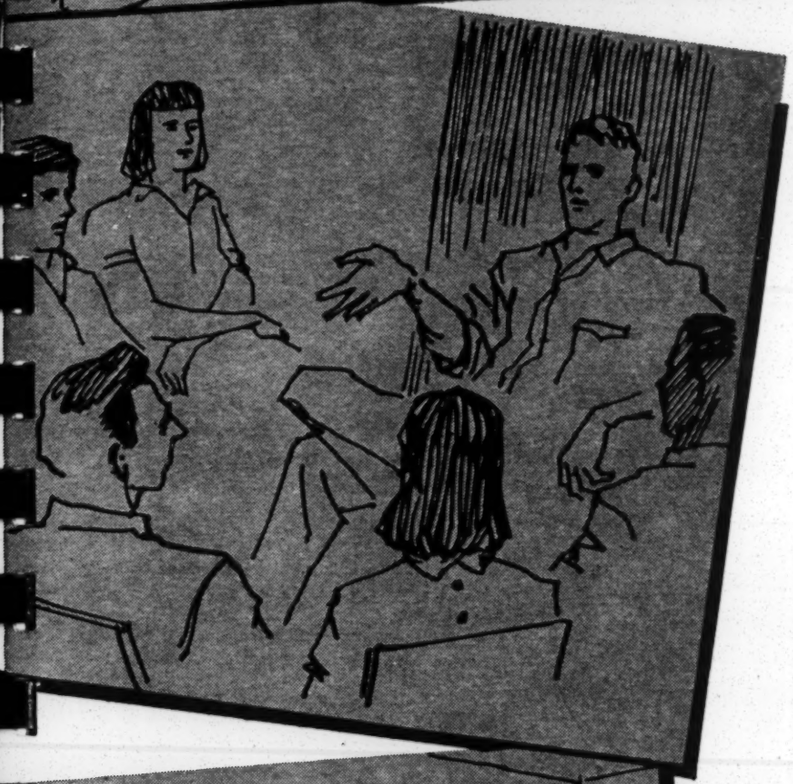
NEWSPAPER

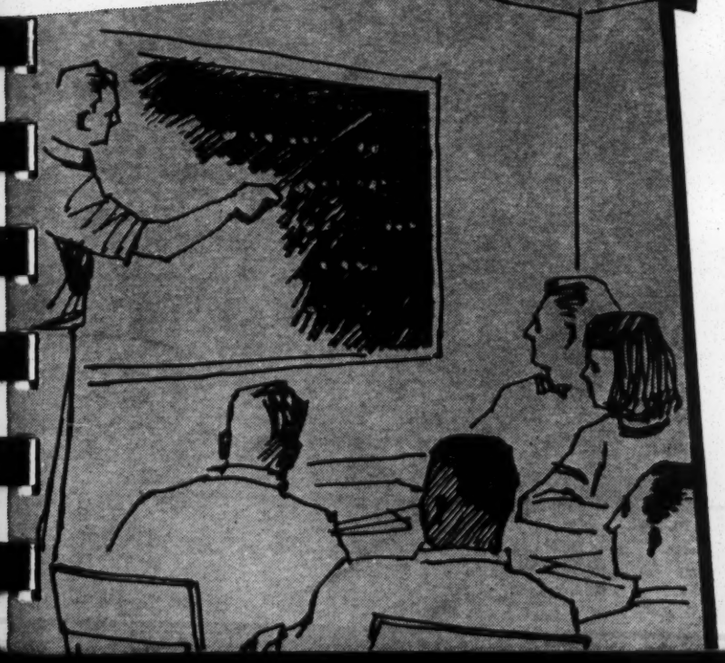
UAW-SR
LABOR PROGRAM
SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST N W -INC
ATLANTA GA 30303

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

Current Issues

V/A





Tri-State Labor School

Sponsored by:

North Carolina State AFL-CIO

South Carolina Labor Council, AFL-CIO

Virginia State AFL-CIO

May 21-26, 1967

Camp Rockmont

Black Mountain, North Carolina

Manual prepared by:

AFL-CIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

EV — Current Issues

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C.
by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 7, No. 23 — June 5, 1967

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

Inauguration Day—1965

U. S. Senator Birch Bayh has the answer for Americans who are tired of letting the nameless, faceless Electoral College decide who our Presidents will be. His plan to let the people decide for themselves is fast gathering support across the country—from the prestigious American Bar Association to the average citizen who values his vote.

90TH CONGRESS 1st Session — **S. J. RES. 2**

JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the Constitution to provide for the direct election of the President and the Vice President of the United States.

By Mr. BAYH, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. CLARK, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MILLER, Mr. MORSE, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. YARBOROUGH, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio

JANUARY 11, 1967

Read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

Your next Congressman could be the most powerful man in America

"The present system has in the past—and may in the future—result in the election of a President who has received fewer votes than his opponent. I cannot see how such a dangerous, antiquated and undemocratic system can be beneficial to the American people. I see, instead, only grave dangers which could divide this nation at a critical hour."

—U. S. SEN. BIRCH BAYH—MAY, 1967

Suppose your Congressman—all by himself—had the power to choose the next President of the United States. Would he select the man you'd want?

It's entirely possible that the Representative your Congressional district elects in 1968 will have the power to decide who lives in the White House for the four long years from January 20, 1969 to January 20, 1973.

The political outlook these days is for a close—and crowded—Presidential race. The normal competition between Democrats and Republicans will probably be complicated by the candidacy of Alabama's ex-Governor Wallace on the political right and a peace candidate on the left. A four-way race could easily splinter America's vote so badly that no one candidate would win a majority.

(Continued on page 2)

Steve Schapiro, Black Star

Gene Daniels, Black Star

"At present every vote does not count equally. Example: New York and Nevada. New York State citizens cast more than 50 times as many votes as are cast in Nevada, but they have only 15 times as many electoral votes. Thus, every time a voter in Nevada goes to the polls to vote for president, he casts in effect three votes for every New York voter's one.

—ROSCOE DRUMMOND

Percentages of votes, winning candidates

"Winning candidates percentages of popular and electoral votes," 1868–1964, Congress and the Nation 1945–1964, Congressional Quarterly Service (1965), p. 67.

Year	*Winning candidate*	*Percent of popular vote*	*Percent of electoral vote*
1868	Ulysses S. Grant	53	73
1872	Ulysses S. Grant	56	82
1876	Rutherford B. Hayes	48	50
1880	James A. Garfield	49	58
1884	Grover Cleveland	49	55
1888	Benjamin Harrison	48	58
1892	Grover Cleveland	46	62
1896	William McKinley	51	61
1900	William McKinley	52	65
1904	Theodore Roosevelt	56	71
1908	William Taft	52	66
1912	Woodrow Wilson	42	82
1916	Woodrow Wilson	49	52
1920	Warren G. Harding	60	76
1924	Calvin Coolidge	54	71
1928	Herbert C. Hoover	58	84
1932	Franklin D. Roosevelt	57	89
1936	Franklin D. Roosevelt	61	98
1940	Franklin D. Roosevelt	55	85
1944	Franklin D. Roosevelt	54	81
1948	Harry S Truman	50	57
1952	Dwight D. Eisenhower	55	83
1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	57	86
1960	John F. Kennedy	50.08*	62
1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	61*	90

** Percentage of major party vote only.*

(Continued from page 1)

So there's a serious possibility that no candidate in 1968 will carry enough states to control the Electoral College. If that happens, the Constitution throws the final decision into the newly elected House of Representatives. There, each state's delegation would have one vote, with the Presidency going to the candidate who lines up twenty-six votes—a majority of the fifty possible state votes.

The troubles this sort of Congressional squabble would cause are obvious. In a closely divided House anything—including arm-twisting, shady deals and even fraud—would go. And the Presidency could go to the fastest and trickiest operator.

And after it's all over, Congress would probably have extracted enough promises from the new President to wipe out the Constitution's protection of the Executive branch's powers.

U. S. Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind), chairman of the constitutional amendments subcommittee, has spent years studying the problem. He now recommends doing away with the out-dated, undemocratic Electoral College by changing our laws to allow direct, popular election of the President.

His bill, SJ Res 2, would give the American people—for the first time in our history—a chance to decide for themselves who their President will be.

The dynamic Hoosier lawmaker has powerful reasons for calling the College antiquated and dangerous. In a recent speech he said, "The College was created to meet 18th century problems that no longer exist in America.

"In 1787 there were no political parties and the founding fathers had to find a way to prevent the formation of hundreds of splinter parties. And since there was no mass communication, there was no way for the people at large to get to know the candidates or the issues well enough to make an enlightened choice."

Bayh also said that widespread illiteracy and widely varying voter qualifications discouraged the framers of our Constitution from approving popular Presidential voting.

"But all this has changed now," he said. **"In the last 180 years we have expanded the franchise to include people of all races and of both sexes; we have extended direct elections to include Senators, who once were appointed by the legislatures; all qualified citizens now are guaranteed the right to vote; and we have strengthened our system of education and developed mass communication to the point that every American now has the opportunity to know the issues and the positions of candidates in Presidential elections.**

"It seems to me there remains no persuasive argument for a system in which the people cannot choose their most powerful national officers directly, but must instead rely upon the judgment of electors whose names and qualifications are known only to a few.

"It seems to me," Bayh said, **that people should have the right to choose their President in the same way they choose a township trustee, a city councilman, a mayor, a state legislator, a Senator or a Governor."**

Under the present system a certain number of so-called electoral votes are allotted to each state. The popular vote winner in each state usually takes all its electoral votes, regardless of how close the race is. To become President in 1968, one candidate will have to control 269 of the College's 538 votes.

Birch Bayh photos by Paul Conklin

U. S. Senator Birch Bayh, Democrat from Indiana

Bayh's plan would award the Presidency to the man who receives the highest, nation-wide popular vote. It also requires a candidate to win a minimum of forty percent of the total vote cast.

If no candidate polls forty percent, Bayh recommends a national runoff election between the two high men.

His plan already has the backing of a blue ribbon commission of the American Bar Association and a recent Gallup poll shows that a large majority of the voters agree.

Another survey, conducted by U. S. Senator Quentin Burdick (D-N.Dak), reveals that sixty percent of our 2500 state legislators also favor this method of selecting a Chief Executive.

To become law, however, Bayh's bill requires an amendment to the Constitution and many observers fear he won't be able to push it through in time for the 1968 elections. So it's likely that we'll have to choose our next President according to the present rules.

This means that each voter will have a special—and heavy—responsibility in 1968. When he campaigns and votes for his Washington representative he'll probably be doing a lot more than just picking a man to represent his district. He may very well be campaigning and voting for a man who will select our next President.

"While there may be no perfect method of electing a President, we believe that direct, nationwide popular vote is the best of all possible methods. It offers the most direct and democratic way of electing a President and would more accurately reflect the will of the people than any other system."

—Statement by the American Bar Association's Commission on Electoral College Reform—January, 1967

WEEKEND WRAPUP

The auto companies are poor-mouthing again, but two congressional big guns won't buy it. **Sen. Warren Magnuson and Sen. Fritz Mondale** last week asked GM, Ford, Chrysler and American Motors to tell Congress exactly what they intend to do on next year's prices—and why. Mondale is a rising Senate star with a consumer watchdog reputation while he was Minnesota's attorney-general. Magnuson has plenty of clout—he's chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee. The UAW has always welcomed a full accounting of price and wage policies in the auto industry—the more the public knows, the more wages and prices will be calculated in the public interest. Mondale thinks auto companies are making safety equipment the scapegoat for slipping profits. Don't pull out your hankie yet. Auto profits slipped from 23 percent after taxes in 1965 to 18 percent in 1966. Says Mondale this profit is *"still one of the highest profit returns in American business."* Mondale reports UAW President Reuther said price of all 1966 cars could have been cut by $251 at wholesale *"and still earned the average rate of profits for all manufacturers."* Mondale thinks it *"most strange"* that an industry which can make expensive styling changes each year without increasing prices *"finds it necessary to 'substantially' increase prices to meet the modest safety standards being required this year."* Mondale's the bright, gutsy liberal Democrat who took Hubert Humphrey's seat in the United States Senate. Among his demands of the auto industry he asks: *"whether savings which accrue from implementation of safety standards (for example, elimination of dangerous or unnecessary ornamental metal) are being deducted from the cost attributed to safety; whether the cost of mandatory anti-smog devices is being included in the cost of complying with safety standards; and whether the cost of defect notification and recall campaigns is being included in the cost of complying with the new safety standards." . . . "Nothing will replace good old-fashioned collective bargaining and head-knocking. I don't think there's any piece of legislation—I don't care what it is—that will be a cure-all. We'll never get rid of deadline bargaining."* Who said this? Was it Walter Reuther? I. W. Abel? Roy Siemiller? No, it was **William S. Simkin**, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, speaking recently to the Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council at its 30th anniversary meeting. Wise words, those. . . . Congress is in the throes of trying to untie the **campaign financing knot.** Almost everybody agrees the present system of paying for campaigns is a farce, dangerous, full of holes, and needs reform. But how do you reform—ah, that's the tricky one. Can Congress reform itself? Can the President? Can an ivory-towered group of professors? Can anybody? Here's one place the Supreme Court—bless their hearts—can't come to the rescue. Today liberals and conservatives in Congress are cut up in little pieces. Close ideological friends are miles apart on deciding how to reform our rules for campaign financing. The UAW's longstanding plan for a $5 tax credit still makes a lot of sense. Any time you gave $5 directly to a candidate or to COPE you could turn in a receipt to your own employer, and $5 more would be paid out in your next paycheck. A quick, fair, surefire way to raise campaign money. As the debate unfolds we'll report the action to you. Over $200 million was spent in 1964 at all levels of government—and that's more than $1 per citizen. Campaign costs keep zooming upward. Something's got to be done. Much of today's political money comes from folks with a vested interest or an axe to grind. Some people even play both sides of the street and give equal amounts of money to candidates running against each other—how's that for sheer cynicism? . . . Oil companies ought to be sitting ducks for higher taxes, instead of working people whose taxes are taken out of every paycheck. But as Jack Anderson observes: *"Of all the pressure people who operate behind the Washington scenes, the most elegant and elite are the oil lobbyists, who have been able to expand the oil tax loopholes until an estimated $6 billion slips away from the Treasury each year. . . . Governments may rise and fall; wars may shake the world. But the dividends keep pouring in, remarkably unaffected by international boundaries and politics.* Don't let your own congressman support a 6 percent surtax on you unless he supports a heavy cut in the **oil depletion allowance.** Millions of honest taxpaying Americans pay 20 to 30 percent of their income in taxes, while a select few oil millionaires don't pay any taxes whatsoever—not one red cent! . . .

"Our Alibi Will Be That The Safety Belt Created Extra Foot Pressure On The Accelerator"

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT
printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department
Roy Reuther, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO
UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

Your Congressman may pick the next President

NEWSPAPER

UAW-AR
LABOR PROGRAM
SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST N W -INC
ATLANTA GA 30303

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

TRI-STATE LABOR SCHOOL

GROUP A

CAMP ROCKMONT, BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA

May 21 - 26, 1967

Time	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
7:30			BREAKFAST			
8:15-9:20		Parliamentary Procedure & Improving Union Meetings (Brock)	Parliamentary Procedure & Improving Union Meetings (Brock)	Parliamentary Procedure & Improving Union Meetings (Brock)	Parliamentary Procedure & Improving Union Meetings (Brock)	(9:00-11:00) Problems of Organizing (Kehrer, Pearce)
9:30-10:30		Collective Bargaining Problems (MacDonald)	Collective Bargaining Problems (MacDonald)	Collective Bargaining Problems (MacDonald)	Collective Bargaining Problems (MacDonald)	
10:30			COFFEE BREAK			
11:00-12:00		Legislative Issues (Kehrer)	Legislative Issues (Kehrer)	Legislative Issues (Kehrer)	Legislative Issues (Kehrer)	SUMMARY AND EVALUATION
12:15			LUNCH			
1:30-3:00		Union Administration (Clitheroe)	Union Administration (Clitheroe)	Union Administration (Clitheroe)	Union Administration (Clitheroe)	GRADUATION ALL GROUPS
7:15	General Assembly	Picnic	Collective Bargaining & the Law (Pollitt)	What is VISTA ? (Rantane)	Election Coalitions (Jordan, Hobby)	

Tri-State Labor School Committee:

Julian Carper, Acting President, Virginia
E.T. Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer, S.C. Labor Council
W. M. Barbee, President, N.C. State AFL-CIO

Staff Members:

Stuart Brock, National AFL-CIO
Wilbur Hobby, AFL-CIO COPE Area Director III, N. C.
E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Southern Dir. of Dept. of Civil Rights
Daniel Pollitt, University of North Carolina
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Georgia
William Clitheroe, Grand Lodge Representative
Ray MacDonald, Dir. Education & Res., Molders Union, AFL-CIO

opeiu #2 afl-cio

TRI-STATE LABOR SCHOOL

GROUP B

CAMP ROCKMONT, BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA

May 21 - 26, 1967

Time	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
7:30		BREAKFAST				
8:15-9:20		Collective Bargaining Problems (MacDonald)	Collective Bargaining Problems (MacDonald)	Collective Bargaining Problems (MacDonald)	Collective Bargaining Problems (MacDonald)	(9:00-11:00) Problems of Organizing (Kehrer, Pearce)
9:30-10:30		Parliamentary Procedure & Improving Union Meetings (Brock)	Parliamentary Procedure & Improving Union Meetings (Brock)	Parliamentary Procedure & Improving Union Meetings (Brock)	Parliamentary Procedure & Improving Union Meetings (Brock)	
10:30		COFFEE BREAK				
11:00-12:00		Union Administration (Clitheroe)	Union Administration (Clitheroe)	Union Administration (Clitheroe)	Union Administration (Clitheroe)	SUMMARY AND EVALUATION
12:15		LUNCH				
1:30-3:00		Legislative Issues (Kehrer)	Legislative Issues (Kehrer)	Legislative Issues (Kehrer)	Legislative Issues (Kehrer)	GRADUATION ALL GROUPS
7:15	General Assembly	Picnic	Collective Bargaining & the Law (Pollitt)	What is VISTA? (Rantane)	Election Coalitions (Jordan, Hobby)	

Tri-State Labor School Committee:

Julian Carper, Acting President, Virginia
E.T. Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer, S.C. Labor Council
W. M. Barbee, President, N.C. State AFL-CIO

Staff Members:

Stuart Brock, National AFL-CIO
Wilbur Hobby, AFL-CIO COPE Area Director III, N. C.
E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Southern Dir. of Dept. of Civil Rights
Daniel Pollitt, University of North Carolina
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Georgia
William Clitheroe, Grand Lodge Representative
Ray MacDonald, Dir. Education & Res., Molders Union, AFL-CIO

opeiu #2 afl-cio

Kraft Survey

Sample: 1600
50% under 40
25% under 30

50% in Suburban area
(heavily defined ?)

Over 55
Rt to work — 65% favored repeal

Under 30
Rt to work — very low

When total sample asked what the important pol. issues were less than 2% said Rt to work.

Medicare
over 55% said good
Under 30 — 70% were against

One Union
~~2.5~~
~25M retired
~5 M members under ~~30~~
5 yrs seniority —

All interviewees from Union lists given card to check —
36% did not check Union as belong — —

Tab 1 — Midway

Education
Questionnaire (white sheet
1—21
Expenditures for State
(white sheet) 1—25

Civil Rts Leaders on Rt to Work
(Gray sheet) 1—33
Unions developing jobs for minorities

Tab 2 — Midway

One Man — One Vote
yellow 2—15

Negro Vote (Ray Reed)
white 2—16

Tab 3
Taxes 3—2
A.C. — W.C.

higher % of Southerners get at labor
Crack schools —

150 total in nation

Southern

IAM — Ky
UAW — Anti-Okla
Tri-State
Gulf Coast
So. Lab.
Fla.

TRI-STATE LABOR SCHOOL

GROUP C

CAMP ROCKMONT, BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA

May 21 - 26, 1967

Time	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
7:30			BREAKFAST			
8:15-10:30		Problems of the South (Via)	Problems of the South (Via)	Collective Bargaining & the Law (Pollitt)	Legislative Issues (Kehrer)	(9:00-11:00) Problems of Organizing (Kehrer, Pearce)
10:30			COFFEE BREAK			
11:00-12:00		Problems of the South (Via)	Problems of the South (Via) 11:50	Collective Bargaining & the Law (Pollitt)	COPE (Hobby)	SUMMARY AND EVALUATION
12:15			LUNCH			
1:30-3:00		How to Reach the Members Today	Collective Bargaining & the Law (Pollitt)	COPE (Hobby)	Political Coalitions (Jordan)	GRADUATION ALL GROUPS
7:15	General Assembly	Picnic	Collective Bargaining & the Law (Pollitt)	What is VISTA? (Rantane)	Election Coalitions (Jordan, Hobby)	

Tri-State Labor School Committee:

Julian Carper, Acting President, Virginia
E.T. Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer, S.C. Labor Council
W. M. Barbee, President, N. C. State AFL-CIO

Staff Members:

Stuart Brock, National AFL-CIO
Wilbur Hobby, AFL-CIO COPE Area Director III, N.C.
E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Southern Dir. of Dept. of Civil Rights
Daniel Pollitt, University of North Carolina
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Georgia
William Clitheroe, Grand Lodge Representative
Ray MacDonald, Dir. Education & Res., Molders Union, AFL-CIO

opeiu #2 afl-cio

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

June 7, 1967

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

An article by Robert Sherrill, titled "It Isn't True That Nobody Starves in America," in the New York Times Magazine, June 4, 1967, confirms and summarizes reports that we have been getting from many sources for many months that literally thousands of people in Mississippi, Alabama, southwestern Arkansas, eastern Tennessee, and other areas of the South are starving. It further confirms that in the very worst counties emergency distribution of food through Surplus Commodities or Food Stamps programs is inadequate or--for most intended recipients--non-existent. The Department of Agriculture has thus far been unwilling or unable (because of opposition from powerful southern congressmen) to make changes of administrative policy to cope with the situation.

That conditions constitute a dire emergency has been confirmed for us most recently by a delegation of medical doctors, including Robert Coles and Raymond Wheeler, who personally observed and report, from the point of view of medical men, quite intolerable malnutrition and susceptibility to disease because of starvation diets in the areas visited.

This is to urge you to read the Times Magazine article, if you can obtain a copy, and to request your members, through newsletters and appeals included in any talks you may be making and in any other way you can think of, to write to The Honorable Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, simply stating concern over these conditions and inquiring whether emergency procedures are possible to get surplus commodities or free food stamps to these people.

I recognize that this is precious little to do and (to those of us who are at all acquainted with USDA operations) probably futile in itself. However, such expressions of interest and concern will coincide with other efforts that are being mounted. We have hopes that the combined efforts will get some results.

EV — Current Issue

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C.
by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 7, No. 25 — June 19, 1967

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

Muddled Republican "thinking" on national debt threatens economic slowdown, roadblock to growth

A funny thing happened in Congress the other day. The conservatives decided our national debt is too high—so they got together and killed a House bill to raise the ceiling.

Being in debt isn't funny. But the way conservatives talk about it—out of both sides of their mouths at once—is. Or at least it would be if so many people weren't taken in by their nonsense.

Turn on the radio. Chances are you'll hear a bank advertisement in the first five minutes. Your local, friendly money-lender spends thousands of advertising dollars every year trying to coax you deeper into debt. He doesn't care what you buy —as long as you borrow to do it.

And he'll be the first to tell you that borrowing is the American way—that credit makes the world go around, faster and better.

America's economy needs a Republican-type balanced budget and an out-dated debt limit about as much as it needs a recession. And that's exactly what we had the last time voters gave the GOP an upper hand in Washington. U.S. families live better and our strongest companies continue to grow through wise use of borrowing power. The federal government's effective management of the public debt since 1960 has made our towering national prosperity possible.

"What some people forget is that the remarkable growth of our nation's economy has been made possible—in large part—by the government's wise borrowing and investment of public funds."

—Cong. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.), June 7, 1967

Why wait until you save enough to build that patio the wife wants so much, he asks. Why not borrow—today—against your future earning power and have the neighbors over for a cook-out tonight?

It all makes sense. A carefully handled family debt means better living today—not years from now when you're too old to enjoy it. As long as you keep an eye on the interest rate you're paying, it's really pretty cheap to have most of the things you need or want.

And everybody comes out ahead. The bank makes money because you pay interest. The guy you buy the bricks and cement from makes a profit on the sale and —if you hire somebody to help you build it—you've created a new job. Everybody's happy—even the wife. Right?

Right. Conservatives—like bankers, stock brokers and other coupon-clippers—never complain about personal debts or private borrowing. They can't afford to because U.S. consumers cough up twelve billion dollars a year in interest payments to them.

But when our government tries to do the same thing they want us to do—borrow against future income to buy the things America needs now—they have an ulcer.

Confused? Well, it gets trickier. Let's take a look at another segment of the conservative's world—business corporations. **Since the war, company borrowing has quintupled, jumping from $100 billion in 1945 to $530 billion in 1965.**

Ask the nearest executive to explain that whopping debt—it's nearly twice as large as our federal debt—and

(Continued on page 2)

What credit costs us

Interest on U.S. Public Debt $13 Billion

Interest on U.S. Consumer Debt $12 Billion

These illustrations, based on latest U.S. Commerce Department figures, underline a significant point about the cost of borrowing money. How much the credit costs depends on who is doing the borrowing.

The figures at left show that, during 1966, the U.S. Government paid $13 billion in interest on its $329 billion debt.

The figures at right show that, during the same period, U.S. consumers paid nearly as much, $12 billion, in interest on installment debts, charge accounts and other loans of only $95 billion.

John Gorman, a Commerce Department economist, has figured out that nearly a fourth of the average family's income in 1966 went to pay off debts and the interest on debts.

Worried about leaving her a big national debt? DON'T! Wise use of our federal borrowing power today is the best investment we can make in her future.

(Continued from page 1)

he'll tell you it's simple. Private corporations have to invest to grow.

So they borrow money, build a new plant, hire some more workers, make and sell more products, make payments on their loan and chalk up bigger profits than ever before. That's the way to run a business. It's good for the economy. But the government is a different kettle of fish, for some reason.

Ask why and he'll want to know how we're ever going to pay back a national debt of $320 billion. He'll weep for his grandchildren because they'll be the ones who suffer for our fiscal recklessness. In point of fact, if the only thing our grandchildren have to worry about is the national debt, they'll be a lot better off than we are

Do corporations ever pay off their loans? Most of them couldn't afford to and wouldn't if they could. As long as they want to keep growing, they'll keep on borrowing.

The truth is that it's better business to refinance corporate loans when they come due than to pay them off. It's the only way most companies can afford to keep expanding.

Yeah but, the worry-wart argues, there's a big difference between corporate and government borrowing because companies have assets to match their liabilities. When they build a new plant with borrowed money they have an investment that's worth at least as much as they owe. So if worst comes to worst, they can always sell it and pay off their loan.

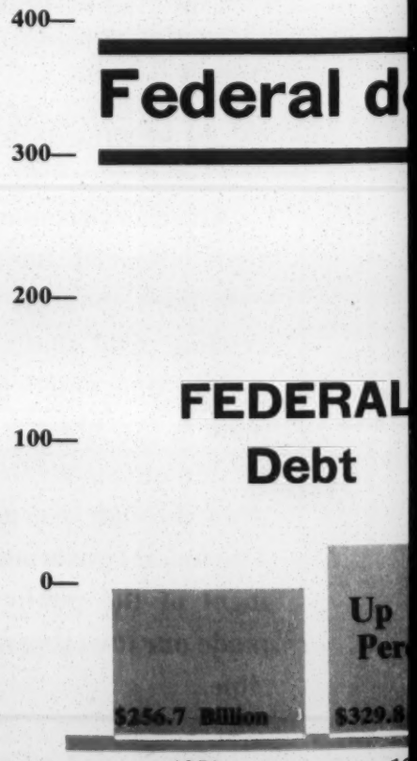
But when the government borrows money to build an interstate highway, the conservative continues, it doesn't acquire any asset to balance off the debt. And anyway who'd want to buy a used, six-lane highway?

It's true that the government has nothing comparable to a company's assets. But assets are only worth something if they produce income. And the government has the most reliable source of income there is: the tax base of our country's economy.

Two kinds of people talk the loudest about paying off the national debt: politicians who think it's a good way to get elected and conservatives who want to cut spending at the expense of America's education and social needs.

The federal debt will probably never be paid back, just as most corporate debts will never be retired. Actually, the

(Continued on page 3)



Quiz Yourself

1. The second largest expense in the U. S. budget is interest on the national debt. TRUE ☐ FALSE ☐
2. U. S. corporations owe almost twice as much as the entire federal government does. TRUE ☐ FALSE ☐
3. The Federal Reserve Board has doubled the cost of government borrowing in the last fifteen years by raising interest rates from 2.5% to 4.7%. TRUE ☐ FALSE ☐
4. The best way to achieve steady economic growth is to stop all government borrowing and cut back heavily on federal spending. TRUE ☐ FALSE ☐
5. Most American families spend nearly 25% of their yearly income paying interest on loans and services charges on charge accounts. TRUE ☐ FALSE ☐

Answers: 1—T, 2—T, 3—T, 4—F, 5—T.

> **"If the government calculated its vast public resources the same way as private enterprise does, there would be no such thing as a national debt without an offsetting group of assets."**
> *—Cong. Chet Holifield (D-Cal), June 7, 1967*

(Continued from page 2)

federal debt will get larger as our economy expands to make room for our constantly growing population.

The worst thing we could do to our grandchildren would be to slow down our economic growth rate. And the fastest way to bring it to a dead stop would be to follow the empty-headed conservatives' advice.

The public debt is no more a serious problem for America than corporate debt is for business or family debt is for workers. As long as it's managed wisely, that is.

During the House debate on raising the ceiling, Cong. Wright Patman (D-Tex) raised an important point about our current handling of the national debt. He pointed out that because the Federal Reserve Board has raised interest rates so high, we're paying far too much for the privilege of government borrowing.

During the next twelve months interest on the national debt will cost taxpayers fourteen billion dollars. If we'd kept a lid on interest rates, however, we'd only have to pay about half that much.

During the Korean war in 1951, we financed our long-term federal borrowing at a rate of 2.5 percent. Today, we're paying 4.7 percent to finance Vietnam and the vital Great Society programs. Chopping interest rates down is an important step toward better management of the public debt.

There's another side to the federal debt question that many people overlook. It's an internal debt we owe ourselves, not an external debt we owe to a foreign country.

A large external debt would be a real burden on our national economy because we woud have to send valuable goods or services abroad to meet our interest payments. This explains why the British, for example, are much more concerned over their relatively small external debt to us than they are over their vastly greater internal public debt.

The interest on our national debt is paid by Americans to Americans. While this does cause an internal shifting of money from taxpayers to the holders of government IOU's, there is no real loss of wealth to our country as a whole.

Another important factor to understand is the way the government keeps its books. When it builds a new post office it charges off the whole cost immediately and not, as corporations do, over a period of years.

As Cong. Chet Holifield (D-Cal) put it in his floor defense of hiking the debt limit, **"The federal government does not set up a column of assets for the long-term investments of public money it makes in constructing public facilities. The average businessman by contrast shows his investment in a new plant as an asset and depreciates its cost over a period of several years.**

"If the government calculated its vast public investment the same way private enterprise does, there would be no such thing as a national debt."

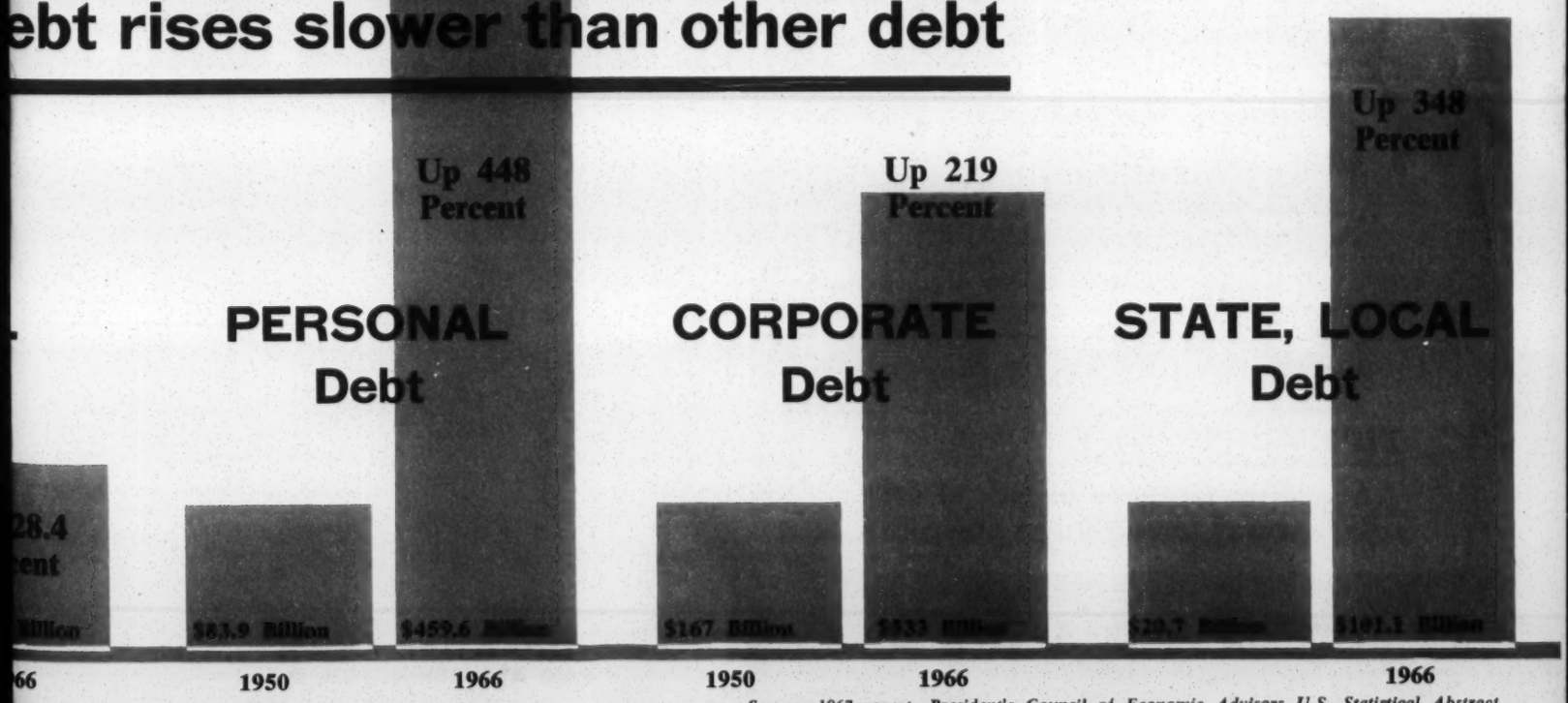
By far the most important point about the whole business, though, is that the prosperity of our nation—and its individual citizens—is not determined by the dollar size of the national debt.

Our financial security is measured by what percentage the public debt is of our gross national product. A worker whose income increases from $7000 to $10,000 and whose debts increase from $3000 to $4000 at the same time is better off earning more and owing more. It's not the dollar amount of his debt that matters. It's what portion of his total earnings he owes that counts.

And percentagewise our public debt has been going steadily down. At the end of the second world war it was actually greater than the GNP, but by 1955 it had dropped to 72 percent. Last year our total accumulated debt—most of which has been borrowed to pay for past wars and current defense programs—represented only 45 percent of the dollar value of one year's national production.

The public debt will never cause us problems in the future if it's managed intelligently in the present. And intelligent management of the debt is the best way to finance America's march to greatness.

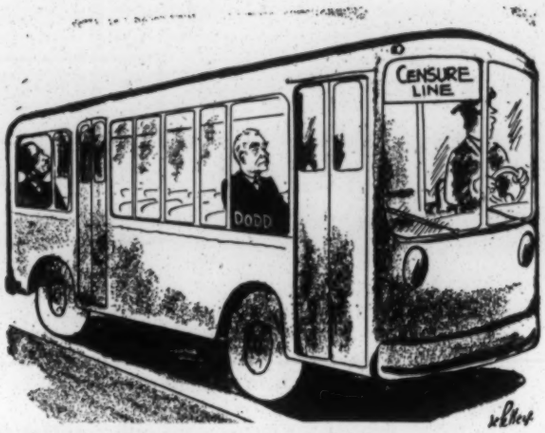
ebt rises slower than other debt



Source: 1967 report—President's Council of Economic Advisors, U.S. Statistical Abstract

WEEKEND WRAPUP

It was **Tom Dodd Week** in Washington and it wasn't pleasant to watch. The entire Senate was tied up for several days listening to Dodd defend himself and some Senate elders deliver a political death sentence against Dodd. As many as 80 Senators at a time listened as they mulled over Tom Dodd's fate. That's more than sat in their seats during civil rights cloture and test ban treaty. Why so many? Majority Whip Russell Long cajoled many, saying Senators had no right to vote on Dodd unless they heard debate in flesh. Sentimental thing called "the integrity of the Senate" was at stake—so all rest of Senate came to grinding halt for this gruesome business of digging a man's political grave. We couldn't help wondering what it would be like if Senate sat and listened for three or four days about misery of America's poor, uglification of America's landscape, yearning for world peace, anguished cry of hungry people for food. All that political power and talent sitting there in judgment over a wayward colleague—what a waste in time and energy. . . . **The Supreme Court** last week ruled a union—in this case UAW Local 248 (Allis-Chalmers)—could fine members who cross a picket line during a strike. The majority decision contains a good summing up of how Americans regard unions these days: "*Congress in the 1959 Landrum-Griffin amendments enacted a code of fairness to assure democratic conduct of union affairs by provisions guaranteeing free speech and assembly, equal rights to vote in elections, to attend meetings, and to participate in the deliberations and voting upon the business at the meetings. Integral to this federal labor policy has been the power in the chosen union to protect against erosion its status through reasonable discipline of members who violate rules and regulations governing membership. That power is particularly vital when the members engage in strikes. The economic strike against the employer is the ultimate weapon in labor's arsenal for achieving agreement upon its terms and the power to fine or expel strikebreakers is essential if the union is to be an effective bargaining agent.*" Thurgood Marshall was named to Supreme Court by President Johnson, and he's first Negro so honored. President's power to name Court and Court's power to decide on labor law is fresh reminder of power of Presidency. . . . It's hard for a lot of people to swallow—but **national debt** today is smaller percentage of our gross national product than two decades ago. In 1966 debt was only 45 percent of GNP, while it was 133 percent of GNP in 1946 right after World War II, and 55.3 percent of GNP in 1942. . . . The **Republican Party** has moderate and conservative wing, just like Democratic Party—and GOP moderates have been organized for some time in so-called "Wednesday group." Now GOP conservatives



want group of their own, fearful their party is moving too far to left. Estimated 26 members of Wednesday group are pressuring GOP leadership to more than merely be against Democratic programs. GOP Opportunity Crusade hopes to junk Office of Economic Opportunity—and it won't encourage Americans that Republicans care about wiping out poverty. Poor need a champion, and if GOP foes of OEO dismantle anti-poverty program—it'll be heavy blow to America's commitment to end human misery within ten years (by 1976, the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence). . . . California's Chet Holifield is a durable liberal who's never gone high-hat as he accumulated seniority in the House of Representatives, and he summed up the railroad situation pretty well last week with these words: "*There are union men fighting in Vietnam. There are boys whose fathers are working on the railroads that are fighting in Vietnam. They are fighting there for the free processes of a democratic society, not for compulsion on one side and freedom from compulsion on the other. Now, Mr. Chairman, either we are at war or we are not at war. If we are at war, then let us follow the pattern of World War I and World War II in which seizure and compulsory arbitration of labor disputes were carried out.*" "It's been daily dose of legislative brinkmanship for railroad unions as both Senate and House tussled with ways to keep rails operating in wartime, while keeping free collective bargaining alive. . . . **Federal Communications Commission** showed some backbone recently in ruling "fairness doctrine" is more than fancy phrase. FCC says stations which carry cigarette advertising must give time to voices that tell about perils of nicotine. Not equal time—but time. And when rightwingers rant and rave, you have a right to have your voice heard over radio—so the voice of dissent won't be drowned out by dollar-bills. RCA and CBS did not invent radio and TV—they merely cashed in on licenses given by the American people.

WASHINGTON REPORT
printed every Friday in Washington, D. C.
by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department
Roy Reuther, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO
UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20

THIS WEEK

Sound management of federal debt is best way to encourage prosperity

NEWSPAPER

UAW-WR
LABOR PROGRAM
SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST N W -ING
ATLANTA GA 30303

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

EV Current Issue (Inside)

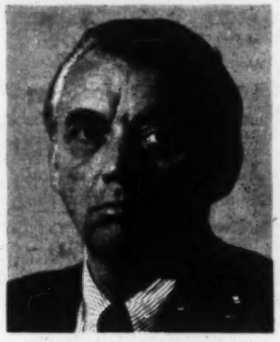
UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 7, No. 26 — June 26, 1967

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

A Fearless Voice of Sanity Leaves



ED MORGAN

For many years now, Edward P. Morgan's radio voice on the ABC network has been a fearless voice of sanity. Last week he shut up shop to work for public television under a Ford Foundation grant. Ed Morgan's radio voice will be greatly missed. His pungent comments on people and events were welcome in places in America where such voices were seldom heard. His last broadcast for the AFL-CIO is a meaty sample of why so many Americans will miss Ed Morgan's radio voice, and why we await the newly televised Ed Morgan:

I am deeply concerned about the conditions and moods now rampant in this, my native land. Amid the most incredible riches and the most terrifying power any nation has ever accumulated in the history of man, we are plunged into divisive turmoil. Instead of trying to solve our problems we organize hate groups to blame the other fellow. Or we flee to the beaches of frantic leisure only to be sunburned by the guilt of our wanton negligence.

There is no miracle drug or magic ointment to cure or quiet this situation. But there is an instrument of devastating effectiveness which we have only superficially, often hypocritically, employed. It is called the power of the press.

There is enough wrong in this republic to merit a full-scale exposé daily, if not every hour on the hour. But newspapers run prize contests to lure readers or keep the ones they have. Broadcasting is driving thoughtful citizens away in droves by fertilizing the wastelands of the airwaves with the manure of utter mediocrity.

Why? I think I know why. Nothing in life is free. But in our obeisance before the altar of profit and free enterprise we have let the lust for material things get the better of us. Nothing is so important as people. But instead of the sacred dignity of the individual human being, too many of us worship dividends and private property more.

It is not the policy of General Motors to kill or maim people. But that became its operating policy in order "to protect its investment," when instead of correcting flaws it knew its cars had, it set a gumshoe detective on the trail of Ralph Nader. And where were the Detroit reporters, incidentally, before Nader came along?

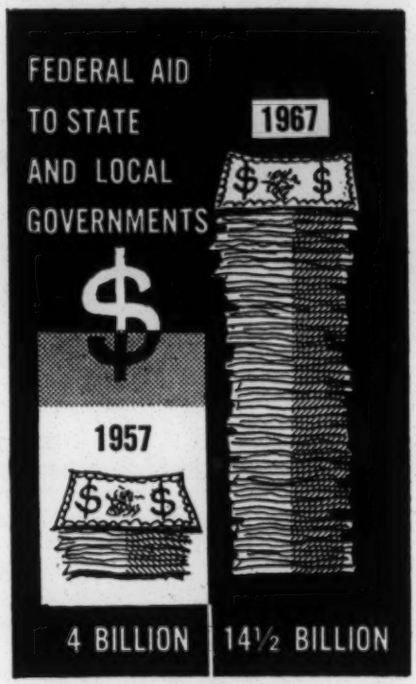
It is not the policy of the newspapers and broadcasting stations of Connecticut to suppress vital news. Yet where was the press of that state when the shocking revelations about Sen. Thomas Dodd were coming out? Has it occurred to an editor or broadcaster, in Connecticut or out, that the senator's tortured employes might not have passed the incriminating documents over the transom to Drew Pearson if they had believed the Connecticut press would have responded to any first friendly tips with the enterprising courage Pearson did? Where were the press and the rest of the power structure, including labor leaders, in the disgraced and bleeding city of Cincinnati before its black citizens exploded their frustration?

The nation's situation is not hopeless. It simply begs for responsible sustained attention. My most painful duty tonight is to take leave of a loyal, thoughtful listening audience. If I have been emboldened to speak out it is because I know I have not been talking to myself.

The honestly concerned citizens, right, left and center, are the nuclei, not of black power or white power but positive power, which can make representative government work. But their power has not been sufficiently turned on because the press has been too busy neuterizing the news to clear comfortable, non-controversial space for the full-page ad and the singing commercial.

State Allocations Of Federal Aid

States	1965 Total Grants	1965 Est. Population	1965 Per Capita Grants
ALABAMA	312,415,000	3,463,000	$ 90
ALASKA	106,296,000	253,000	420
ARIZONA	148,395,000	1,609,000	92
ARKANSAS	184,671,000	1,960,000	94
CALIFORNIA	1,332,895,000	18,608,000	72
COLORADO	236,062,000	1,969,000	120
CONNECTICUT	170,794,000	2,833,000	60
DELAWARE	39,581,000	505,000	78
D. OF C.	133,400,000	801,000	167
FLORIDA	325,762,000	5,805,000	56
GEORGIA	343,806,000	4,358,000	79
HAWAII	73,524,000	711,000	103
IDAHO	101,224,000	692,000	146
ILLINOIS	707,832,000	10,646,000	66
INDIANA	302,871,000	4,886,000	62
IOWA	361,516,000	2,760,000	131
KANSAS	340,774,000	2,234,000	153
KENTUCKY	279,484,000	3,179,000	88
LOUISIANA	371,027,000	3,534,000	105
MAINE	70,257,000	993,000	71
MARYLAND	196,947,000	3,521,000	56
MASSACHUSETTS	409,847,000	5,349,000	77
MICHIGAN	472,308,000	8,220,000	57
MINNESOTA	385,854,000	3,555,000	108
MISSISSIPPI	208,568,000	2,322,000	90
MISSOURI	431,651,000	4,498,000	96
MONTANA	142,386,000	706,000	202
NEBRASKA	255,009,000	1,477,000	173
NEVADA	61,954,000	440,000	141
NEW HAMPSHIRE	44,996,000	669,000	67
NEW JERSEY	272,897,000	6,775,000	40
NEW MEXICO	141,715,000	1,029,000	138
NEW YORK	1,027,471,000	18,075,000	57
NORTH CAROLINA	297,232,000	4,914,000	60
NORTH DAKOTA	175,324,000	652,000	269
OHIO	567,301,000	10,247,000	55
OKLAHOMA	321,374,000	2,483,000	129
OREGON	226,348,000	1,900,000	119
PENNSYLVANIA	633,191,000	11,522,000	55
RHODE ISLAND	78,515,000	891,000	88
SOUTH CAROLINA	146,777,000	2,543,000	58
SOUTH DAKOTA	148,452,000	703,000	211
TENNESSEE	321,824,000	3,846,000	84
TEXAS	792,069,000	10,552,000	75
UTAH	129,248,000	990,000	131
VERMONT	51,814,000	397,000	131
VIRGINIA	307,635,000	4,456,000	74
WASHINGTON	280,994,000	2,990,000	93
WEST VIRGINIA	177,666,000	1,812,000	98
WISCONSIN	241,958,000	4,145,000	58
WYOMING	89,288,000	340,000	262
TERRITORIES	227,599,000		
UNDISTRIBUTED	131,111,000		
TOTAL	$15,339,912,000	193,818,000	$ 79



Tax sharing to state is dangerous snare

Proposals that Uncle Sam turn back part of the federal income tax to the states, with little or no strings attached, have been pouring into this Congress.

However, such proposals drew sharp attacks from mayors at hearings held by a Senate subcommittee on intergovernmental relations.

Among them, Mayor John F. Collins of Boston declared that **"tax sharing is the most dangerous idea in America today."** He asserted that if federal taxes were given to the states with no limitations, **"the money would stop at the statehouses"** and would not reach the cities, which badly need help.

Collins instead backed the present system of federal grants-in-aid which are made for specific purposes and under federal standards.

Similar testimony was given by Mayor Harold Tollefson of Tacoma, Wash., who's president of the National League of Cities. **Speaking for the League, he declared that states "could not be trusted" to respond to the needs of cities.**

Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D., Me.), chairman of the subcommittee, said he favored strengthening of the states, but added that they "need legislative and constitutional reform" before they can function effectively. Until such reforms occur, Muskie asserted, the federal government must continue "to fill the void and provide more direct assistance to local communities."

Meantime, in the Senate Frank E. Moss (D., Utah), warned that **"the tax-sharing plans are often ill conceived and show little promise of helping to solve the crucial domestic problems that we face.**

"The chief attraction of these plans is that they will help to shore up the shaky financial positions of many state governments. But often these state governments have not increased their state taxes to meet their responsibilities and

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued from page 2)

they could use the tax rebate merely to reduce state taxes further. I think there are higher priorities for federal tax monies than this."

Moss said the tax-sharing idea seems to have originated with Walter Heller, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors. However, this was before Congress enacted the big program to aid elementary and secondary schools, before Medicare was passed, "and before we really faced up to the truly herculean tasks of curbing air and water pollution through federal grants."

"When you assess the needs under these new programs," he continued, "it is apparent that far from a federal revenue surplus, we are faced with a real shortage of funds for state grants-in-aid programs.

"Federal grants-in-aid have made it possible to retain the advantages of performing essential civilian services through the state governments, while retaining national objectives of equalization and nationwide improvement through these programs."

Moreover, some of the proposed tax sharing plans, Moss said, would "allow the rich states, which are having the least difficult time providing services, to get a lion's share of the money." This "would accentuate a division of this country into the 'haves' and 'have-nots'," he said.

"Many serious students of state and local government, including some leading federal bureaucrats, believe the states have reached a critical point in their relations with the federal government. They believe the states must quickly modernize to exert more force and initiative if they are to deal with local problems and retain their independent identities.

". . . Many states are restricted by 19th century constitutions in their taxing and borrowing, and even in their ability to convene their legislatures to deal with modern programs and events.

. . . The result of this month's (November 1966) government reform referendums, indicate, however, that in many states the voters do not understand or are not prepared to accept proposals to modernize state governments to meet growing administrative and fiscal demands."

—Ben A. Franklin, New York Times, November 28, 1966

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1966.

Studies Find Voters Rejected Most Major Plans for State and Local Government Reforms

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27—State and local government reform suffered "a slap in the face" on Election Day, officials of the Council of State Governments said today.

Separate assessments of major statewide referendum results by the council, a cooperative group with headquarters in Chicago, and by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, a Federal agency, showed that more significant proposals for the streamlining of state and local governments were defeated last Nov. 8 than were passed.

In three states—Kentucky, Utah and West Virginia—every proposal on a list of reform recommendations was rejected, and in Nebraska voters may have denied it its state gov- growing administrative and fiscal demands.

The Government of Nebraska, for example, faces the prospect of a total loss of major tax revenues. Nebraska voters overwhelmingly rejected a state income tax, enacted by the 1965 Legislature. Pending the outcome of a statewide vote canvass, it appears from unofficial returns on another referendum question that Nebraskans also abolished the state property tax by a margin of about 1,000 votes.

In Kentucky, the voters overwhelmingly rejected a new constitution. Its proponents had argued it would modernize both the state and local units of government.

Opposition to the new constitution apparently was stirred by local government officials whose so-called constitutional offices would have been made appointive. The jobs of county sheriff and coroner, for example, are required under the state's 75-year-old constitution to be filled by election.

"You build your whole local government around elected officials who ought to be appointed and you usually don't get very good or effective local government," one official here said.

Utah Proposals Rejected

In Utah, the voters rejected proposals for a convention to revise the constitution and for an optional metropolitan government plan that would have allowed urban and suburban jurisdictions to begin planning to merge some services, subject to further voter approval.

Utah voters also rejected proposed constitutional amendments that would have provided for annual sessions of the Legislature, replacing biannual meetings, and that would have increased the salary of legislators to $1,000 a year. All the proposals had been passed and placed on the ballot by substantial margins in the Legislature.

In West Virginia, proposed amendments that would have established annual, 60-day legislative sessions, raised legislators' salaries to $2,500 and allowed the Governor to succeed himself for a second term were overwhelmingly defeated.

The modernization of constitutional limitations on the --length and frequency of legislative sessions and the compensations of legislators were treated differently by voters in different states.

In California, Kansas, New Hampshire, and Tennessee, antiquated constitutional restrictions on meetings of the legislatures were removed.

California and Louisiana voters also provided their legislatures with new power to overcome the Governor's veto by authorizing special follow-up sessions to reconsider bills vetoed after adjournment. Florida voters authorized the Legislature to hold an immediate, post-election organization session to fill committee and other posts well ahead of the working session.

Raise for California Legislators

California voters also approved salaries of $18,000 a year for their legislators, the highest in the country.

On issues affecting local units of government, the referendum results were generally negative, according to the two surveys.

Massachusetts voters approved a so-called residual powers provision that will bestow on local governments all powers not expressly reserved to the state. The effect will be to give local officials broad general powers in areas not denied them by state legislation.

But similar proposals were defeated in New Hampshire and Kentucky. In Missouri, voters rejected a special referendum proposal that would have allowed St. Louis to begin drafting a plan for a metropolitan government, merged with suburban jurisdictions. Another referendum on the "metro" plan would have been required to put it into effect.

Idaho, Massachusetts and Montana voters approved the enactment or continuation of sales taxes. Voters in Illinois decided to put a ceiling on the state income tax at present rates.

In New Mexico, voters approved an end of the justice of the peace system, thus abolishing, in effect, the lowest-level courts, usually staffed by untrained persons who received the fees they imposed on minor violators.

Officials here concerned about the slow pace of state and local government reform said the overall results of this year's referendum voting had "proved again the difficulty of getting important modernizations by the popular referendum route." But there is no other way, they said.

WEEKEND WRAPUP

Maybe Congress will get back to work—now that the Dodd business is done with. And what a strange line-up of votes it was, with odd combinations on both sides. But, oops, here comes the Fourth of July, and that means another recess and legislative lull. Meanwhile cities of America seethe with troubles. War on poverty boils with problems. Sen. Joe Clark, that valiant no-nonsense humanitarian, tells Sargent Shriver he's not buying any relaxation of the fight against human misery. Shriver told Republican foes of **Office of Economic Opportunity:** *"The poor are least articulate, the least influential, the least powerful of all our national minorities. They need an independent advocate, a strong, authoritative voice to speak on their behalf."* . . . Whopping **$70 billion defense budget** went whizzing through House of Representatives with scarcely a murmur of dissent. Nobody growled about waste. We all know there's incredible waste in any $70 billion gargantua like that. It's just bound to be. Congressional Record filled with war of words between friends and foes of OEO. Some Republicans like Rochester's GOP Cong. Frank Horton aren't buying this line—and we salute their independence. . . . Every House rollcall starts with **Abernathy of Mississippi**—and 99 percent of time he's lined up with hardcore Republican conservatives. Yet Abernathy gets his seniority from Democratic Party, is elected by mere handful of white voters in that benighted state. . . . The **90th Congress** like most congresses is blend of shifting coalitions of moderates and conservatives from both sides of the aisles. . . . With Middle East oil cut off from American consumers—there's opportunity for **oil shale** to fill petroleum gap—with new royalty allocation American people could be pocketing $1 billion a year—enough to pay for $400 million worth of parks Congress authorized but hasn't coughed up money for. . . . Down South many courthouses still fly Confederate flag above **Stars and Stripes**—but many states-rights southerners in Congress beat drums loudest for an anti-flag desecration law last week. Great game for super-patriots who show love of country by flag saluting—but show disrespect for principles of democratic government by defaming our courts, try to impeach Chief Justice, deny black people right to vote. . . . Reports from political dove-land (Wisconsin, South Dakota, Idaho, Arkansas, Oregon, and Alaska) indicate **Senate doves,** contrary to Washington press reports, in no great trouble because of their Vietnam attitudes. Wisconsin's owl-like Nelson personally popular for work on pollution, auto safety. Leading Republicans urge Nelson's strongest possible opponent, aging Warren Knowles, not to risk political oblivion by chancy Senate race. Keep Wisconsin state capital safely in Republican hands by running for governor again, they urge. . . . Rightwingers rallying round Tom Dodd come up with incredulous argument that political morality in Connecticut is different from political morality in some other states. *"What would not draw a second glance in Connecticut with respect to the spending of funds raised at testimonial dinners clearly and obviously shocks the morality of Senators from Rocky Mountain state."* Rightly say its high-time Congress sets down code of ethics. Betting odds are low right now for a better way to raise campaign funds for congressional candidates. Even most liberal Republican shies away from any government financing of campaigns. Republicans apparently never have trouble raising money. Democrats are divided—so there's only a slim chance for consensus on any campaign financing bill right now. . . . Roy Wilkins of NAACP was fighting for civil rights before young civil rights militants were born, and it bugs hell out of Wilkins to hear Stokely Carmichael call Lyndon Johnson a buffoon. Says Wilkins: *"Johnson came along and—I can't explain it, I just can't, I just don't know how—the things he's said and done for the Negro go beyond any President in history, and certainly beyond any southerner. In his first talk to the Congress, two days after Kennedy's funeral, he called for prompt enactment of two pieces of legislation: the tax bill and the civil-rights bill. It was a very moving speech. You can go from there all through his speeches, you won't find any parallel."* Yet Wilkins is old enough and wise enough to see some good things about the firebrands: *"I admire them in so many ways. They've brought so many kinds of things into the movement: an honesty, a daring boldness, a lack of fear that's refreshing—sometimes topped with rudeness and brashness, but there you are. There's room in civil rights for their brains, their impatience, their innovations, their energy. Especially their tremendous energy. Now if they could only harness it. I don't dismiss them. I don't sneer at them. It's just that I sometimes sneer at what they say."* . . . Newspapers love to write editorials denouncing the sins of Afghanistan, church people love to give money for foreign missions, and every American loves the Peace Corps—but why has the Teacher Corps had such tough sledding? Finally, compromise everybody can live with possibly saved **Teacher Corps** from oblivion. Not without heavy price of discouraged dropouts from Corps.

Have you written that letter?

Let your local paper or congressman know you think the rich should pay bigger share of war costs—no taxes on working people until tax loopholes such as oil depletion allowance are plugged.

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Roy Reuther, *Director*

Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20

UAW-WR
LABOR PROGRAM
SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST N W -ING
ATLANTA GA 30303

THIS WEEK

Tax sharing to state is a dangerous snare

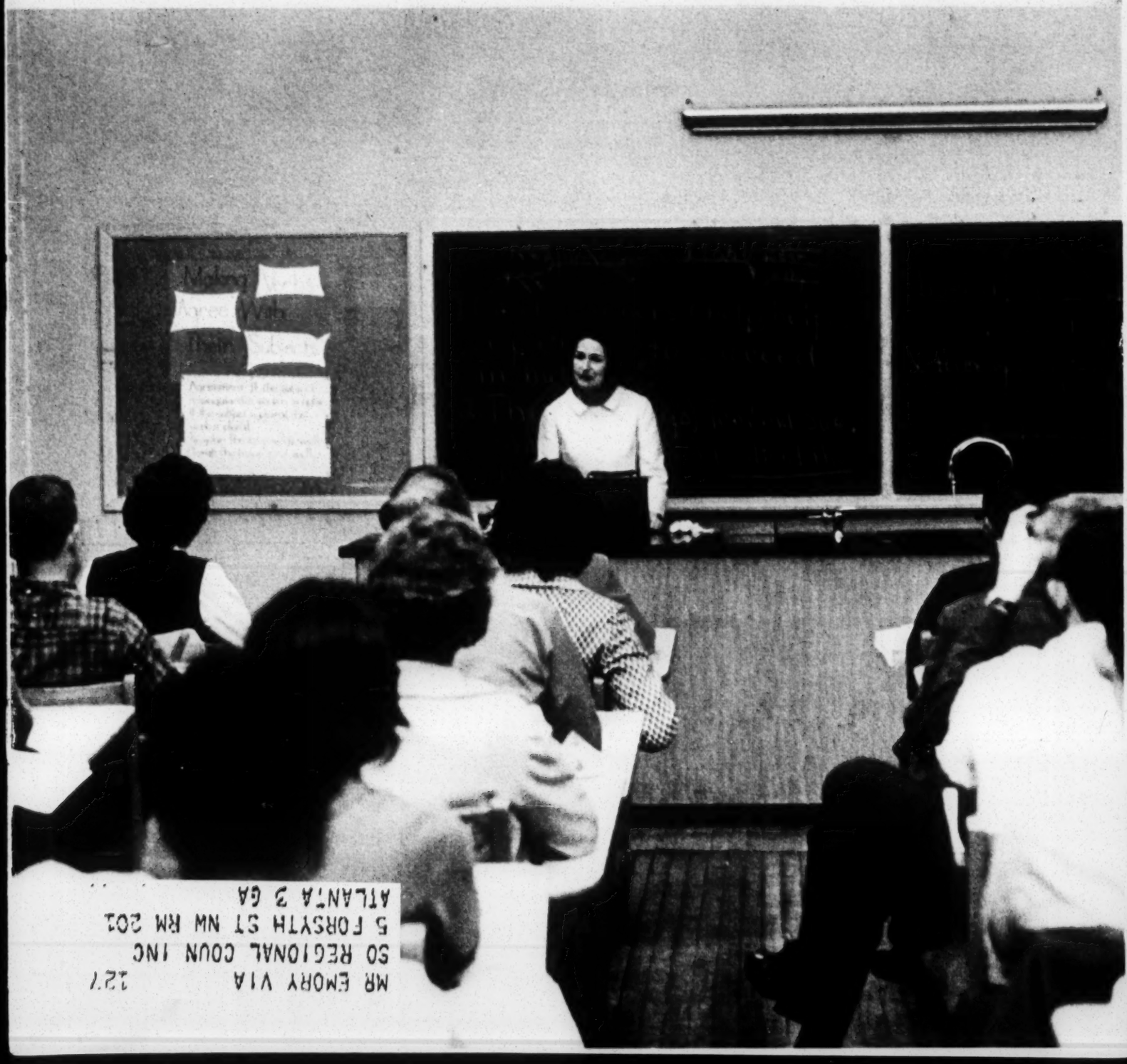
NEWSPAPER

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

The American
Federationist
JUNE 1967

"From 18 to 82, they go back to school — 5,000 in two years the program has been running in Asheville, N.C., alone. It takes nerve, but the spur of better jobs and better lives leads them on."

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson



MR EMORY VIA 127
SO REGIONAL COUN INC
5 FORSYTH ST NW RM 201
ATLANTA 3 GA

The American Federationist

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Vol. 74 JUNE 1967 No. 6

In this Issue

GEORGE MEANY
Editor

SAUL MILLER
Executive Editor

ROBERT B. COONEY
Assistant Editor

Articles dealing with economics, research and education have been prepared in cooperation with the staffs of the Department of Research and the Department of Education.

Design for More Effective Schools 1

Ever since the 89th Congress committed the federal government to the goal of improving education at all levels, there has been an abundance of funds and programs. And yet the ghetto school stands almost unchanged. This article describes fresh approaches in the effort to provide better education for low-income and minority group children.
Walter G. Davis

The Obstacles to Fair Housing 5

In recent decades, many northern cities have shown a common pattern of change: the Negro population has grown within the central city while whites have moved into suburbs ringing the city. The major blame is put on the housing industry for facilitating this segregation. Fair housing laws are assessed and a firm public policy is urged to promote truly democratic communities.
Dr. Eugene Feingold & Robert J. Harris

Adventure in Learning with Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson 9

Mrs. Johnson recently took a three-day trip to Appalachia to see how federal programs were helping to strengthen and enrich education for young and old alike. This is Mrs. Johnson's photo-story of her visit to West Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee.
Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson

Hope and Promise: Americans of Spanish Surname 13

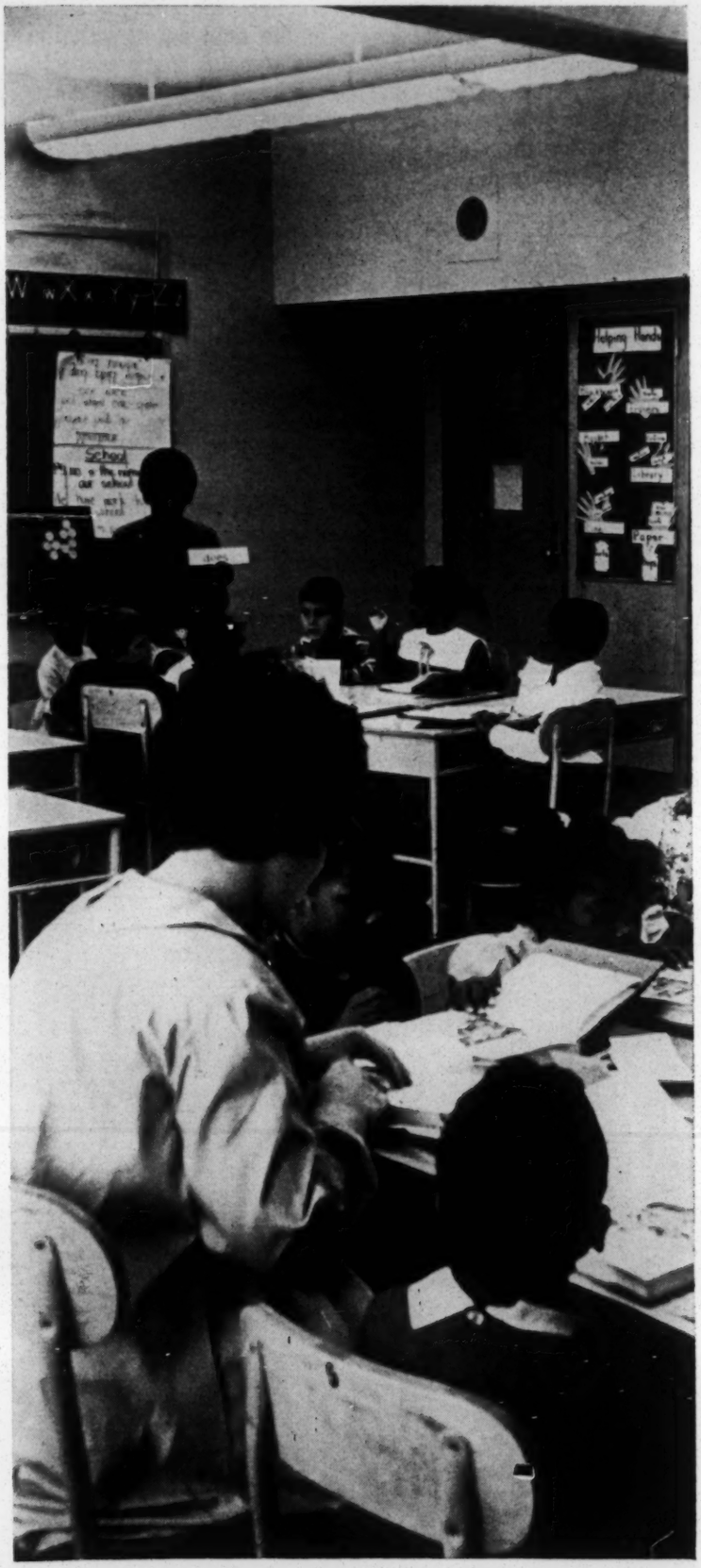
One of the largest and yet least-known groups of poor people in America is made up of those with Spanish surnames. Concentrated in the Southwest, they are ill-educated, ill-housed and ill-fed. One of their numbers, a member of Congress, tells their story.
Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez

The Fight for Clean Air 17

The battle to control air pollution is entering a new stage. With President Johnson seeking national standards to limit pollution and most industry strongly opposed, it is apparent more support must be mobilized. The judgment at this point is that the people are losing the fight for clean air.
George Taylor

New Books and Pamphlets 23

Published monthly by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations at AFL-CIO Building 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006. Editor — George Meany. Director of Publications — Saul Miller. Subscriptions, $2 a year in U. S. and Canada. Other rates on application. Second class postage paid at Washington.



Design for More Effective Schools

by Walter G. Davis

The 89th Congress rightfully deserves recognition as the education Congress. Federal programs now in force add up to a significant commitment to share in the financial responsibility for education at all levels. However, a variety of studies and research projects over the last five years have all pointed to specific, hard-core problem areas where financial resources alone make little impact, although they are important.

This becomes apparent when we begin to examine the implementation of this nation's commitment to provide every child, regardless of his race or neighborhood, an equal opportunity to share in the cultural and economic wealth of the country.

For the youngster who has been subjected to a substandard school because of his race, programs are still grossly inadequate to meet the actual need in too many areas of the nation. Likewise, for the youngsters from families, white and non-white, who represent the perpetual cycles of ignorance identified with the poor, there is still a terrible lack of imaginative programs which already have shown promise.

Yet we are constantly reminded that in today's society it is imperative that one be prepared in order to enjoy some security in the world of work. This means that the acquisition of skills is more important today than ever before.

Even if the entire educational system was geared to meet the demands of industry and modern living, a significant number of young people could not meet the challenge because there would still remain the special problems of the poor and the minority group student for a long time to come.

There has been a meaningful beginning. Educators, government officials and concerned citizens now have before them a voluminous amount of data gathered in the last few years by competent scholars in the field of education.

Never before has there been the candid probing of the underlying causes of ignorance and educational

WALTER G. DAVIS is Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education.

deprivation as was produced at the request of the Congress and the President since 1965.

Two significant studies sponsored by the federal government have produced the best existing profile of the public education system as it relates to the poor and to the ethnic minorities.

I refer to "Equality of Educational Opportunity" by James S. Coleman of Johns Hopkins University, a study published by the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," a report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

The Coleman Report examined the characteristics of the schools, searching for the presence or lack of equality of educational opportunity. Together with his colleagues, Dr. Coleman probed for the tangible indicators of a quality school, i.e., laboratories, textbooks, libraries, etc., as well as the intangibles. On the latter, his survey covered such things as the characteristics of parents, students and teachers. Special attention was given to teachers with regard to their background, salary level, verbal abilities and attitude toward their jobs.

The socio-economic backgrounds of the students, the education of their parents and the attitudes the pupils have toward themselves and their ability to affect their own destinies, as well as their academic aspirations, also were assessed.

Great care has gone into the survey and the interpretation of its results. Whether the overwhelming majority of professionals in the field agree with the analysis of the data collected remains to be seen. In any event, we now have a frame of reference to make some judgments as we get on with the task of eliminating the dual standard and substandard schools of the nation.

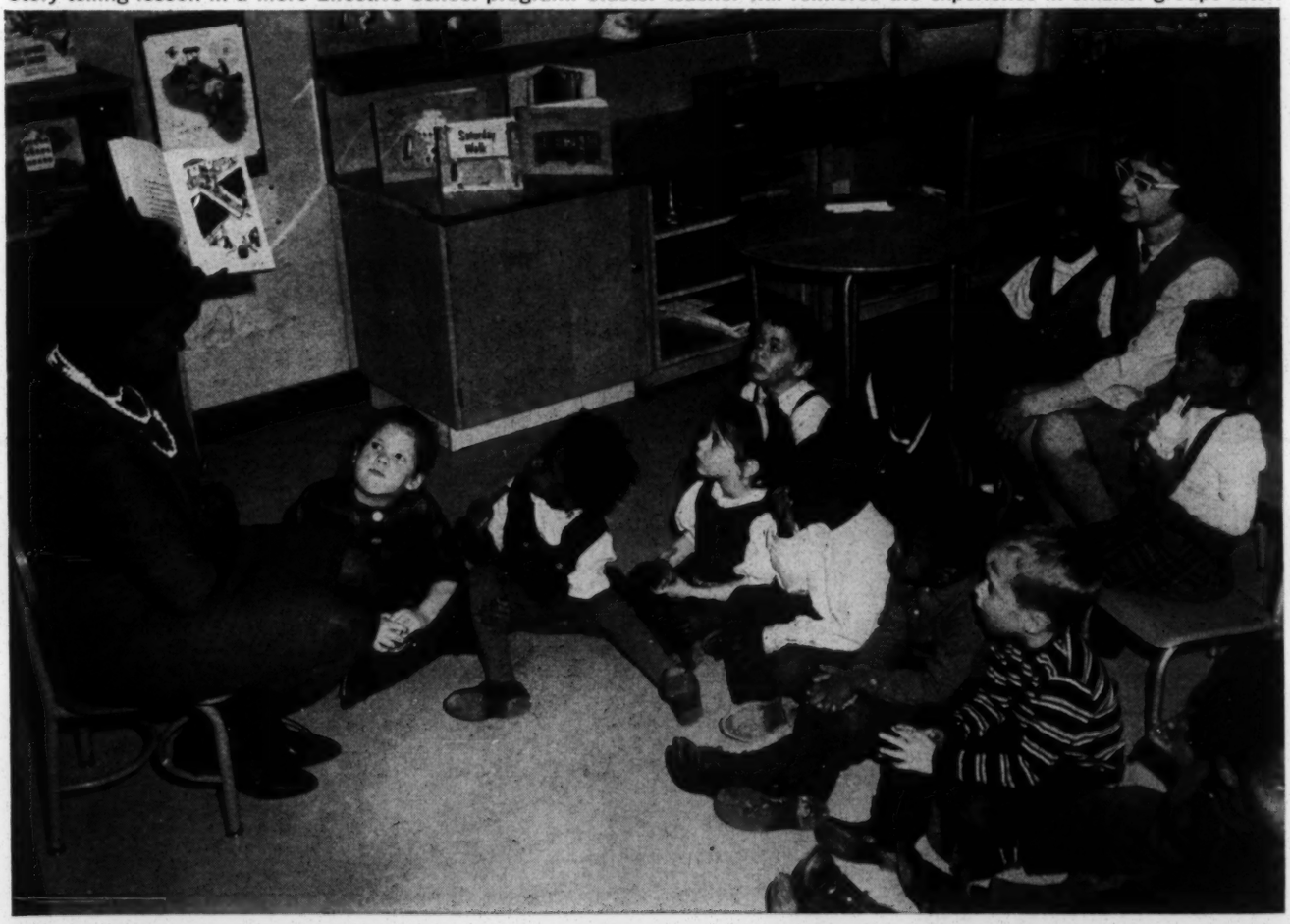
The U. S. Civil Rights Commission report zeros in on the racial aspect of education. Particular emphasis was given to:

1. The extent of racial isolation in the public schools and the extent of the disparity in educational achievement between white and Negro schoolchildren.
2. Factors contributing to school segregation.
3. The relationship, impact and effects of racial isolation on the attitudes and interracial associations of Negroes and whites.
4. Current programs designed to remedy any educational disadvantage and relieve racial isolation.

Unlike the Coleman Report, the Commission has made recommendations calling on the Congress to take additional legislative steps on the basic problem.

The basic problem, of course, is to make sure that

Story-telling lesson in a More Effective School program. Cluster teacher will reinforce the experience in smaller groups later.



the young people caught in the web of poverty and race discrimination acquire the basic tools to enable them to participate in the education and training programs designed to prepare them to hold their own in the competition for good jobs.

However, the concern should not stop there. We also value the cultural development of all the people. If we are ever going to complete the task of nation-building, the ideal of raising the educational level of all citizens means we must overcome the problems of the ghetto dwellers of all races—especially the very young now entering school. School quality has less effect on achievement than the student's family background and the social environment of the student body, according to the latest studies.

The Commission report stated that "In the few years which separate their infancy from entry into school, children are exposed to profound formative influence. During those years, verbal skills and styles of speech and thought are shaped, a child's view of himself develops and his aspirations begin to form."

Few programs exist which reach pre-school children and effectively address themselves to this point. The ghetto child, therefore, enters school with all the negatives acquired from his environment. These negatives must be overcome by the time he reaches the starting line in the race for educational achievement if he is to avoid carrying this burden through school life.

By now, none of this can be characterized as new information never discussed by the scholars and social scientists of America. Yet it seems incredible that current programs are not receiving fuller public support and attention. Meanwhile, the child born in the ghetto, of parents who themselves have been subject to the influence of the ghetto, continues on a collision course with what he often considers a hostile society which aims to keep him down. What incentive to learn can be expected of these young people who, by best government estimates, number approximately 5 million?

The federal government also has taken some meaningful first steps to bring about a reorientation of school administrators. New functions have been thrust upon them as a result of new government commitments. Among these, two stand out in importance:

1. Remedial education for the children of illiterate parents and victims of deficient schools; and
2. Outreach programs designed to seek out the discouraged and undermotivated and to encourage them to participate in the available services.

Of the present organized efforts now under way with regard to these two objectives at the local level, the Teacher Corps and the More Effective School program are proving themselves and deserve full support.

President Johnson has asked Congress to expand the Teacher Corps to five times its present size by 1968. Not only does this attest to its value and potential, but in a few short years it will have developed

Pre-kindergarten children receive individual attention.

and trained teachers to take on the toughest job in the profession—trying to inspire children of the slums who now lack an incentive to learn.

Little known so far is the More Effective Schools program—popularly called MES. This program was first formulated by a committee of selected representatives from the American Federation of Teachers' Local 2 in New York City; the Council of Supervisory Associations and the office of the New York City Superintendent of Schools.

This group began on the premise that economically disadvantaged children, when properly challenged and given the means for growth and learning, can make remarkable academic and social progress. Accordingly, they felt a new design for education must be created.

From this point, they set out to design such a program for the elementary school levels—one which would be qualitatively different from that found in comparable schools. They established this format:

—Limit school registers (in New York City, 1,000 or less pupils).

—Set maximum class size at 22; kindergarten at 12 maximum.

—Each group of three classes is to have an additional teacher. The "cluster" teacher is to share equally in the responsibilities of the cluster.

—School secretaries are to be provided on the ratio of one per 250 children. This is to free the teacher from secretarial chores.

—School guidance counselors are to be provided on the ratio of one per 350 children.

—Each MES school should provide care for the seriously disturbed child.

—Additional teaching positions are to be filled to work with the regular classroom teacher. This would permit individual attention to be given a child or a small group of children.

—Provision is to be made for teacher aide time by

parents at the ratio of 1 hour per day per 20 children.

—Provision for a yearly special contingency fund at the ratio of $2.50 per pupil is to be used for special purposes as the needs of the school require.

—Additional special funds are to be budgeted for supplies above the rate established for regular schools. These funds represent a substantial increase over amounts allotted to regular schools.

—Each MES school is to have a full-time psychologist, social worker, attendance teacher, speech therapist and community coordinator assigned to it.

—At least one psychiatrist is allotted for each four MES schools. He serves as consultant to the regular school clinical team and to the teacher.

—A full-time health counselor is to be provided for each school.

—Additional medical and dental services are to be offered over the amount of services provided regular schools.

—Special funds are to be set aside for staff orientation programs before the opening of each school.

—Principals and assistant principals are to meet regularly with the staff for the purpose of evaluating practices and to exchange views.

These improvements may not appear dramatic but they are comprehensive in aiming at the basic problem of these special children. Most important is the simple proposition that the teacher be free to spend 100 percent of her time teaching and not acting the role of policeman.

At an early stage of the MES program, improved morale among staff, children and parents was clearly observable.

Program evaluators have stated categorically that the children in MES are achieving at a higher level than those in comparable schools not in MES programs. Also, they are making greater gains than many children in "normal" schools.

A keen interest in the program is developing among the regular, experienced teachers. Fewer than 20 out of 800 teachers left the program at the end of the first year, even though all had the privilege of leaving at the end of the year without prejudice.

The National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children stated in its January report to the President and Congress that "The attitudes of teachers are crucial in improving the education of disadvantaged children."

It cited summer schools aided by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act last summer, "the atmosphere of experimentation" and "fresh feelings of success with children" as instrumental in changing traditional teacher attitudes.

The AFT decided to expand the scope of this program and appointed Simon Beagle, a veteran teacher now beginning his 41st year in the New York City school system, to head a national program.

Beagle has so far encouraged interest in the program in a number of major cities. Using the experience gained in the 21 schools now operating in New York City, school boards in Baltimore, New Orleans and Denver have approved MES programs. The program is under consideration in the District of Columbia, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Phoenix, San Diego, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Part of the problem is cost. Most school systems have already allocated their proposed budgets for fiscal year 1968. Any additional services required by the MES program would necessarily mean the resetting of priorities.

The job now is to somehow bring home to education and other public officials that not only is the increased cost an investment in human resources, but that at least part of the increase will be offset in a reduction in delinquency and other social ills plaguing America's cities. In-depth treatment of the problems of the ghetto youngster through vastly improved teaching techniques and services hopefully will lead to a clearer perspective of life for the youngster, thus making him more responsive to the opportunities now available to him.

This still leaves room for other programs. Office of Economic Opportunity projects such as Head Start can be coordinated with MES programs. Model city programs could eliminate the physical gloom of the ghetto and, through the construction of libraries and other facilities, truly create a new world and a decent start for today's disadvantaged children.

A significant area of present day discussion involves the serious question, "Shall the minority group community press for quality education in the existing systems or shall the main effort be directed toward integrated education?"

Among the pros and cons, there emerge two distinct trends. One argues it has been proven beyond a reasonable doubt that the only solution to the problem is to completely abolish the segregated school. The other argument says complete integration will not be achieved within the next decade and, therefore, we must not shortchange today's minority group youngsters any further; they must have quality education in the ghetto school now.

Fear of pursuing either course arises since it has not been made clear that both efforts can and must be vigorously pursued concurrently.

Before positions on this question become polarized, with little done in either direction, representatives of all positions should meet and try to agree to a common approach and with the single objective that the public schools are to provide the highest possible educational opportunity while moving ahead to end the segregated system as soon as possible.

The U. S. Office of Education appears to be the proper agency to give leadership on this vital question.

It would be tragic if differences over approach were allowed to contribute to any further delay in effectively working toward the common goal of providing quality education for all children in the United States.

The Obstacles to Fair Housing

by Dr. Eugene Feingold & Robert J. Harris

This century has seen a great Negro migration from the rural South to the urban North. At the beginning of the century, almost all Negroes lived in the South; today, more than half live in the North.

During the past 25 years, while the Negro migration into the cities was taking place, the housing industry—and when we refer to the "housing industry," we mean those who are concerned with the financing, building, sale and rental of housing—with the subsidy, support and, in some cases, the leadership of the federal government, has encouraged and facilitated the movement of middle-class whites to the suburbs.

This movement to the suburbs, however, has been generally denied to those Negroes who have managed to fight their way into the middle class through all the burdens our society places upon them. The result is that Negroes have been replacing whites in our large cities. We now have at least two cities with Negro majorities and they will soon be joined by others. At the same time, the suburbs are almost entirely white.

The first attempts to analyze this almost total segregation of housing found a very simple explanation—concerted action by the home building, financing and real estate industries, supported and sometimes led by federal, state and local governments. Underlying this was a solid core of popular support or at least acquiescence. The explanation, that is, was the discrimination in the sale, rental and financing of housing which was, and still is, general throughout the nation.

Racial discrimination is one of the basic rules of the American housing market. As the United States Civil Rights Commission has pointed out, housing is almost the only commodity on the open market not available on equal terms to all who can pay for it.

There is, first of all, the question of justice, fair treatment, equal opportunity for the Negro who wants the same freedom of choice in housing that whites have. It is not just his access to housing which is limited; so is his access to employment. He can't work where he can't live, or at least he can't work unless he can live within commuting distance of the job. The segregated Negro's educational opportunities are also limited. Concentration of Negroes in one area encourages discriminatory law enforcement. Housing segregation is one of the major elements in limiting contacts between whites and Negroes, which in turn stimulates prejudice. These inequities are not just the Negro's problem—they are problems for all of us who are concerned with what happens in and to our society.

Almost every urban problem is bound up with and further complicated by housing segregation. Under the constant pressure of the expanding Negro population, the area within which Negroes are traditionally permitted to live in each city has expanded. This expansion has never been enough to keep up with the increased population. The resulting overcrowding has been a major cause of deterioration in the cities.

The center cities have also deteriorated because they are older; because they are more poorly maintained than the rest of the metropolitan area; because the new residents, to the extent that they are migrants from the rural South, are not accustomed to city life;

DR. EUGENE FEINGOLD AND ROBERT J. HARRIS are at the University of Michigan. Feingold is a political scientist in the School of Public Health and Harris is a professor of law. Their study of the administration of fair housing laws is expected to be published next year. This report was made to a recent conference on fair housing.

and because some Negro residents take out their resentment and hostility toward whites in destructive behavior.

As the city has deteriorated, it has become a less pleasant place both for its residents and for those who no longer live there but who work there or may wish to occasionally go there to visit parents, to shop, to go to the theater, etc.

Today we have laws prohibiting discrimination in all or part of the private housing market in about a third of the states and in several dozen cities. In addition, President Kennedy promulgated an executive order prohibiting discrimination in housing built with federal funds or guarantees. These state and local laws and the federal executive order vary both in the kind of housing they cover and in the mechanism they offer for enforcement of the law. Although some have only been enacted within the past few months, others have been in effect for almost ten years.

Yet if we try to evaluate their effect in eliminating or reducing housing segregation in the United States, we can only conclude it has been minimal. If anything, the extent of segregation is increasing rather than decreasing. This seems to be as true for those states and cities that have fair housing laws as it is for those which do not.

This is not to say that these laws and regulations have not had some value. First of all, a number of persons who have filed complaints under the laws have, as a result, obtained the housing in which they were interested. Moreover, the settling of a single complaint may result in the landlord opening up more than just the one unit complained about; he may open up all the units under his control.

In addition, there are landlords who, as a result of the law, voluntarily open their housing to Negroes without any complaint being filed. Some of these landlords might have wanted to do this before the law was passed but were afraid to do so without legal support; the passage of the law thus increases the freedom of action of those who, though they do not want to discriminate, are afraid not to discriminate for one reason or another.

At the very least, the landlord who continues to discriminate will no longer rudely turn Negroes away, but will treat them courteously in order that they not realize that he is discriminating. Inasmuch as we are talking about human dignity, this, too, can be considered a gain of sorts.

Another positive effect of the laws is that Negroes are encouraged to try to rent or buy in white neighborhoods. Without the law to reassure them, they might not make the effort and, therefore, could well miss out on housing that might have been available to them in the absence of the law.

It is also clear that the dire results predicted by opponents of fair housing laws have not materialized: the states and cities with fair housing laws have not been inundated by an influx of Negroes; there has been no drop in construction that is attributable to the

law; and there has been no drop in housing values because of the laws.

Indeed, once they are in operation the laws are apparently accepted, or at least are not vigorously opposed, by their former opponents.

Campaigns to enact fair housing laws also have had a result significant apart from the law itself. That is, the efforts to enact such laws are educational in that they acquaint the community with the fact that discrimination exists. A related effect of the fight for a law is that it often brings into civil rights activity the clergy and other members of the community who have not previously been active. Because of this heightened consciousness, and perhaps because of the desire of the governing elite to stall off those who are pushing for the fair housing law, action is taken to alleviate some other civil rights problems.

Why, then, have the laws not been successful in alleviating housing segregation? First, they are not very widely used. One state, with more than 100,000 Negro residents, receives about 60 complaints a year. Other jurisdictions receive fewer complaints. The laws have not been widely used because most Negroes are not eager to be pioneers—to be the first of their race in a neighborhood.

Also, many Negroes do not know of the existence of a fair housing law in their area. Among those Negroes who do know of its existence, the reputations of the enforcement agencies are not very high—you have to travel downtown, or to the state capital, or somewhere else inconvenient, in order to file a complaint; after you file it, the commission takes its time investigating. If the matter gets to a hearing, the opposition's attorney will give you a rough going over; and in the end you won't get the apartment you want.

This poor reputation may not be wholly deserved, but in large part it is accurate. Specifically, it is true that enforcement proceedings take much longer than they should. A recalcitrant landlord will engage in all kinds of delaying devices in the hope that he will rent his apartment before the commission takes any action and he is very often successful. As a result,

some jurisdictions have tried to find ways to prevent rental or sale of the housing unit in question while the case is being processed.

Some fair housing laws provide for temporary restraining orders to prevent such rental or sale. This is an old legal device, but it has only recently been applied in fair housing cases. To the extent that its limited application in such cases can be evaluated, it appears that this and other devices to prevent disposition of the housing unit have not been used with any great frequency. In general, enforcement agencies have been hesitant about exercising all their powers.

The fair housing commissions have worked almost entirely to obtain for the individual complainant the housing unit which he desires or a comparable one. If these efforts are successful, they consider the case settled satisfactorily; if the housing unit is no longer available, the agency drops the case; and if the complainant has found another place to live, they drop the case. It is apparent that the law cannot have any substantial effect because of the way it is administered.

If we turn our attention from the state and local laws to the federal level, we find a similar picture, which is made worse by the fact that the executive order covers only about two percent of existing housing and can be expected to cover no more than a quarter of the housing to be built in the near future, about half of which will be covered by state and local laws anyway. The executive order is narrow in its application and is not self-implementing, but has to be implemented by the various departments and agencies of the federal government. The Federal Housing Administration, the principal agency affected by the executive order, has issued regulations exempting one- and two-family housing that has been occupied by the owner, thus effectively eliminating all second-hand sale housing from coverage by the order.

If we really want to use fair housing laws to end housing discrimination, the enforcement agencies will have to do more than service the complaints that come to them. The agencies might well concentrate their efforts on the big people of the housing industry—those who control a substantial number of housing units. In the past, attempts to persuade and educate these people have been largely failures. These efforts need more money and more prestige behind them.

Wherever we have studied housing discrimination, the industry has been recalcitrant and has vigorously opposed any efforts to change its current practices. At the same time, here and there, local real estate boards and individual builders have been won over.

But even if these laws were more effectively administered and did cover all of the housing market, they would still not be able to materially affect the extent of housing segregation in our society. The reason for this is a simple one—fair housing laws, the executive order and similar regulations focus on only one cause of housing segregation. They focus on discrimination by the person who is in a position to transfer property—the owner or his agent. They do not concern themselves with what are, in the long run, more important causes of housing segregation.

Of these, perhaps the most important is the simple fact that the average Negro's income is about half that of the average white. This, combined with the structure and operation of the housing market, effectively keeps Negroes and whites segregated on an economic basis, without raising the question of race.

Another important cause of segregation is the fact that many Negroes and many whites have become conditioned to the housing market as it exists today. For example, the whites may be afraid of the loss in social status or housing value that they feel accompanies the integration of a neighborhood; the Negroes may be afraid of hostility from white neighbors.

In other words, there is a circular effect. Not only does housing discrimination help limit the educational and employment opportunities of Negroes; not only does it, by promoting overcrowding, accelerate the depreciation of property; not only does it help to promote racial stereotypes by limiting contacts between people. Housing discrimination not only causes these things—it also results from them. That is, to the extent that limited education and limited job opportunities help to create poverty, Negroes are kept out of the middle-class housing market by their lack of income. To the extent that Negro neighborhoods are more rundown than white, whites leave these neighborhoods. To the extent that whites are familiar with the Negro only through stereotypes, whites don't want Negroes as neighbors.

Housing segregation and housing discrimination are different, although related, phenomena. The attempts that we have made to end housing discrimination have not been successful and, even if they were, they would not end housing segregation. The fair housing movement has in the past concentrated on the goal of an open housing market—the idea that a Negro who meets the other qualifications for a particular housing unit should not be turned away simply because of his race. In addition to this concern for equality of opportunity, some whites are disturbed

at the idea of living in a segregated neighborhood.

The principal effect of the fair housing movement that has emerged from these two concerns—justice for the Negro and the desire for integrated living—has been to make it easier for upper-class Negroes to move into some suburbs. But taking a token number of upper-class Negroes into the suburbs does not solve society's problem and does not really do justice to the great bulk of the Negro population.

We should take as our goals in this area those recommended by the Council of the recent White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights": "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, freedom of choice in the selection of a home, racial and economic inclusiveness in all neighborhoods and the total absence of racial barriers."

The first of these, a decent home and a suitable living environment for every family, means that we need more and better housing for low-income and moderate-income people. The private housing market is simply economically unable to take care of these people today. This means we need subsidized housing for low-income people outside the slums. The slums should then be rehabilitated or cleared after they have left, not before.

The second goal, freedom of choice in the selection of a home, is one which, we would argue, will not be achieved simply on the basis of providing equal opportunity. The existing patterns of segregated housing have conditioned the public to accept segregation. These psychological pressures prevent real freedom of choice and a special effort must, therefore, be made to overcome them.

The third goal suggested by the White House Conference is racial and economic inclusiveness in all neighborhoods. Many who accept the idea of racial integration are unwilling to accept economic integration. But, given the pattern of distribution of income in the United States today, racial integration is impossible as long as we have economic segregation.

One way to alleviate this problem is to have a more effective anti-poverty program which would result in higher incomes for the poor. Once their incomes have been raised, they can choose housing from the market like everyone else. Until then, however, we need new ways of providing housing for low-income people. This includes small, scattered-site public housing—perhaps provided by government leasing of existing buildings, rather than massive super blocks which serve simply to ghettoize their residents.

The rent supplement program enacted last year by Congress is one illustration of an imaginative approach to this end. We need to expand the program and remove many of the restrictions added by Congress which will prevent it from being effective.

We need to provide new housing for low-income people on vacant land both within and outside the city. This housing should not be minimal public housing, but rather middle-income type housing, occupied by people of different income levels, with rents set at the level that individual tenants can afford.

We cannot carry on this kind of program on a community-by-community basis because the problems transcend community boundaries. For example, the center city cannot effectively desegregate its housing and put an end to deterioration so long as it is surrounded by suburbs that refuse to admit Negroes or low-income people. Yet, the suburbs have in the past shown themselves very reluctant to consider the broader interests of the entire metropolitan area.

How do we persuade them to change their view? The White House Conference had one approach: "Federal assistance to every local governmental unit should be conditioned on submission of a metropolitan-wide plan providing for the desegregation of housing and promotion of communities inclusive of all races and incomes. Zoning regulations, provision for low- and moderate-income housing, subdivision controls and the like must be applied to this end. Enforcement mechanisms by the local government should be a requirement. The plan should indicate an overall program of housing, community facilities and services, and transportation to and from employment centers which would result in the free flow of residents to housing throughout the area without regard to color."

The use of federal funds to encourage such metropolitan planning can be enhanced if such planning is made the condition not only for housing assistance but for any federal assistance, including highways, airports, water pollution, sewage systems, etc. We live today in a society which is undergirded by a system of federal subsidies. If the granting of such subsidies were meaningfully tied to the preparation and carrying out of metropolitan plans, this would at the very least greatly encourage such plans.

It was easy for fair-minded Americans to oppose the denial of the right to vote to Negroes. It was easy for them to oppose discrimination in public accommodations. All the federal civil rights legislation that has been enacted could easily be supported by the fair-minded northerner because this legislation was directed at practices which were common and overt in the South but not in the North.

Today the picture has changed and the more subtle northern racism is being challenged. As this has happened, northerners have begun to shrink from their previous positions. As a result, even the inadequate proposal of the Johnson Administration for a fair housing law was defeated.

In an article in Commentary magazine, Bayard Rustin says that white liberals are responsible for the growth of the black power concept because they have not used their power to see to it that civil rights laws are enforced. Black power, he says, "is a slogan directed primarily against liberals by those who once counted liberals among their closest friends. It is up to the liberal movement to prove that coalition and integration are better alternatives."

Adventure in Learning With Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson

Appalachia was the setting for Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson's "adventure in learning." The journey took her to West Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee. Her purpose was to see how federal programs help strengthen education for everyone.

The trip began at the White House with a Head Start film titled "Pancho." The guest of honor was Frank "Pancho" Mansera himself, a 7-year old youngster from Guadalupe, California. At five, Pancho had the mental and physical growth of a 2-year old. A Head Start medical exam disclosed a glandular condition. After medical treatment, he grew over 5 inches in one year and changed from a listless child to a cheerful, active boy.

In West Virginia, Mrs. Johnson visited Charleston's Glenwood Elementary School, which offers an after-school enrichment program for parents and children. She also visited the popular Sunrise Cultural Center.

In North Carolina, Mrs. Johnson spoke at Lee Edwards High School in Asheville and praised an adult education class for its determination. At remote Canada Township, she saw the Teacher Corps in action. She also dedicated a new building at Western Carolina College.

In Nashville, Tennessee, Mrs. Johnson dedicated the new Columbia State Community College. She also took part in ceremonies marking the 200th birthday anniversary of Andrew Jackson at The Hermitage, famous home of the seventh president. She likened today's expansion of educational opportunity to the Jacksonian era, when the battle was fought and won for free, compulsory public education.

"The first stop on our Adventure in Learning was the Sunrise Cultural Center high on a hill overlooking the capital city of West Virginia — Charleston.

"Governor Hulett Smith, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner and I ride with the students in buses up the winding highway to the gracious estate that has been turned into an exciting experiment in education. Under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, federal funds make these field trips for school children to the Sunrise Cultural Center possible."

"First we slipped into that dark other world of the planetarium where we joined the students in marveling over the stars. Their nature and design were described to us, and we wondered if perhaps there might not be a future astronaut among us that day.

"Here Governor Smith, Secretary Gardner and I are listening with the students to a very stimulating lecture on the Center's Art Collection which inhabits the top floor of the lovely old home."

"The journey to Canada Township, North Carolina, was like discovering a precious gold nugget in the rocky hills.

"In this little enclave, cached 15 miles away from even the nearest telephone, life and the people are very real. One feels that a person to person relationship is the essence of their existence as they confront life at its kernel.

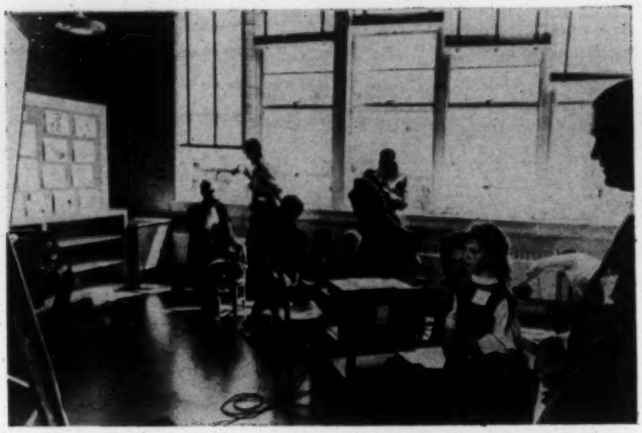
"We visited the home of a Canada Township family, the Eldon Mathises. Since young people are our most valuable possession, Mr. and Mrs. Mathis could point with pride to their six children, who are all in school with no truancy problems. They welcomed us with great dignity and graciousness to their small but tidy cottage, and told us of their struggles against the elements and the barren soil of the North Carolina hills."

"Just leaving the warm hospitality of the Mathis family, Secretary Gardner, Mrs. Gertie Moss, Principal of the Canada Township School and I walk up the rugged road, soon to be abloom with rhododendron and wild azaleas."

"Every great educational venture has a devoted, sensitive human being at its heart. Filled with the love of learning and, equally important, the love of people, Mrs. Gertie Moss, Principal of the Canada Township School, is one of those people. Here on the bus ride to her school, she is telling me of some of the challenges and frustrations of 'mothering' an entire community."

"We arrive at Canada Township School and are given a rousing welcome by the entire township."

"One of the joys of the Teacher Corps is to be a part of the life and share in the needs of the community. Since there is no barber in Canada Township, Teacher Corpsman Frantz Whitmire has elected to become the school barber. Once a week he shears his students who need his grooming talents. Little Bobby Owen was much happier about the operation than he appears in this picture."



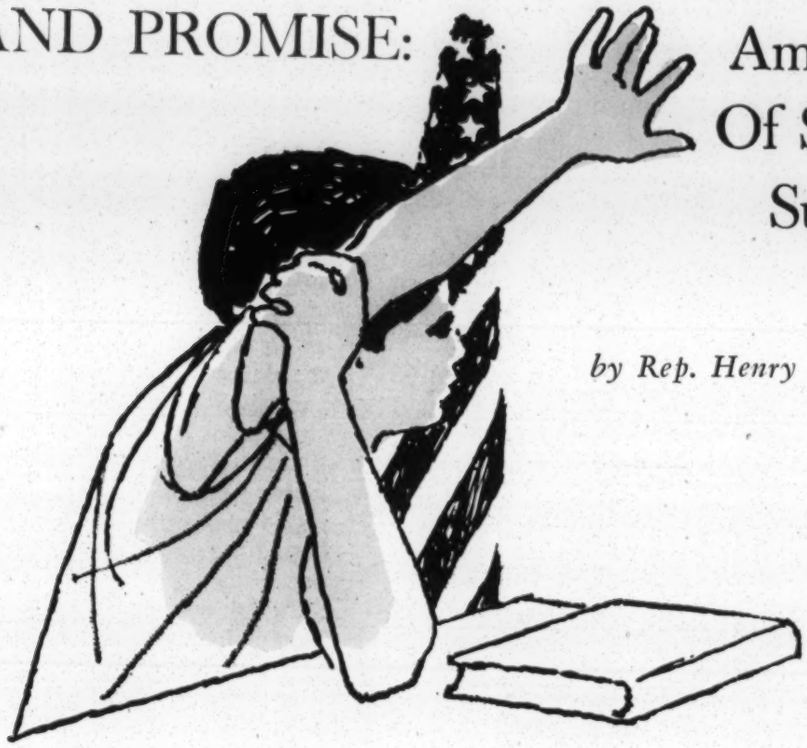
"The wife of Governor Dan Moore and I watch as a little scholar responds to a question from her Teacher Corps instructor."

"Secretary Gardner and I listen intently, along with the students and a member of the Teacher Corps, to a lecture given on one of the innovational machines added to the school's equipment under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This machine makes it possible for some students to pursue one subject on their own while the teacher lectures on another."

"We interrupt our exciting classroom adventures to enjoy a hot lunch made available to the students under the school lunch program. This is usually the one hot meal of the day for the children of Canada Township."

"Into the life of Canada Township has come a new element — made possible by federal funds — four dedicated and well trained members of the Teacher Corps. They have doubled the number of teachers in the school and brought a lifeline of new methods and fresh ideas from the world beyond the hills."

HOPE AND PROMISE: Americans Of Spanish Surname



by Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez

If you are hungry, hope itself is a distant thing; and if you are defeated, promises of better things to come ring empty. If yours is a world of dirt floors and tin roofs, tomorrow holds no promises and your greatest ambition is to live through today. For 5 million Americans of Spanish surname, all too many live in such a world, far removed from the American dream.

Wherever there are people who are poor, there is tragic waste. The poor lead short lives and their hopes and dreams prove illusory. Society has never cared much about the poor because they have always been there, and there has never been much reason to believe that poverty could be or even should be eradicated. Somehow society decided, by and large, that a poor man is poor only because of his own failure and that he deserves his fate.

But in recent years there has been a happy change in this old attitude. We have realized that, in fact, the American dream is not open to everyone; we have been able to understand the terrible waste of poverty and that it can be ended. We have come to realize that some men are poor because society has denied them the chance to be anything else and that the poor should not and need not be despised and forgotten.

We have begun to try to find out why men are poor and what can be done about it. We have started to seek ways and means of giving poor men more in life besides a determination to survive against high odds.

One of the biggest and least known groups of poor people is concentrated in the Southwest. Only one-sixth of the population of this country lives in the five southwestern states, but one-fourth of America's poor live there. In Texas alone, there are 63 counties—a quarter of the state's total—where half the people live on incomes of less than $3,000 a year.

In Bexar County, which I represent in Congress, more than a fourth of the population is classified as poor; 115,000 people there live in substandard housing. The overwhelming number of these ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-fed people are of Spanish surname.

The official rate of unemployment in Bexar County is usually about 4 percent; but for the poor, for the Spanish-surnamed, it is twice that. The average educational attainment of the county population is 11 grades, but for the Spanish-surnamed it is half that.

In the poor areas of the city of San Antonio, where most of the Spanish-surnamed population lives, the Department of Labor estimates that half of the people who are employed earn less than $60 a week. Of those who work and who live in this poor part of the city, 20 percent work part-time only. The pattern in Bexar County is repeated again and again throughout the Southwest.

Seventy percent of the unemployed slumdwellers of San Antonio in November of 1966 did not have a high school education. Forty-eight percent of them did not even have an eighth grade education. And 6.5 percent of the unemployed in the slums never went to school at all.

These people know all too well what their handicaps are; they know that even when opportunity comes along they do not have the education or the skills to take advantage of it. They need help and they usually

REP. HENRY B. GONZALEZ (D-Tex.) was elected to Congress to fill an unexpired term in 1961 and has been reelected three times. He has consistently supported progressive legislation.

want it. They have not necessarily failed society; society may have failed them.

Despite our knowledge of all this, the schools are still turning out people who lack marketable skills or even a good education. All too often in the Southwest, children of Spanish surname emerge from school illiterate in English as well as Spanish, and whose time and talents have been squandered, whose ambitions have been blunted and shorn away and who see in the future only an unskilled job, a tiny paycheck if any at all, and blessed relief in the neighborhood tavern.

Wherein lies the fault? What must or what can be done to arouse hopes, to build dreams and to bring into the realm of possible achievement the ambitions for tomorrow. Moreover, how are we to attack this problem which, in fact, we can understand only dimly? What should society set as its goals and what goals should the poor set for themselves? What should be the dream of the American of Spanish surname who finds himself trapped by discrimination, by poor education and by a poverty so abject that tomorrow is made too far away to see?

The Spanish-surnamed American has a unique problem and it demands unique action.

In the first place, there is the problem of definition. There is not even a generally accepted name for this minority group. Americans of Spanish surname are called Mexicans, Mexicanos, Latins, Latinos, Latin Americans, Mexican Americans and Hispanic Americans; not one of these labels is accepted everywhere. A name accepted in one place is enough to produce violence elsewhere.

I prefer to think of the group as Americans of Spanish surname because, after all, they are Americans and they all have Spanish surnames. Any other label would be inadequate because this group has such diverse origins. Some were born here and some have immigrated only recently. Some come from families that have lived in the Southwest for more than 200 years and are of Spanish descent. Others have origins in Mexico or parentage ranging from Indian tribes to English gentry. There is no term, perhaps even one so tentlike as Spanish-surnamed American, that adequately describes a group so conglomerate as this.

This group of people is so scattered about the land and so disparate in its origins that it has problems defining itself, just as the government has problems in defining it. No matter what you call this vast number of people, there is no doubt about one thing: they have common problems.

We can understand what the problems are, at least vaguely, by reciting the tragic statistics of poverty, unemployment, sickness and illiteracy, but these are only the tangible aspects of the matter and give us no real understanding of the political and psychic problems of the Spanish-surnamed American.

The Spanish-surnamed American group has problems in setting forth cogent goals, just as it does in finding an all-inclusive label. The group possesses no single program, no national goals and has not so far been able to coalesce into a single, meaningful whole, capable of speaking with a united voice. There is no national organization of Spanish-surnamed Americans that could be considered comparable to the NAACP.

There are organizations that consider themselves national and which, indeed, have members in several states, but not one of these has a full-time paid executive or staff devoted to looking out for its interests, defining problems, setting goals and otherwise acting as an effective national spokesman. There is always the possibility that a truly national and effective organization will come about, but there is no such group now. There have been many attempts to create a national organization, but they have failed for one reason or another: the time has been wrong, the leadership ineffective or a combination of problems has barred the way, preventing effective political organization of this far-flung minority.

I think this situation is both cause and result. There is no national organization because there is no national goal; and there is no goal because there is no agreement on so elemental a thing as what this conglomeration of people should call itself. Lacking cohesiveness, the group cannot establish goals; and lacking goals, it cannot bind itself together.

The Spanish-surnamed American is unique from other minorities in still other ways. His is not a single origin. He has come from different places, at different times and for different reasons. He is different from other immigrant groups because his homeland, his mother country, is not across the sea. There is no ocean between his cultural home of Mexico and America; Mexico is but a short drive away.

There are everywhere Spanish language movies, television stations and radio stations and Spanish is spoken throughout the Southwest. Up until 1957, there was a Spanish language daily newspaper in San Antonio and even today the daily papers carry sections printed in Spanish. In the Southwest, even the dominant Anglo community strives to preserve the culture of Mexico and Spain because it gives the area a certain charm and a cosmopolitan air that cannot be found elsewhere.

The result is that we have in the Southwest a community that is distinctly foreign and yet American; we have a group that is cast aside and discriminated against because it is foreign and different; and yet it is a group whose culture the majority find powerfully attractive. It is a group that the dominant Anglos have taken from and whose culture they would preserve, but which they discriminate against because of its foreign nature.

Here is a minority drawn between the powerful forces of conflict, the one demanding a preservation of its art, music, culture, language, architecture and dress; and the other telling it to get Anglicized or lose out in the race of life.

For if a man stays within his cultural minority and retains its customs, he has little chance to succeed in a world which expects him to adopt its ways. He cannot get a job with only Spanish as a language and he cannot expect anything but animosity if he fails to adopt the ways of the majority. So, caught between the powerful forces demanding assimilation and a tightly-knit and kept-minority status, assailed by demands to Anglicize and appeals for staying "foreign," the Spanish-surnamed American is attempting to find a modus vivendi—a way to live somewhere between the intolerable extremes.

The most crucial issue confronting any minority group is whether it should attempt to preserve itself as a cohesive and well-defined culture, or whether it should disband and its members assimilate into the majority, losing their cultural identity. Either a minority lives together, speaks its own language, maintains its own way of life, or it must break up and be absorbed into the community at large. In the case of the Spanish-surnamed American minority, there has been no decision.

In Africa, there has been considerable experience in decision-making of this kind. When the Europeans colonized Africa, they expected the Africans to adopt European languages and customs. Sometimes force would be used to break up traditional ways of life. For instance, to establish a mining operation in Katanga, the Belgians had to get Africans to change from hunters and farmers into industrial workers, a change which meant moving from a primitive life into the discipline of a complicated industrial order.

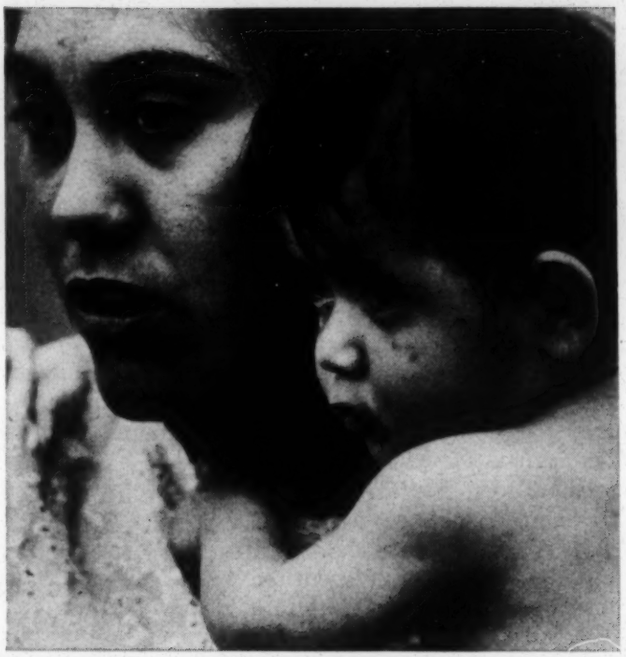
Changes like these are jarring and did not come easily, and the process was repeated time and again. New values were imposed on Africa, new languages, new governments and new boundaries. All of this meant hard choices for those who had to abandon their culture and among the Basuto people there is this proverb:

"If a man does away with his traditional way of living and throws away his good customs, he had first better be certain that he has something of value to replace them."

This is the dilemma every minority must face. Eric Hoffer, writing in his work, "The True Believer," put the problem in these words:

"A minority is in a precarious position, however protected it be by law or force. The frustration engendered by the unavoidable sense of insecurity is less intense in a minority intent on preserving its identity than in one bent on assimilating with the majority. A minority which preserves its identity is inevitably a compact whole which shelters the individual, gives him a sense of belonging and immunizes him against frustration. On the other hand, in a minority bent on assimilation, the individual stands alone, pitted against prejudice and discrimination. He is also burdened with a sense of guilt, however vague, of a renegade."

If the man with a Spanish surname elects to stay



within his group, he can be sure that he has friends and he can be certain of having a place to go. But if he elects to compete with the majority on its own terms, then he must abandon all of this and he becomes an outsider both to his own group and to the majority. He has abandoned the one and is seeking to invade the other.

The choice facing the Spanish-surnamed American is not an easy one and it is only natural that he is seeking some middle way between maintaining a cultural entity that binds him to remaining outside the pale and rejecting everything in the hope of finding success in a hostile world. It is too much to expect that the group as a whole will make a decision on whether to take one part or the other, because the choices are so painful and radical that few men even care to contemplate them. The decisions must be made by individuals, alone and unaided, and it will take a long time to know the end result of their actions.

So the Spanish-surnamed minority, imbued with special circumstances, endowed with a rich and strong culture, and given a much to be desired and beautiful language, must decide, each and every one: is it best to keep what I have and love, and follow a way of life inherited from my father, or leave it all. It is a cruel choice and not one that many men will make willingly and most men will make no choice at all.

It is the responsibility of the majority to permit the minority to make its own decisions about what it will do. It is cruel and unthinkable to suppress or eradicate a culture in hopes of speedily eradicating the cruel dilemma of the Spanish-surnamed or other "alien" poor.

A culture is too precious a thing to destroy; it must be permitted to make its own contribution to society, especially one like ours. For Americans are many

things and that is the secret of our strength. It would be a mistake to think that the diversity which the Spanish-surnamed people offer is anything other than a potential gift to our already rich heritage.

Educators especially must be aware of the problems facing the Spanish-surnamed. For it is the schools which are the first front in the war on poverty. It is the schools which turn out men and women who are either equipped for life or are not.

In the case of the Spanish-surnamed, the schools have been failing. Instead of leaving school well-equipped to face life, the Spanish-surnamed have been leaving school in droves because it offers nothing to meet their needs and these children have been finding that the dubious choice of no education at all is better than one which is meaningless.

Educators, happily, are beginning to understand this and do something about it. They realize that the child who enters school the first day represents a promise and their responsibility as teachers is to turn that promising child into a successful adult.

Up until now, though, the sad fact is that the schools have been losing the promise of the Spanish-surnamed child somewhere between the first grade and high school graduation; and all too many do not stay around long enough to finish high school because of it.

I do not believe that it is the place of the schools to force a choice of cultures on children or suppress their native heritage. Great injury is done whenever this is attempted and we know this all too well. In our history, the schools have ignored the achievements of the Negro and have presented him as a problem and a blight on society while ignoring his considerable achievements and contributions. Belatedly, this is changing. It is a mistake which should not be repeated with the Spanish-surnamed American, for he also has his heroes and he also has played a part in our history that cannot be overlooked. He lives and he exists and he knows it and the textbooks must recognize this fact; nothing left out of the books will eliminate what is real.

I believe the schools must make an effort to capitalize on the special talents and attributes of the Spanish-surnamed American. This will make his education meaningful and will do more than anything else to help him realize his full potential. His special educational problems need to be solved and his assets refined. After all of this is done, he will be ready to decide which way to go and what life to lead.

I believe that, more than anything else, improved educational opportunity will help the Spanish-surnamed American find his place in society and make his best contribution to it. From this will flow hope, ambition and the skill to realize it. Without better education, hopes kindled by the war on poverty will be shortlived and the promises made can never be turned into realities.

Everyone who knows about the Spanish-surnamed community knows that its condition is one of poverty, even abject poverty. They ask why, in the midst of all this misery, is there not more restlessness, more revolt? The answers are at once simple and complex. Simple because poverty and misery do not necessarily breed revolt; complex because this group is complex.

If a man is so poor that he must struggle to earn his daily bread, he probably does not have much time to conjure up visions of better things. His concern is whether he can eat today, not whether he can eat next week. His consuming passion is whether he can scrape up enough to pay the rent next week or the school fees to keep his child enrolled or keep the gas from being cut off.

His horizon is limited by the necessity of staying alive and his dreams, if he has any, will be of a good meal and a new pair of shoes. His future is so far away that he dares not think of it; it may be too grim.

Hoffer has written, "where people toil from sunrise to sunset for a bare living, they nurse no grievances and dream no dreams" and how right he is.

On the other hand, if a man lives in what you might call a state of bearable misery, he is free to see a little longer into the future and he can begin to think about a better way of life.

When a man's condition is improved to the point that he can see the ideal life ahead, he becomes restless with what he has and strives for tomorrow. For him, the present is not a happy time because the future, if he can but grasp it, is what will bring happiness.

Alexis deTocqueville observed: "A grievance is most poignant just before it is redressed." The taste of better things is what breeds discontent and fires ambition.

The Spanish-surnamed community has, by and large, been so submerged in misery that hope has been too far away to fire many dreams. This may be changing. I believe the campaign against poverty will, in fact, give large numbers of people that essential taste of better things and lead to rising expectations.

I do not view the future as hopeless. It may be that the Spanish-surnamed community today is filled with poor and even some hopeless people but, after all, it was just such people who came to this country and filled it up and just such people who have given our land its strength and wealth. It was not successful people who came to these shores, but people who had failed elsewhere. They were driven here and they made this a mighty land. They had nothing to lose and everything to gain. This is still true. These poor people who today suffer innumerable and complicated problems and ills, and whose burdens we cannot imagine, will one day rise up and build for themselves a new world and, for all of us, a new Southwest.

In numberless southwestern shacks with tin roofs and dirt floors, along forgotten streets without water lines, in a world without comfort, is a people who have hope for tomorrow and one day they will claim it. Then ours will be a new and better world because these folk will have given their splendid best.

The Fight for Clean Air

by George Taylor

When the right circumstances conspire, air pollution can turn into a deadly mass killer.

In 1930, there were 60 people killed when a deadly smog settled in over the industrial Meuse Valley in Belgium.

In 1948, the steel and chemical town of Donora, Pennsylvania, was visited by a fog and a temperature inversion which left 20 dead.

In 1950, a tank of poisonous hydrogen sulfide was accidentally released to the atmosphere from an oil refinery in Mexico City. The toll: 22 dead and 320 hospitalized.

In 1952, a "black fog" hung like a shroud over London for four days and took 4,000 lives.

Ten years later, both London and New York City suffered through serious smogs.

And just last November—as if to publicize the National Conference on Air Pollution about to open in the nation's capital—the elements conspired to form a temperature inversion over New York City. Preliminary estimates put the number of deaths at 80, a toll expected to rise when the death rate is checked against mortality tables over a longer period.

These dramatic instances of smog disasters serve

GEORGE TAYLOR is an economist in the AFL-CIO Department of Research.

November 1966: Photo taken at 8:30 a.m. shows smog choking New York City as massive air inversion hit mid-Atlantic coast.

as periodic reminders that the city air we breathe is unclean. Air pollution is taking its toll of people's health every day in every city in the United States. It is a problem which most people are aware of by now and to which they seem to be adapting.

Unfortunately, it may take a major air pollution disaster to crystallize support for strong regulatory action.

President Johnson attempted to point up the critical urgency of the problem when he sent a special message on air pollution to Congress earlier this year. The President declared:

"We are not even controlling today's level of pollution. Ten years from now, when industrial production and waste disposal have increased and the number of automobiles on our streets and highways exceeds 110 million, we shall have lost the battle for clean air—unless we strengthen our regulatory and research efforts now."

The superficial aspects of air pollution are widely evident. People are aware of the offensive smell, the dirt deposited on clothing and curtains, the corrosion of metal and stone, the lack of visibility on roads and the damage to bathing areas.

But the dangers from air pollution are far broader and more insidious. The longterm effects of air pollution begin to work on the human organs from the day of birth. Increasing numbers of Americans are becoming afflicted with respiratory conditions—everything from the common cold to lung cancer—which are aggravated by breathing polluted air.

One of the fastest growing causes of death in the United States is emphysema, a progressive breakdown of air sacs in the lungs caused by chronic infection of the bronchial tubes. In 1962, over 12,000 persons died of emphysema. Each month, 1,000 or more workers are forced to retire prematurely because of this disease.

Other diseases of the lungs and air passages which are worsened by breathing polluted air include bronchial asthma, chronic restrictive ventilatory disease and even the common cold.

The death rate from lung cancer has been rising. Research points to a variety of causes. However, the incidence of cancer is twice as high in urban as in rural areas and appears to be related to population density as well. This is the basis for speculation that air pollution may be a contributing cause of lung cancer.

The first public concern over pollution involved the smoke nuisance in the 1940s. Public indignation focused on offenders responsible for dirtying the community. Anti-smoke ordinances were adopted in such large cities as St. Louis and Pittsburgh. The changeover from coal-burning to diesel locomotives and the increasing use of natural gas for home and office space heating helped to reduce much of the smoke nuisance in many urban areas.

Now the concern and danger is only partially with smoke. The newer industrial processes and many of the older ones are expelling a wide range of gases and minute particles. These pollutants often overload the ability of the atmosphere to disperse them and they produce effects which are sometimes unpleasant, sometimes unhealthy and, on occasion, disastrous.

The basic causes of the air pollution problem are well-known. They involve an increasing population which is becoming more and more concentrated in urban areas. The U.S. population will grow to an estimated 225 to 250 million by 1980. About 200 million people will be living in cities.

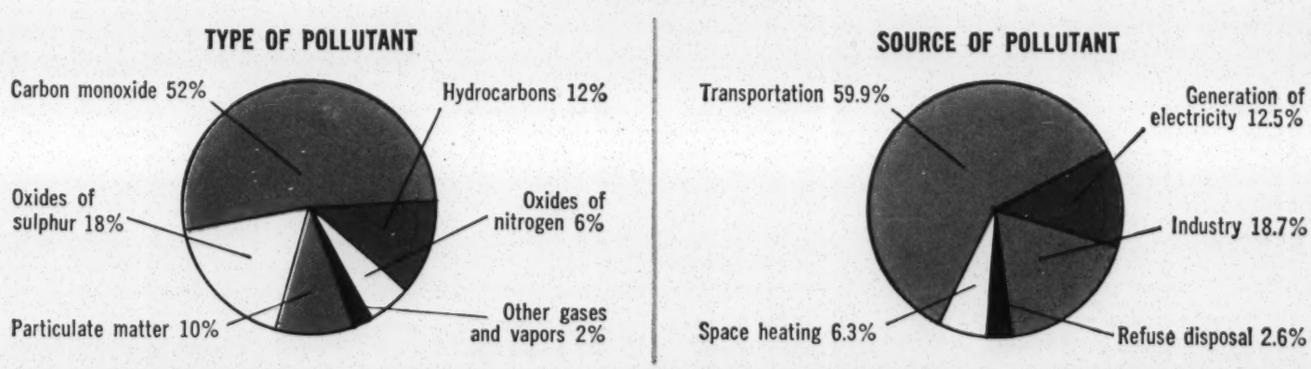
These urban area people will be driving more cars, consuming more electric power, buying more manufactured goods, creating more wastes. The overall result will be an ever-rising amount of air pollution.

The main trends are apparent.

In 1960, 60 million automobiles in the United States burned 40 million gallons of gasoline. By 1980, over 110 million automobiles are expected to be on the road, almost doubling the gasoline being burned and emitting most of the pollutants into urban areas.

More solid wastes are dumped each year, most of it combustible. In 1960, the per capita amount of combustible waste was 1,100 pounds. Even if the per

AIR POLLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES
(125 million tons per year)



Source: "Waste Management and Control". A Report to the Federal Council for Science and Technology by the Committee on Pollution, National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1966.

capita figure does not increase, which is unlikely, this nation will be producing 175 million tons of combustible waste by the year 2000, enough to bury a city the size of Pittsburgh or Boston or Washington, D. C. under a 30-foot mountain of trash.

By 1980, use of electric power may have increased threefold over present demand. Most of it will be generated by fossil fuels—coal and oil—although nuclear energy will be rapidly moving to the fore in the next decade. As of 1966, generation of electricity is one of the major sources of air pollution.

The growth of industrial production—iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, chemicals, petroleum, paper and allied products—is expected to double or triple over the next decade or so. These are the major industries which share responsibility for atmospheric pollution.

There is also the clear danger created by a constantly changing technology. By the end of the century, the annual expenditure by industry and government in industrial-oriented research may reach as high as $70-$80 billion. Increased research and development already has contributed to the introduction of dozens of new materials, many releasing airborne contamination to the environment, the effects of which are yet unknown.

The principal pollutants released to the air total about 125 million tons per year at present, according to a 1966 report by the National Academy of Sciences.

Automobiles, trucks and buses powered by internal combustion engines are the major emitters of carbon monoxide, oxides of nitrogen and hydrocarbons. Generation of electric power by burning coal and oil produce most of the oxides of sulfur. Industrial production is the chief contributor to the atmosphere of particulate matter and miscellaneous pollutants.

The data clearly show that moving sources of pollution spew six of every ten tons of pollutants into the air. Thus the nation's motor vehicles constitute the number one air pollution problem.

Industry, including electric power generation, is the next greatest offender, contributing nearly four of every ten tons of polluting materials emitted.

People do not die immediately from foul air, even though it may affect their health adversely when pollution of the air they breathe is chronic, which is true in nearly every large city.

But sometimes a smog disaster strikes. Such disasters occur when there is a prolonged temperature inversion and takes place in localities where there is a great volume of toxic materials being emitted into the atmosphere from industrial emitters, automobiles and homes and offices burning soft coal.

A "temperature inversion" is a meteorological situation that occurs when the normally cool upper layers of air become warmer than ground air. In a situation when the air mass is not moving on the back of a prevailing wind, or rain comes to the rescue, the cool upper air stays put and prevents the dirty air at ground level from circulating up and out. Los Angeles is the prime example of a metropolis with a chronic inversion situation. But they can take place anywhere. When they happen suddenly and remain for several days where there is a great deal of emission of pollutants, people who are well get sick, the sick get sicker and some of the sick and some of the older people die.

The burden of principal pollutants is expected to double by the year 2000. Over the great metropolitan areas of the West Coast, the Great Lakes and other regions, inversions are expected to become more and more lethal, together with the kind of "ordinary" air humans breathe between inversions, which merely takes longer to infect individuals with chronic respiratory diseases and possibly lung cancer, but produces few headlines.

In the long-range view of the situation, the steady increase in the release of pollutants to the atmosphere, in addition to what is already there from natural and man-made causes, can work what may very well become a permanent change of the world's climatic

CITIES WITH MOST SEVERE AIR POLLUTION PROBLEMS

Five Areas Having Most Severe Problems

Chicago
Cleveland
Los Angeles-Long Beach
New York
Philadelphia

Five Areas Ranking Second in Severity

Boston
Detroit
Newark
Pittsburgh
St. Louis

Ten Areas Ranking Third in Severity

Akron
Baltimore
Cincinnati
Gary-Hammond-East Chicago
Indianapolis
Jersey City
Louisville
Milwaukee
Washington
Wilmington

Source: The National Center for Air Pollution Control, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

cycles. It is a well-known phenomenon that temperatures in large metropolitan areas are consistently warmer than in the countryside and fogs are more frequent. This is an example of local modification.

The bulk of the air resource is in a relatively shallow envelope six miles in depth (the troposphere). There are global, regional and local air movements within the troposphere which make up nature's ventilation system, modified by topography, climate and latitude.

If the mass of air pollutants continues to build up, the global capacity of the wind systems to disperse pollutants may be seriously impaired.

Thus modern man in the United States and other industrialized nations has created a menace. It lurks in the very air he breathes and takes an increasing toll in lives, health and the economy. It is seriously disturbing the delicate balance that has existed in the environment, of which man is becoming a ruthlessly disrupting factor. He worships at the shrine of personal cleanliness, creature comforts and new techniques while surrounding himself with an environment of ugliness, filth and poison.

What has been done in recent years to clean up America's polluted air?

The federal government did not move into the picture until 1955, when legislation was enacted creating a federal program.

The Public Health Service of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was authorized to conduct research on the problem and provide technical assistance to state and local governments.

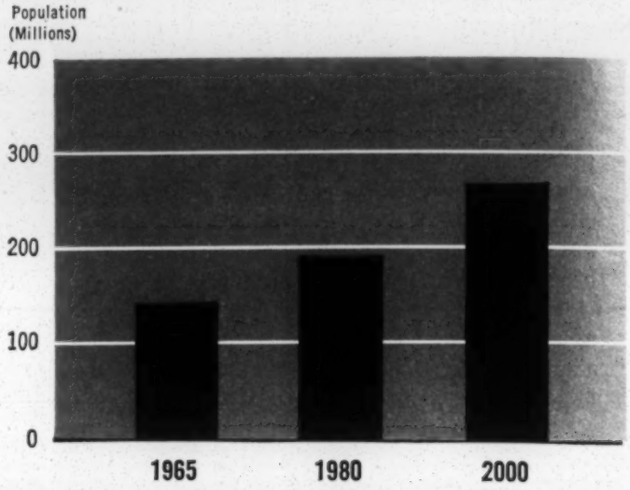
The 1960 amendments to the basic federal act provided for a special study of motor vehicle pollution. The federal program under this law brought more scientific knowledge to bear on causes and effects. The public attention was becoming more aware that polluted air was a national problem, was damaging to the public health and welfare, and that control of many of the larger sources of poison was feasible.

Although knowledge about the causes, effects, scope and control techniques was steadily advancing, there was little done by local, state or federal levels of government to clean up the air. The federal program was research-oriented. Outside of Los Angeles and the state of California, there were few local or state programs. Those in existence were basically ineffective.

The federal Clean Air Act of 1963, however, broadened the scope of the federal program. It authorized federal grants-in-aid directly to state and local air pollution control agencies to establish or improve their programs and empowered the federal government to take necessary action to abate interstate air pollution situations.

The Clean Air Act also expanded research, technical assistance and training activities of the U.S. Public Health Service. It directed the Service to do research and development on motor vehicle and sulfur oxide pollution from coal and oil burning in power generation and other industries, and to develop

MORE PEOPLE IN THE CITY... MORE AIR POLLUTION



Source: "Today and Tomorrow in Air Pollution," 1966 publication of Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

criteria on air pollution effects on human health and property.

The 1965 amendments to the Clean Air Act authorized the Secretary of HEW to establish standards to control emissions into the air from new motor vehicles and to investigate and develop methods of controlling new air pollution problems.

In 1966, further amendments enlarged the grants-in-aid program to states and localities to assist in maintaining control programs. The Congress also established a three-year authorization of $46 million for fiscal 1967 and $66 million and $74 million for fiscal years 1968 and 1969, respectively.

Between 1955-63, federal funds expended on air pollution control programs had risen slowly from $2 million to about $11 million a year. But in the 1963-66 period, the total rose to $35 million a year.

What Have the States Done?

Fifteen years ago, the first state law dealing with air pollution was passed. Until 1963, when the Clean Air Act was passed, only 13 more states had enacted such laws. Since then, 11 more states have acted, so there are now 25 out of the 50 states with anti-air pollution statutes on the books.

In 1961, the budgets for state air pollution control programs totaled only $2 million, of which California alone accounted for 57 percent. There were 148 full-time and 29 part-time personnel working in the control programs of all the states.

By 1966, the states were budgeting an aggregate $9.2 million, $2 million of which was in the form of federal grants-in-aid. There were 406 full-time and 81 part-time personnel working in these programs.

While there was an improvement of state resources applied to the problem, the situation is still far from satisfactory in this respect. Moreover, there is wide variation among the states in the kind of agency assigned program responsibility, in standards and regulations, in enforcement and compliance procedures

and punishment of wilful offenders by fines, jail or both.

While the Clean Air Act encourages the formation of interstate compacts to aid in the control of air pollution, very few states have acted. New York and New Jersey were inspired to act after last year's serious smog over the New York City metropolitan area. Illinois and Indiana are negotiating a compact and so are West Virginia and Ohio.

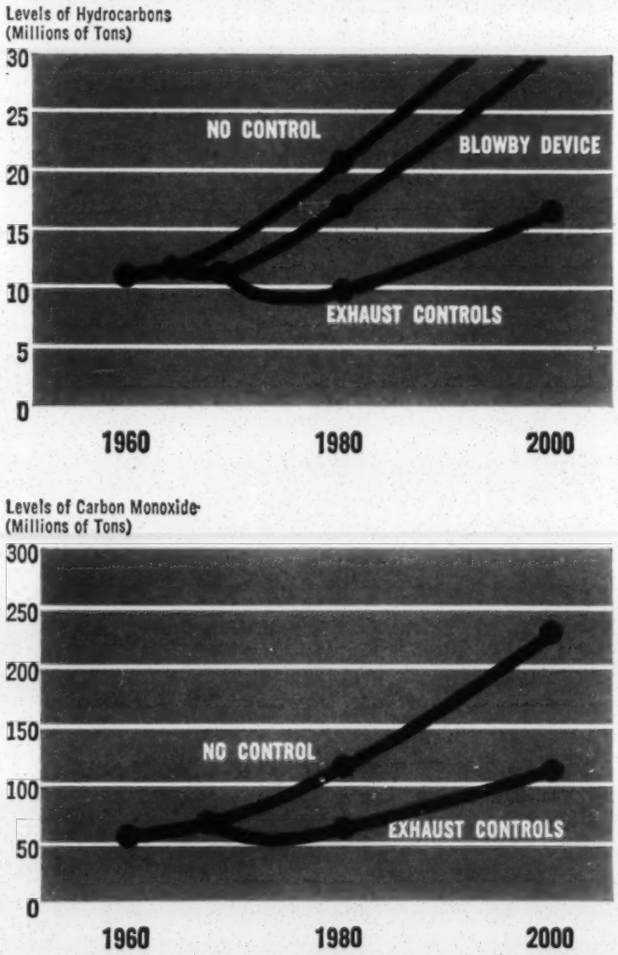
The New York-New Jersey compact, which is furthest along, seeks legislative authority to set air quality standards and to make and enforce regulations. An innovation in this proposed compact would provide for both local and federal representation.

What Have the Cities Done?

Since the late 1800s, there have been many local smoke abatement ordinances passed by hundreds of communities, dealing with this aspect of air pollution as a nuisance. Beginning with Los Angeles, recent years have seen a greater community effort to attack poisoned air, not merely smoke.

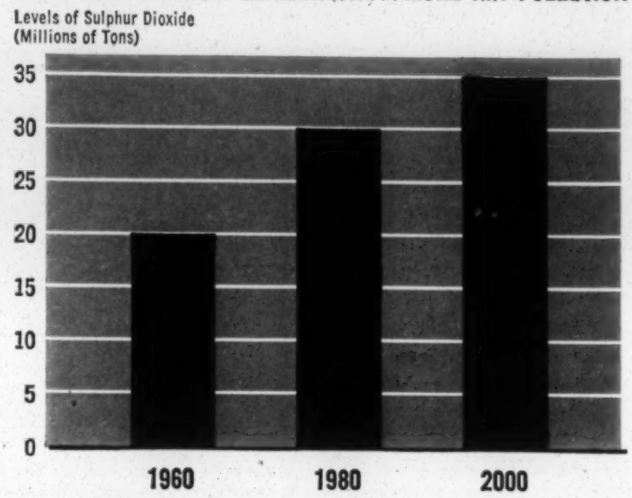
In November 1965, according to the U.S. Public Health Service, there were about 130 city, county and multi-jurisdictional air pollution regulatory agencies in operation and located in 35 states serving 63 million people.

MORE AUTOS MEAN MORE POLLUTION DESPITE CONTROLS



Source: "Today and Tomorrow in Air Pollution," 1966 publication of Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

MORE STEAM POWER GENERATION... MORE AIR POLLUTION



Source: "Today and Tomorrow in Air Pollution," 1966 publication of Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The total 1965 budget for all these local administrative areas was about $14.3 million, of which $3.6 million was in federal grants-in-aid. This represented a sizable rise over the $2.6 million budgeted in 1952.

The largest single local agency budget was that of Los Angeles County—$3.7 million. Control agencies in California made up 38 percent of total 1965 local air pollution control budgets in the nation. The seven largest agencies made up 58 percent of the total local air pollution control budget for the nation.

While the towns and cities are now doing more about the problem than a decade ago, much of the larger urban areas still lack programs. There are manpower problems, both in funds available to hire personnel at adequate salaries and trained manpower. The U.S. Public Health Service estimates that at least a fourfold expansion of programs is required to do a reasonably good job in terms of money and staff.

Moreover, there is a lack of definition of the full range of pollutants to be monitored and controlled. There is less than adequate support by local officials for a sustained all-out air cleanup effort. As with the states, regulations are too permissive, enforcement is weak or lacking and long-range planning is neglected.

Thus the federal government, the states and the cities are making a tentative beginning to face up to the air pollution crisis in the United States.

President Johnson's air pollution message of 1967 contained legislative recommendations for strengthening the federal air pollution control program by means of the Air Quality Act of 1967, which was introduced by Senator Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine) and 20 co-sponsors of both parties.

This legislation would expand the federal air pollution control program to carry out the following:

1. Designate interstate industries which are nation-

ally significant contributors to air pollution and establish industry-wide emission levels, allowing the state to equal or exceed federal levels, but stepping in with a federal enforcement program where a state fails to do this.

2. Establish Regional Air Quality Commissions which cut across state lines and enforce pollution control in so-called regional air-sheds, where air characteristics and flow are generally consistent in pattern over a multi-state area.

The Secretary of HEW would not have to wait for states to move, but could designate interstate regions where control programs were needed and, after consultation with the states and localities involved, appoint a Commission composed of two persons from each state and a federal representative named by the Secretary.

The Commission would be responsible for setting safe air quality and emission levels and could enforce them by means of present statutory authority under the Clean Air Act.

3. State inspection of 1968 and later model vehicles with carburetor and exhaust control devices, by means of assistance from federal matching grants.

4. Improved enforcement procedures.

5. Mandatory registration of all fuel additives with the Secretary of HEW.

6. A broadened research program into emittants from motor vehicles, including diesel engines, alternative methods of motor vehicle propulsion, sulfur dioxide pollution and low-sulfur or sulfur-free substitutes. This program would raise authorized research funds from $12 million in fiscal 1967 to $18 million proposed for fiscal 1968. It proposes the program include direct activities by the federal government and contracts or grants-in-aid to private industry, universities and other groups.

7. The total financial resources proposed in the Muskie bill calls for an increase from the presently authorized $74 million in fiscal 1968 to $80 million for that year and such sums as may be determined by Congress for the following four fiscal years.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council last February called for stronger enforcement of the Clean Air Act. The AFL-CIO agreed with the President's proposal to establish federal air-shed commissions and empower the Secretary of HEW "to set air quality criteria over all sources of industrial pollutants released into the atmosphere, not merely those by automobile as provided by the present act."

By these means, it is possible to move in with federal, state and local programs to control poisoned air emitted from stationary sources, factories, power stations, oil refineries and the like.

The AFL-CIO policy statement had this to say on the problem of automobile combustion and air pollution:

"Expanded use of electric-powered vehicles would sharply reduce the largest and most rapidly-growing source of air pollution. Any federal program to develop an economically feasible electric-powered vehicle should provide public domain ownership of all federal patents and a searching assessment by a national commission, with labor representation, of the social and economic impact of a largescale changeover to the electric automobile."

In a recent statement to a special Senate joint committee considering legislation to authorize a federal research and development program for electric-powered vehicles, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller said:

". . . present control technology and that likely in the near future is not adequate to reduce the continually mounting load of contaminants emitted to the atmosphere from the automobile in its various forms. The sheer increase in numbers of cars, trucks and buses, even if equipped with all control devices required under the Clean Air Act, will inexorably add to the aggregate environmental burden of carbon monoxide, hydrocarbons and other harmful chemicals released into the air."

The electric car is not new. It was used years ago and some probably are operating in the form of commercial vehicles in most large cities.

The problem is to find an energy source, either a battery or fuel cell which operates on chemicals, which will enable faster pickup and higher speeds and allow the driver to cover 100 miles or more before recharging the battery at a station or exchanging it.

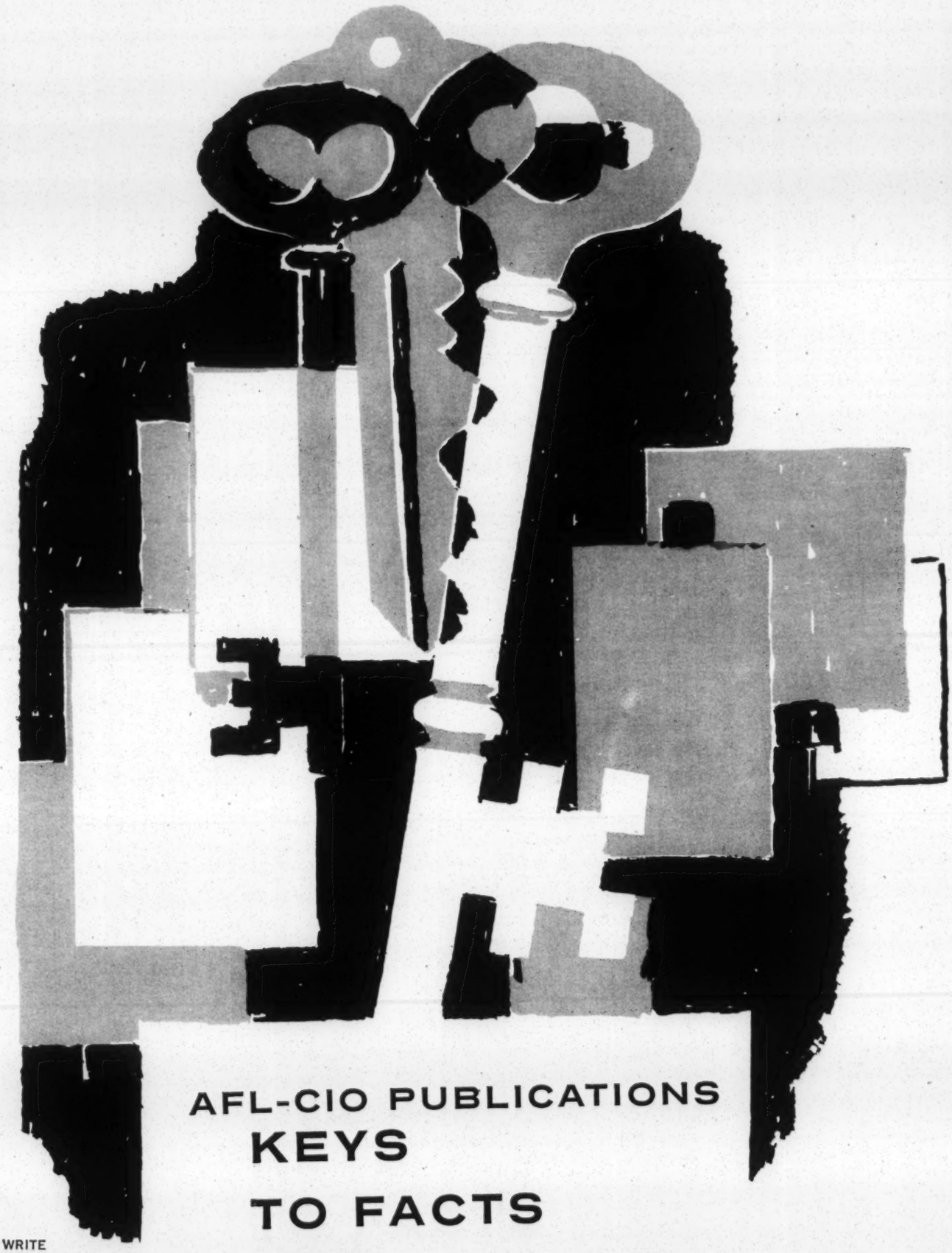
While industry is grudgingly accepting the disagreeable inevitability that there will be some kind of control over air pollution, it wants a major voice in setting the terms.

Industry wants federal activities restricted to research and development, and it seeks federal tax writeoffs as well as state and local financial incentives for air pollution control equipment. Such tax breaks and incentives are strongly opposed by organized labor.

Recently, the chairman of the board of Humble Oil Refining Company said to a meeting in Houston, Texas, that if industry did not voluntarily clean up its own mess ". . . in the near future our actions in this area will be spelled out by congressional legislation."

Uniform federal standards, equitably applied, would enable industries to become socially responsible and also to maintain their respective positions in the marketplace. This is what is provided for in the proposed Clean Air Act of 1967 now before Congress. Without such standards, industries would be enticed to relocate in a more lenient regulatory climate where, among other incentives, a relaxed attitude toward air pollution could be maintained by the state or local enforcement agency.

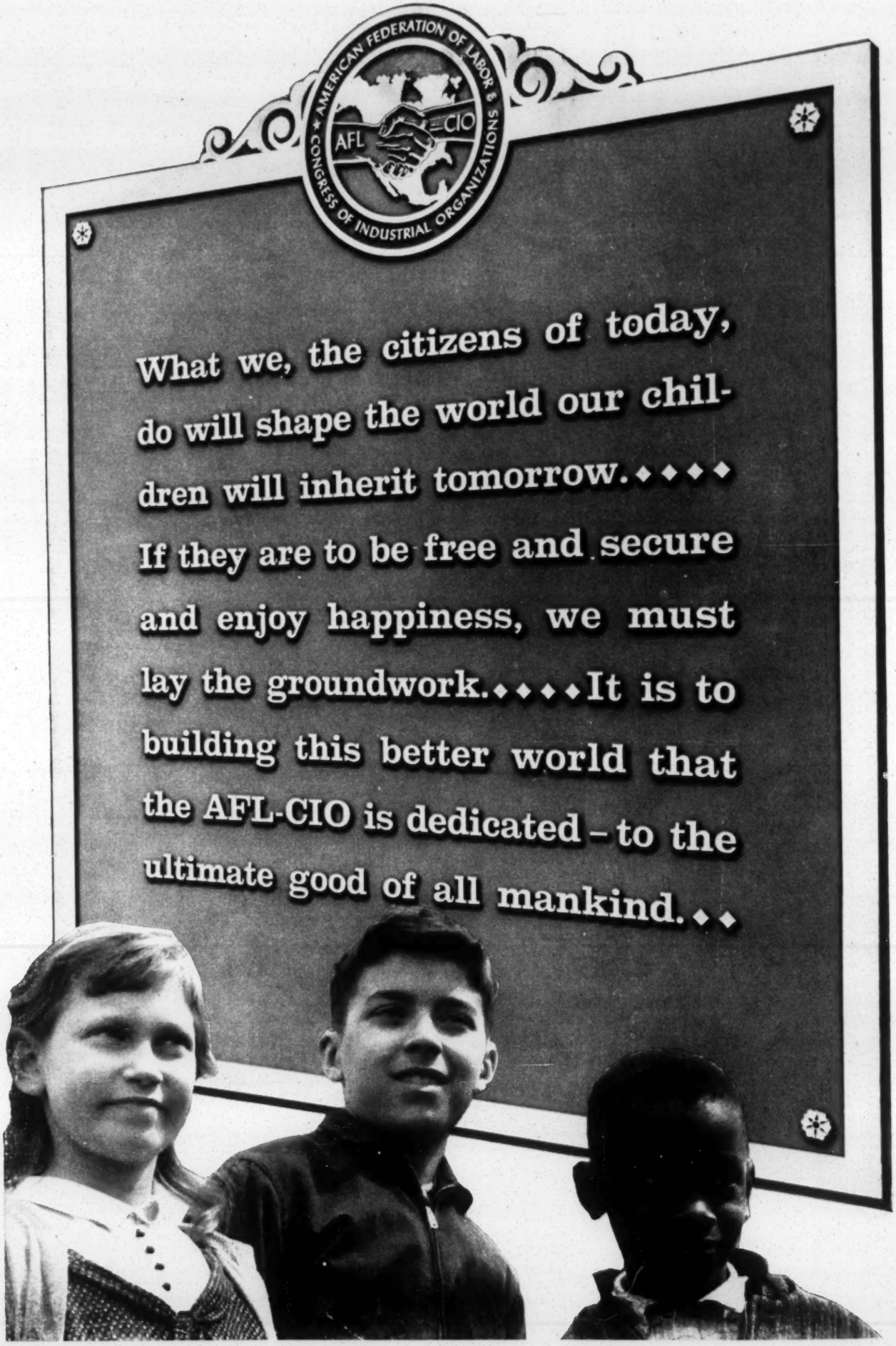
The battle lines are now being manned in the halls of Congress. But where the fight will be finally won or lost is in the cities, towns and villages of this nation, when the citizens have decided that they have had enough and, as President Johnson has said, ". . . through their elected representatives, demand the right to air that they and their children can breathe without fear."



AFL-CIO PUBLICATIONS

KEYS TO FACTS AND UNDERSTANDING

WRITE
PAMPHLET
DIVISION
AFL-CIO
DEPT. OF
PUBLICATIONS
815 16th ST., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.


AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL
CIO
What we, the citizens of today, do will shape the world our children will inherit tomorrow.◆◆◆◆ If they are to be free and secure and enjoy happiness, we must lay the groundwork.◆◆◆◆It is to building this better world that the AFL-CIO is dedicated – to the ultimate good of all mankind.◆◆

EVe Current Issues

SLOW-DOWN ON CAPITOL HILL

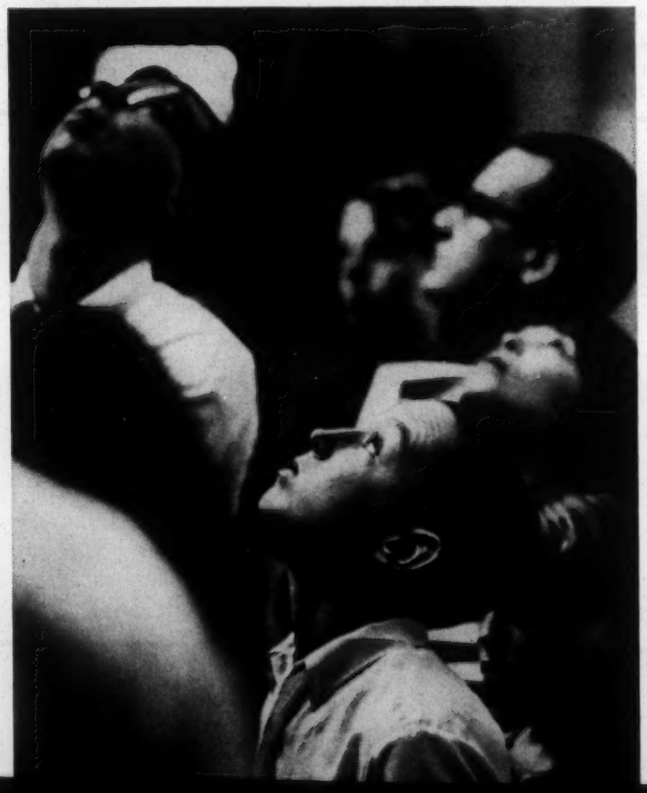
It's hard to be happy about the record of the 90th Congress—but hope springs eternal

By Richard McAlester

The first session of the 90th Congress arrived at its July 4 recess this year with little accomplished, less direction, and observers wondering if the remaining year and a half of its life would see any recollection of the Congressional glories of 1965 and 1966.

As the first half of its first session ended, the 90th was being called the "Cut-Back Congress." And there were those already convinced that it would be labeled as the most reactionary and least effective since the "Do-Nothing" Republican-controlled 80th. That was the one that managed to lose both the Presidency and the sympathy of the country for the GOP in the year when Thomas E. Dewey was a "sure thing" to beat Harry S Truman.

Visitors crane to observe the beauty of the Capitol Dome (opposite page).



There is still plenty of time for the political smog to lift from over Capitol Hill before the record of the 90th finally goes on display.

But, from the way it has started, it seems certain that the 90th Congress will be characterized by a grim determination of liberals to hang on to newly established social gains and by a happy romp of the re-established conservative Republican-Southern Democratic Congressional coalition.

The Congress convened on Jan. 11 with its members still largely in a state of shock from last November's elections. The Democrats were wondering what went wrong to cause them to lose a net of 47 seats in the House and three in the Senate. And the Republicans, while ecstatic at their emergence from the political wilderness, were far from united in their assessment of the causes of their victory.

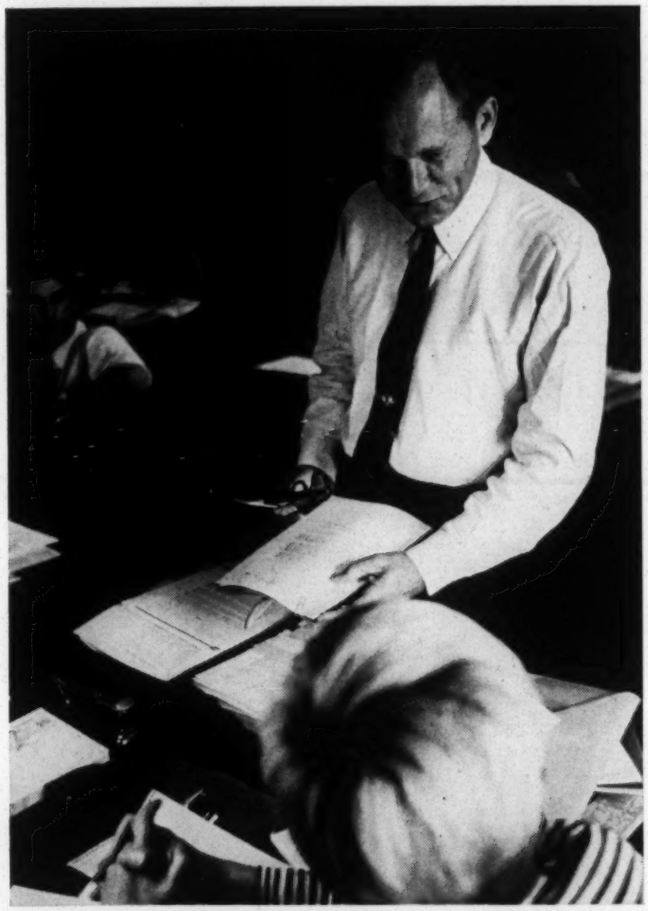
The feeling generally seemed to be that change was in the air and that prudent politicians had better take heed.

In the House, at least, panic quickly took hold—and Adam Clayton Powell was its first victim. The Democratic caucus of the House already had stripped him of his chairmanship of its Education and Labor Committee when the House met to consider a recom-

PAGINATION INCORRECT

mendation that he be censured and suffer other penalties for what it considered were objectionable activities.

But, by lopsided votes, the House disregarded the appeals of both party leaderships and refused to seat Powell. Many House members said they were voting in response to constituent wishes made clear in a blizzard of mail. The votes on the issue revealed that House leadership was ineffective. And they also



Shirt-sleeved Rep. Don Edwards (D. Calif.) talks about legislative problems with an aide.

revealed that Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans were perfectly willing to step into the gap.

On the key vote, 123 Democrats voted to exclude Powell from the 90th Congress. They were joined by 125 Republicans, while 117 Democrats and 59 Republicans voted against exclusion.

The merits of the decision—and the legal can of worms it opened—are still matters of considerable debate. But the mood of rebelliousness it established is still the overriding one as the House attempts to get on with the business before it. The surprise felt by those who watched rank and file members kick over the traces of legislative discipline has been replaced by an acknowledgment that—for now—a large portion of the House would rather duck than fight.

And this has resulted in a considerable shift in the thinking of those who had hoped to consolidate the domestic policy victories of the 89th Congress. Leaders of both parties had publicly, at least, assessed the lesson of the November elections as requiring Congress to "take another look" at such things as Medicare, care of the aged, urban revitalization, War on Poverty programs, and federal assistance to education. Instead, the House chopped blindly away at the model cities and rent supplements programs.

Murmurings of discontent have arisen about the "ineffective" methods of House Speaker John W. McCormack as he has sought to exercise control of the Democratic majority. And the grip of President Johnson has been as loose.

It was felt that the President's first major test would come when the House considered the 1967 edition of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The Republicans served notice early that they were going to put their own stamp on the infant federal programs of assistance to elementary education. The significance of the battle was heightened because President Johnson publicly has said he is prouder of this program than of any other enacted during his tenure in the White House.

Under the leadership of Representative Albert H. Quie of Minnesota, the GOP advanced a program that would have made a shambles of the federal education effort by removing any effective federal control over how federal assistance funds would be used by the states.

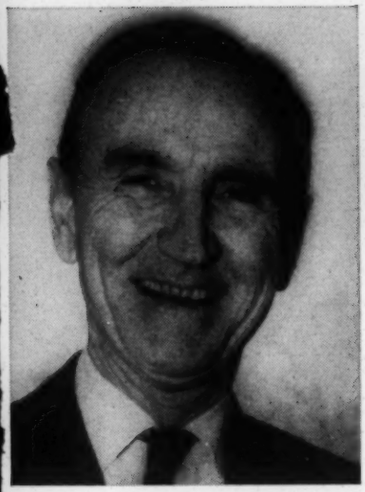
When the smoke of battle cleared, President Johnson had lost, the Democratic leadership had lost, Quie and the Republican leadership had lost, and Representative Edith Green of Oregon had emerged as the best Congressional scholar of all those who tried to learn the temperament of the House.

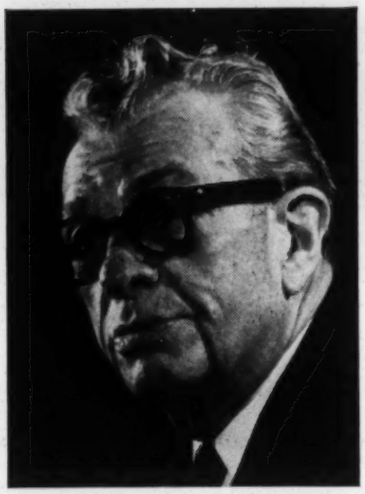
The White House shot Quie down in flames by trumpeting charges that his bill would take money from Catholic schools and that it was a blow against civil rights. There was evidence the White House was energetically using every method of persuasion available to it.

The Republicans discovered they had misread the willingness of education experts and state officials to go for their program—when it meant they would lose money. The GOP also found itself once again in the embrace of the Southern Democrats and wasn't too happy about that.

The Democratic House leadership delayed a vote on the education bill until, it thought, the time was ripe for passage of the White House version.

Then, Mrs. Green, just about single-handedly, put together a new version of the bill on the House floor that was embraced by the conservatives and carried by substantial majorities. Her measure would





Senate party leaders: Sen. Mike Mansfield (D. Mont.) and Sen. Everett Dirksen (R. Ill.).

wipe out or radically alter the character of some features of federal aid to education that are among the most deeply cherished by liberals and the Administration.

The defeat gave substance to liberal complaints that President Johnson's efforts on behalf of domestic social welfare legislation lack the concentration of previous years. White House attention, it is claimed, is focused on foreign policy, and this has caused a slackening of lobbying effort on behalf of domestic issues.

There are reports that the White House lobbying staff misses the guidance and sense of strategy once given it by Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien, now immersed in Post Office affairs. And several key members of a once crack Congressional affairs corps have moved on to other interests.

Meanwhile, the House Republicans find themselves in little better state. Republican Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford is still searching for a program that will unite liberal newcomers and conservative old-timers in his party. His difficulties are strikingly illustrated by his views on the advisability of accepting Southern Democratic support for Republican programs. He has said both that he welcomes everybody and that he doesn't want Southern help. Republican dissatisfaction has been expressed at both views.

So Mrs. Green has struck a note of independence that is highly welcome to dissatisfied members of both parties.

The Senate's basically liberal character was not affected as deeply by Republican election gains—but it is hardly "flaming" either.

Senate liberals tried at the opening of Congress to reopen the perennial battle to shut off filibusters. The ability to invoke cloture (end debate) is a key one, because the filibuster has been a traditional—and usually decisive—weapon in the hands of conservative Senators. In the 89th Congress, for all its liberalism, only one of seven attempts to end debate in the Senate was successful.

The present rule, adopted in 1959, calls for ending debate by a vote of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting. Liberals tried to change the rule this year so that three-fifths of those present and voting could end debate.

There were seven days of debate over the proposal to limit debate. In a complex set of parliamentary maneuvers, the liberals lost again. The key votes saw a total of 37 Senators for the proposed change.

Then the Senate, too, got entangled in a leadership dispute. The battle erupted over a proposal for federal financing of political campaigns. And it pitted Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield against his second in command, Majority Whip Russell B. Long. Senator Long fought a committee recommendation to suspend operation of a Long proposal that income tax money be made available for Presidential elections. Mansfield supported the committee.

In the end—which came after considerable debate—a "compromise" was worked out that defeated Long and effectively suspended the program. But not until an Administration-backed tax measure was put in serious jeopardy because it was the vehicle to which the election campaign measure was hitched.

Shirt-sleeved Rep. Roman C. Pucinski (D. Ill.) tries to keep up with a heavy correspondence.

Soon afterward, the Senate was caught up in the Dodd case, with Senator Long again a central figure. As Dodd's principal defender, Long helped tie up the Senate for more than a week when it met to consider a committee recommendation that Dodd be censured. And other Senate business had to wait despite the manifest impatience of other Senators.

The result of all of this in both House and Senate has been a considerable slow-down in the pace of Congressional business.

In the House, the increase in conservative strength

Business gets done at a quiet hearing in the House of Representatives Rayburn Office Building.

has resulted in abolishment of the 21-day rule. Adopted in 1965, this allowed the House to bypass the House Rules Committee, which frequently has bottled up progressive legislation.

Increased Republican strength in the House has added to Republican memberships on the committees that actually shape legislation. And Republican conservatives have found themselves even stronger because their new GOP brethren often replaced liberal Democrats defeated for reelection.

The difference in outlook this year can be dramatically seen in the fate of proposals to improve Social Security benefits.

President Johnson said in October of last year that these benefits should be increased by an average of at least 10 percent. On Jan. 23, he asked for an average increase of 20 percent in benefits. The Republicans too said early that they were for an increase in benefits.

And an authoritative observer of Congress said as Congress opened that sentiment had never been stronger for improvement of the Social Security structure.

As of this writing, Social Security measures still are grinding through committee and little is heard of them.

Civil rights measures have been just about written off.

And for the first time in living memory, the disunity in Congressional ranks is so great that the House rejected a proposal to raise the federal debt limit. Many consider the debt limit a purely symbolic figure in the light of modern governmental economics, but the shock that went through Washington made the defeat of that bill a significant addition to the difficulties facing the White House in Congress.

As July 4 approached, Republican leaders in the House were taking aim at the War on Poverty—and discovering anew their own problems. The thirst of the conservatives for the blood of the Office of Economic Opportunity drew the fire of some of the nation's most respected—and Republican—business leaders.

But it was expected that the Office would lose some of its programs. And OEO funds, as well as the financing of many new social progress programs were being trimmed both in the White House and the Congress below originally planned levels.

Even these relatively low levels face harsh treatment from Appropriations subcommittees on which conservatives have increased power.

All of these woes bulk large in assessments of Congressional actions to come.

But observers can point to some rays of hope and a victory or two in the continuing effort to uphold progressive programs and policies.

Long-time Senate conservative opposition to ratification of a consular treaty with the Soviet Union was overcome recently by a 66-28 roll call vote. Before the final vote, the Senate rejected six attempts to modify the ratification.

Efforts to keep alive the National Teacher Corps, a prime target of those who feel the federal government should ignore pressing educational needs in the country, seemed likely to be at least partially successful.

Republican efforts to impose a flat and regressive five percent cut on all government spending have been ineffective. At their first attempt, the Republicans lost a five percent proposal by a House vote of 168 to 217.

And in the field of labor relations, the House dramatically refused to accept a proposal that mandatory settlement of a railroad strike be imposed if negotiations fail.

Further afield, backers of progressive federal policies were heartened by the emergence in Congress of a new breed of liberal Republican. It is true that these are few and of little weight yet. But liberals hope the new GOP members can be encouraged to take over from the dinosaurs.

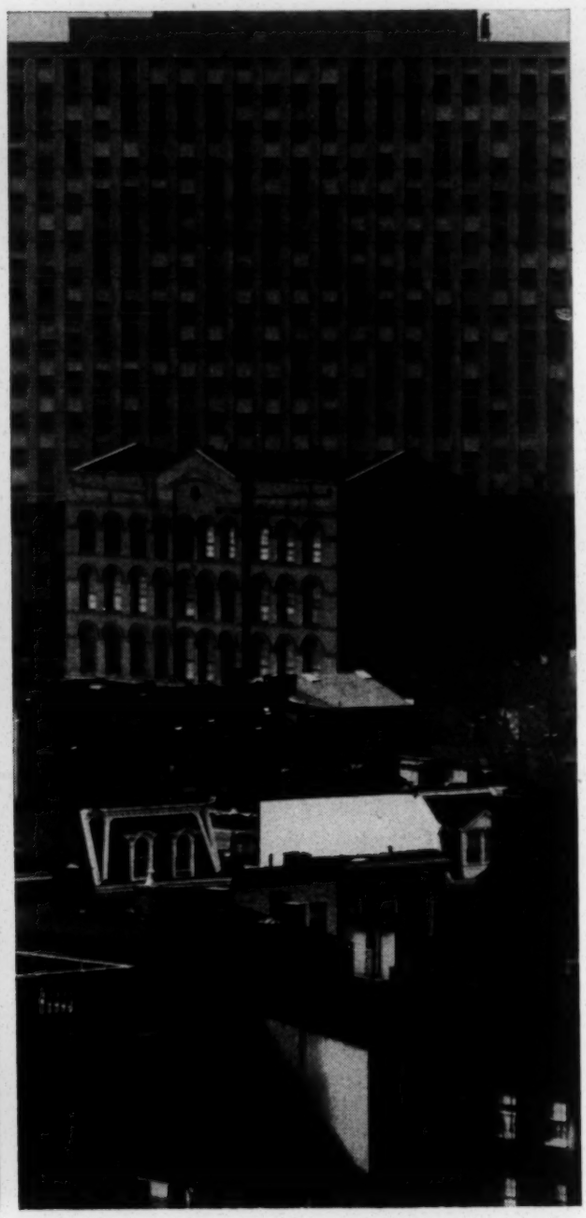
Also encouraging to liberals was President Johnson's decision to set up a commission to study the matter of guaranteed annual income. This decision, along with growing Congressional interest, is a significant breakthrough for a new and progressive social improvement program.

So, while a liberal Pollyanna would emphatically be out of place in Washington today, progressive observers feel the mood of official Washington is not a complete bar to progress.

On the practical side, they point out that every politician knows that public dissatisfaction is demonstrated at the polls—and the elections of 1968 are fast coming upon us.

Richard McAlester is the pseudonym of a Washington journalist.

EVc Current Issues



A MODERN TALE OF TWO CITIES

By Sam Zagoria
Member, National Labor Relations Board

During the past fiscal year I have been doing a great deal of traveling. I have been struck by the similarity of problems among the various cities. As a result, I can appreciate fully the urgency of President Johnson's call "that we focus all the techniques and talents within our society on the crisis of the American city."

A long time ago Aristotle said, "Men come together

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Sam Zagoria

in cities in order to live. They remain together to live the good life." Is it still the good life for the people of our cities?

Most cities, it seems to me, have two different tales to tell.

The first is readily apparent the moment your plane sets down—a modern, busy, prosperous airport; a speedy freeway into town; a line of new low manufacturing plants, research laboratories and industrial parks strung alongside, and off in the distance the towering skyscrapers, shining in metal and glass, bordered by cultural and recreational centers that are triumphs of design and taste. That's the city featured in the advertisements and in the civic booster speeches. The tale of this city is indeed well told.

But cities are people, too. And the tale of this second city is less told. This is the city of the sweaty porches, dark hallways, refuse-strewn yards and gutters, all crowded with people, often with too much time on their hands and little prospect of a better time ahead.

These are the cities of which has been written: "Cities choked with traffic. Millions of substandard dwellings. Rising crime and delinquency rates. Widespread social unrest. An environment becoming steadily more polluted. Vast, deteriorating commercial areas." The quotation, incidentally, is from the United States Chamber of Commerce.

The exodus to the suburbs of city residents seeking the good life is well recognized. However, now a second exodus from the city to the suburbs is beginning to take shape with potentially serious consequences for the people of the city.

As a recent Labor Department study puts it, one of the big problems in matching workers with jobs "is the movement of new jobs into the suburbs and out of large central cities. It is in these cities that unemployment, underemployment and poverty are greatest."

The study cites data on building permits indicating "the concentration of new factory and commercial buildings in the ring of metropolitan areas rather than in the central city." At the same time, "a relatively large proportion of community buildings, such as schools and hospitals, have been constructed in the suburbs instead of the city. These buildings represent a large capital investment, leading to substantial increases in suburban employment, especially in industry, retail and wholesale trade, and business, professional and technical services. Many of the jobs created are within the capabilities of the people who need employment opportunities, but most of the new jobs are too distant and difficult to reach."

This situation is leading to a curious traffic pattern in the morning rush hours—a criss-cross—as the white suburbanites (and they are mostly that) forsake their grass and trees and come to work in the tall, gleaming office buildings and retail emporiums, and as the downtown city residents travel the arduous route of car-pools and buses to do housework in suburban homes, and to man suburban shopping centers, warehouses and production plants. At evening, the criss-cross is reversed.

The results in the job market are becoming apparent.

Unemployment rates for Negro teen-age boys and girls, the ones just entering the world of work, range up to 25 and 30 percent. In some urban areas, unemployment generally has actually worsened at a time when the country is enjoying overall prosperity and when national unemployment has been chopped down to less than 4 percent.

A good part of the job exodus to the suburbs has been the result of a reasoned and rational decision by employers to improve their operations. In the old days they located in the cities because this is where rail, water and auto transportation was most accessible; where retail markets were close by, and where an adequate labor supply was on tap.

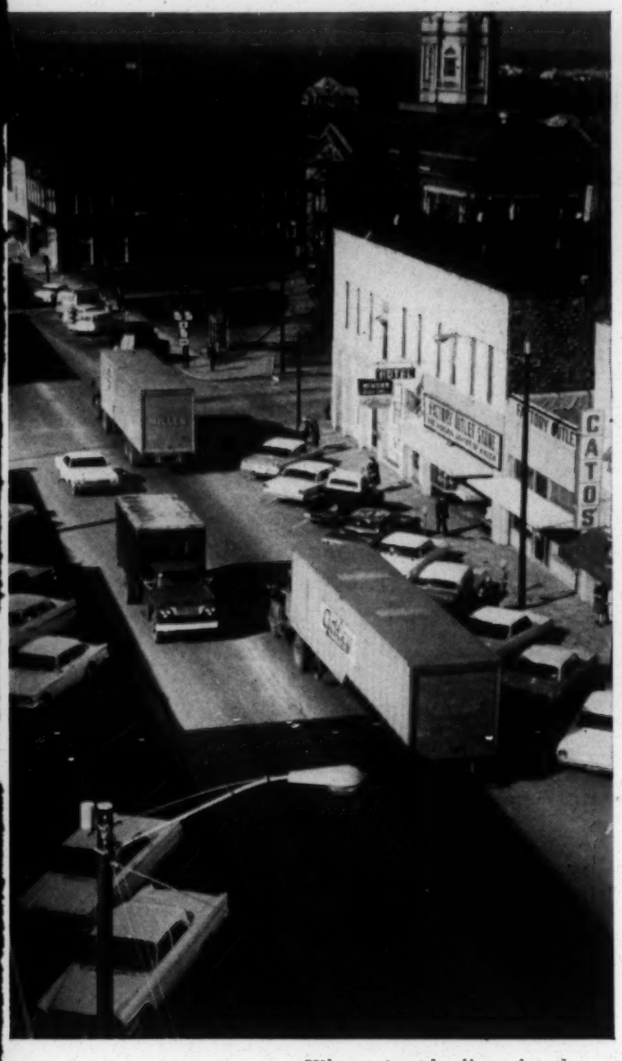
As cities grew, expansion became expensive because of zoning limitations and the generally high cost of land; operations were often burdened with high tax rates, inadequate parking space for employees and customers, community complaints of air and water pollution, losses from hoodlum lawlessness, and acute traffic congestion raising the costs of loading and unloading goods. At the same time, modern automation techniques, particularly the perfecting of the computer, made possible operations with fewer people.

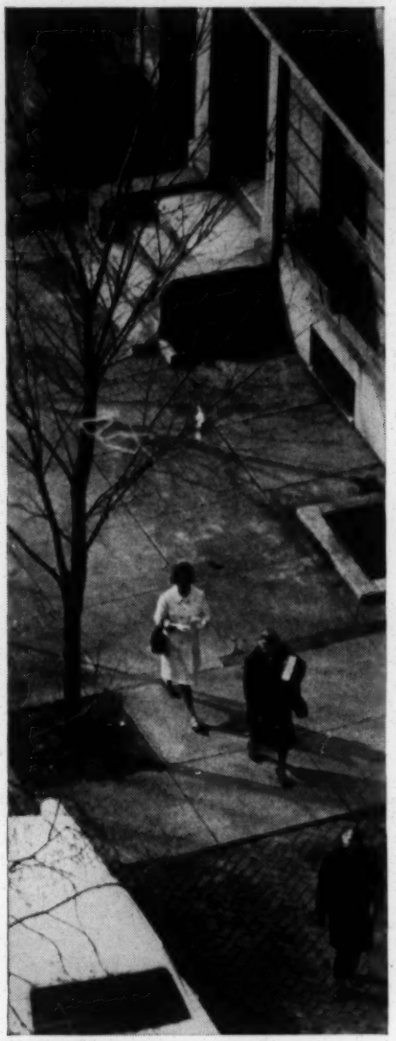
These factors, coming almost together, led the factory owner to consider locating where he could acquire sufficient land to permit a horizontal plant suitable for automation (as opposed to a vertical one which is usually not), with adequate space for parking of trucks and cars of employees and customers, and far enough away from neighbors to avert complaints of odors and fumes.

The fact that he would escape the problems of the city may also have weighed in his considerations. Sadly, there are too few citizens of the city in the Athenian sense.

What to do about this?

A century ago, some might have urged, "Let's stop automation. Let's wreck the computers." Today, we recognize that technology has to advance, that none of us has the right to stand in the way of progress.





Where people live: in the smaller towns being absorbed into metropolitan areas; in the better parts of the big city; and in the central city ghettos. Problem: linking jobs to people, regardless of where they live.

There are those who debate whether cybernation —computer-guided automation—is coming on fast or slow. For me, it is sufficient that the President's Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress already last year found "evidence of enough increase in the pace of technological and economic change that there is no ground for complacency. Our society has not met the challenge of technical progress with complete success. There is much to be done."

Parenthetically, I note that the august Wall Street Journal covered one poor working girl's plans to stay ahead of the trend. A few months ago it reported that "the Queen of the Tassels, a Portland, Oregon, exotic dancer who figures the bumps will eventually grind her down, begins retraining as a computer programmer."

The Commission, which included, incidentally, several members of the IUD—Mr. Reuther of the Auto Workers, Mr. Hayes of the Machinists, and Mr. Beirne of the Communications Workers—as well as leaders of industry, education and government, laid down four guidelines for a worker adjustment program to provide for the change involved in cybernation.

They were:

"*First*, those displaced should be offered either a substantially equivalent or better alternative job or the training or education required to obtain such a job. This objective cannot be achieved unless displaced workers have access to the full range of available alternatives.

"*Second*, they should be guaranteed adequate financial security while searching for alternative jobs or while undertaking training.

"*Third*, they should be given sufficient financial assistance to permit them to relocate their families whenever this becomes necessary.

"*Fourth*, they should be protected against forfeiture of earned security rights, such as vacation, retirement, insurance, and related credits, resulting from job displacements."

This side of paradise: kids in a city housing authority skyscraper.

The Commission emphasized the value of advance notice as an "early warning system" so that employers and employees can prepare for change. These recommendations I heartily endorse as essential to a smooth changeover.

The national commission, in its comprehensive report, also recommended "a program of public service employment, providing, in effect, that the Government be an employer of last resort, providing work for the work for the 'hard-core unemployed' in useful community enterprises."

At the risk of being presumptuous, this is one of those situations where I concur in the result, but I would have put it differently.

Let me start this way: Despite the high unemployment rates in certain parts of the city, there's no shortage of jobs to be done.

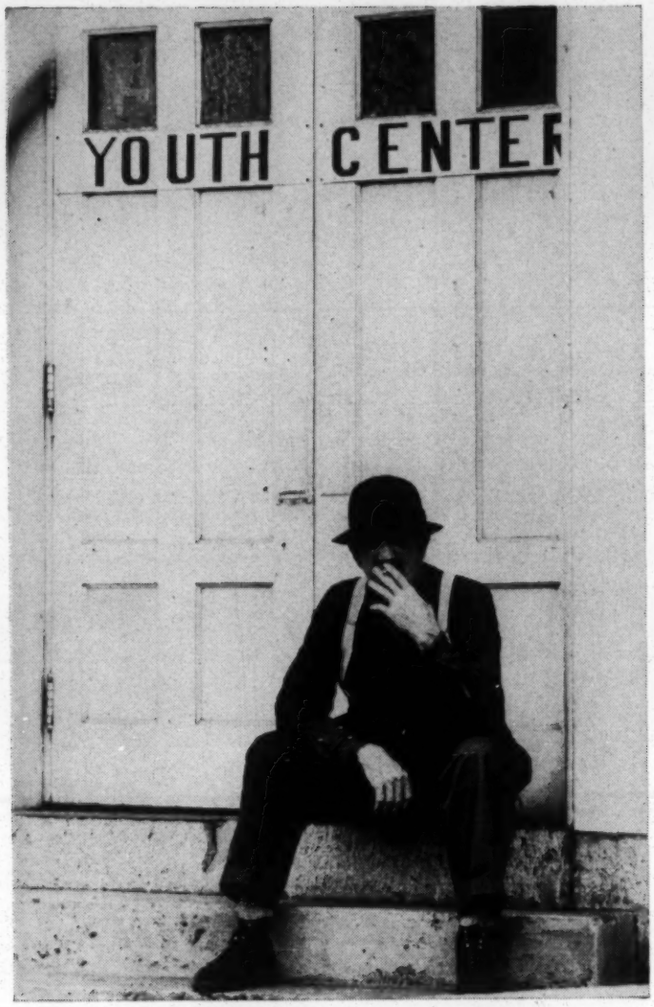
All we have to do is look. For years, commuters have roared along through the city past daily scenes of despair and degradation, but they have turned themselves off, as some of our collegiate friends would put it. They have not walked down the street of a slum neighborhood or visited the home of a deprived Negro or Puerto Rican.

True, they have been generous with the Community Chest, in giving old clothes and in accumulating newspapers for the Salvation Army, but they have not been involved.

Perhaps they have recognized that the new messenger in the office really can't read, but solved this by replacing him. Perhaps they have suffered with the gas station attendant who really can't make change, but they worried little about whether his mistake will come out of his weekly pay check.

We need to pull up the venetian blinds and look out of those shiny office windows at the ugliness of the city. If we do, then we will confront the problem of the central city directly.

Our questions should be: What does the city need to become great again? What is necessary to renew the environment? What will it take in manpower, in funds?



This side of paradise: not enough jobs for youngsters, not enough jobs for oldsters.

This inventory, this taking stock, is the first step. Then we will need to harness private enterprise and its partners, labor and management, with government.

All three groups have been generous in financing the construction of museums, universities, stadiums, theatres and other essentials of an advanced civilization, but all three also need to focus on people and services—the need to staff the hospitals, expand the schools, clean the parks, streets and alleys, train the illiterate, upgrade the dropout, rehabilitate the criminal, to cite a few examples.

Government need not, necessarily, be the prime mover—there is plenty of room for the initiative and efforts of leaders in labor and management as well. The IUD community organizations have been a step in this direction.

The new Presidential committee of leaders of labor, business and others expert in urban affairs, to study how private resources can best be mobilized to wipe out city slums is another initiative. The commission includes George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, Joseph Keenan of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers.

Those business enterprises whose success relies on their crowd-generating ability—entertainment, retail sales, public transportation and parking, for example, have a particular stake in the saving of the city, and the owners of downtown real estate no less. And lest suburban interests forget, the city is the heartblood of the metropolitan area.

We need to regain pride in the city. Some of you here are old enough to recall a brand of beer—Feigan-span P.O.N. You know what the P.O.N. stood for? Pride of Newark. It's not being brewed any more.

There are jobs to be done, man-worthy jobs, to borrow a phrase from Paul Goodman, the social critic. And these jobs are not just limited to the unemployables, for this rehabilitation of the ignored city requires many skills and much training, much of it becoming available as cybernation necessarily grows and spreads. This is a reservoir of employment from which to draw to meet city needs.

Given a chance at useful public service, these people will not only help their city, but also become people of consequence in their own eyes. But to call government an "employer of last resort" is to demean working for the government. These are necessary and useful jobs, ones which urgently need doing. Indeed if they are not done, historians will be writing about the decline and fall of many cities.

One note of warning: These jobs should be accompanied by decent wages. There is something hypocritical about striving mightily to save and ease pain-ridden lives in the hospitals, but accomplishing this frequently by the sweat sacrifice of underpaid hospital help.

The same applies when our school teachers emphasize the value and importance of education to their students, then often have to sack groceries at a supermarket after school in order to support families.

What we need is involvement. Justice Felix Frankfurter put it very well, in these words: "People want to avoid unpleasantness. Life is hard enough even if you've got a bank account. Life is hard enough as it is, why take on something extra? 'Why go out on a limb?' as the phrase runs. 'Why stick your neck out?' —that other lovable invitation to do nothing!"

Escape to the suburbs and shutting out the city's problems takes only a few minutes by car, but how will we be rated by those who feel as Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes did:

"Life is action and passion. I think it is required of a man that he should share the action and passion of his time at peril of being judged not to have lived."

At the Board I have been taught to take due notice of the Supreme Court's every word. I urge you all to join in heeding these.

This article is based on a speech by Sam Zagoria to the IUD Conference in Washington June 28. Mr. Zagoria, a former newsman and assistant to Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey, was appointed to the NLRB by President Johnson.

Current Issues

MAN MUST MAKE MAIN BUSINESS LIFE, NOT DEATH

THE CHARLESTON GAZETTE

THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 1969

The following is from an extemporaneous speech delivered before an assemblage of scientists, students and others at Massachusetts Institute of Technology March 4 by George Wald, professor of biology at Harvard and Nobel Prize winner. Prof. Wald's talk was entitled "A Generation in Search of a Future."

By George Wald
Nobel Laureate

All of you know that in the last couple of years there has been student unrest, breaking at times into violence, in many parts of the world: in England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Mexico, Japan, and needless to say, many parts of this country. There has been a great deal of discussion as to what it all means. Perfectly clearly, it means something different in Mexico from what it does in France, and something different in France from what it does in Tokyo, and something different in Tokyo from what it does in this country, Yet, unless we are to assume that students have gone crazy all over the world, or that they have just decided that it's the thing to do, it must have some common meaning.

I don't need to go so far afield to look for that meaning. I am a teacher, and at Harvard I have a class of about 350 students -- men and women -- most of them freshmen and sophomores. Over these past few years, I have felt increasingly that something is terribly wrong -- and this year ever so much more than last. Something has gone sour, in teaching and in learning. It's almost as though there were a widespread feeling that education has become irrelevant.

A lecture is much more of a dialogue than many of you probably realize. As you lecture, you keep watching the faces, and information keeps coming back to you all the time. I began to feel, particularly this year, that I was missing much of what was coming back. I tried asking the students, but they didn't or couldn't help me very much.

But I think I know what's the matter. I think that this whole generation of students is beset with a profound uneasiness, and I don't think that they have yet quite defined its source. I think I understand the reasons for their uneasiness even better than they do. What is more, I share their uneasiness.

What's bothering those students? Some of them tell you it's the Vietnam War. I think the Vietnam War is the most shameful episode in the whole of American history. The concept of war crimes is an American invention. We've committed many war crimes in Vietnam -- but I'll tell you something interesting about that. We were committing war crimes in World War II: before the Nuremburg trials were held and the principle of war crimes was stated. The saturation bombing of German cities was a war crime. Dropping those atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a war crime. If we had lost the war, it might have been our leaders who had to answer for such actions. I've gone through all that history lately, and I find that there's a gimmick in it.

It isn't written out, but I think we established it by precedent. That gimmick is that if one can allege that one is repelling or retaliating for an aggression, after that everything goes.

And, you see, we are living in a world in which all wars are wars of defense. All war departments are not defense departments. This is all part of the doubletalk of our time. The aggressor is always on the other side. I suppose this is why our ex-Secretary of State Dean Rusk went to such pains to insist, as he still insists, that in Vietnam we are repelling an aggression. And if that's what we are doing -- so runs the doctrine -- everything goes. If the concept of war crimes is ever to mean anything, they will have to be defined as categories of acts, regardless of alleged provocation. But that isn't so now.

I think we've lost that war, as a lot of other people think, too. The Vietnamese have a secret weapon. It's their willingness to die beyond our willingness to kill. In effect, they've been saying, You can kill us, but you'll have to kill a lot of us, you may have to kill all of us. And, thank heaven, we are not yet ready to do that.

Yet we have come a long way toward it -- far enough to sicken many Americans, far enough to sicken even our fighting men. Far enough so that our national symbols have gone sour. How many of you can sing about "the rockets red glare, the bombs bursting in air" without thinking, those are our bombs and our rockets, bursting over South Vietnamese villages? When those words were written, we were a people struggling for freedom against oppression. Now we are supporting open or thinly disguised military dictatorships all over the world, helping them to control and repress peoples struggling for their freedom.

But that Vietnam war, shameful and terrible as it is, seems to me only an immediate incident in a much larger and more stubborn situation.

* * * *

PART OF MY trouble with students is that almost all the students I teach were born after World War II. Just after World War II, a series of new and abnormal procedures came into American life. We regarded them at the time as temporary aberrations. We though we would get back to normal American life someday.

But those procedures have stayed with us now for more than 20 years, and those students of mine have never known anything else. They think those things are normal. They think that we've always had a Pentagon, that we have always had a big army, and that we have always had a draft. But those are all new things in American life, and I think that they are incompatible with what America meant before.

How many of you realize that just before World War II the entire American Army, including the Air Corps, numbered 139,000 men? Then World War II started, but we weren't yet in it, and, seeing that there was great trouble in the world, we doubled this army to 268,000 men. Then, in World War II, it got to be eight million. And then World War II came to an end and we prepared to go back to a peacetime army, somewhat as the American Army had always been before. And, indeed, in 1950 -- you think about 1950, our international commitments, the cold war,

the Truman Doctrine, and all the rest of it -- in 1950, we got down to 600,000 men.

Now we have three and a half million men under arms; about 600,000 in Vietnam, about 300,000 more in 'support areas' elsewhere in the Pacific, about 250,000 in Germany. And there are a lot at home. Some months ago; we were told that 300,000 National Guardsmen and 200,000 reservists -- so half a million men -- had been specially trained for riot duty in the cities.

I say the Vietnam war is just an immediate incident because as long as we keep that big an army, it will always find things to do. If the Vietnam war stopped tomorrow, the chances are that with that big a military establishment we would be in another such adventure, abroad or at home before you knew it.

The thing to do about the draft is not to reform it but to get rid of it.

A peacetime draft is the most un-American thing I know. All the time I was growing up, I was told about oppressive central European countries and Russia, where young men were forced into the army, and I was told what they did about it. They chopped off a finger, or shot off a couple of toes, or, better still, if they could manage it, they came to this country. And we understood that, and sympathized, and were glad to welcome them.

Now, by present estimates, from 4,000 to 6,000 Americans of draft age have left this country for Canada, 2,000 or 3,000 more have gone to Europe, and it looks as though many more were preparing to emigrate.

A bill to stop the draft was recently introduced in the Senate (S. 503), sponsored by a group of senators that runs the gamut from McGovern and Hatfield to Barry Goldwater. I hope it goes through. But I think that when we get rid of the draft we must also drastically cut back the size of the armed forces.

YET THERE IS something ever so much bigger and more important than the draft. That bigger thing, of course, is the militarization of our country. Ex-president Eisenhower, in his farewell address, warned us of what he called the military-industrial complex. I am sad to say that we must begin to think of it now as the military-industrial-labor union complex. What happened under the plea of the cold war was not alone that we built up the first big peacetime Army in our history but that we institutionalized it. We built, I suppose, the biggest government building in our history to run it, and we institutionalized it.

I don't think we can live with the present military establishment, and its $80 billion-a-year budget, and keep America anything like the America we have known in the past. It is corrupting the life of the whole country. It is buying up everything in sight: industries, banks, investors, scientists -- and lately it seems also to have bought up the labor unions.

The Defense Department is always broke, but some of the things it does with that $80 billion a year would make Buck Rogers envious. For example, the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, on the outskirts of Denver, was manufacturing a deadly nerve poison on such a scale that there was a problem of waste disposal. Nothing daunted, the people there dug a tunnel two miles deep under Denver, into which they have injected so much poisoned water that, beginning a couple of years ago,

Denver experienced a series of earth tremors of increasing severity. Now there is grave fear of a major earthquake. An interesting debate is in progress as to whether Denver will be safer if that lake of poisoned water is removed or is left in place.

Perhaps you have read also of those 6,000 sheep that suddenly died in Skull Valley, Utah, killed by another nerve poison -- a strange and, I believe, still unexplained accident, since the nearest testing seems to have been 30 miles away.

As for Vietnam, the expenditure of firepower there has been frightening. Some of you may still remember Khe Sanh, a hamlet just south of the demilitarized zone, where a force of United State Marines was beleaguered for a time. During that period, we dropped on the perimeter of Khe Sanh more explosives than fell on Japan throughout World War II, and more than fell on the whole of Europe during the years 1942 and 1943.

One of the officers there was quoted as having said afterward, "It looks like the world caught smallpox and died."

* * * *

THE ONLY POINT of government is to safeguard and foster life. Our government has become preoccupied with death, with the business of killing and being killed. So-called defense now absorbs 60 per cent of the national budget, and about 12 per cent of the Gross National Product.

A lively debate is beginning again on whether or not we should deploy antiballistic missles, the ABM. I don't have to talk about them -- everyone else here is doing that. But I should like to mention a curious circumstance. In September, 1967, or about a year and a half ago, we had a meeting of MIT and Harvard people, including experts on these matters, to talk about whether anything could be done to block the Sentinel system -- the deployment of ABMs. Everyone present thought them undesirable, but a few of the most knowledgeable persons took what seemed to be the practical view: "Why fight about a dead issue? It has been decided; the funds have been appropriated. Let's go on from there."

Well fortunately, it's not a dead issue. An ABM is a nuclear weapon. It takes a nuclear weapon to stop a nuclear weapon. And our concern must be with the whole issue of nuclear weapons.

There is an entire semantics ready to deal with the sort of thing I am about to say. It involves such phrases as "Those are the facts of life." No -- these are the facts of death. I don't accept them, and I advise you not to accept them. We are under repeated pressure to accept things that are presented to us as settled -- decisions that have been made. Always there is the thought: Let's go on from there. But this time we don't see how to go on. We will have to stick with these issues.

We are told that the United States and Russia, between them, by now have stockpiled nuclear weapons of approximately the explosive power of 15 tones of TNT for every man, woman, and child on earth. And now it is suggested that we must make more. All very regrettable, of course, but "those are the facts of life." We really would like to disarm, but our new secretary of defense has

made the ingenious proposal that now is the time to greatly increase our nuclear armaments, so that we can disarm from a position of strength.

I think all of you know there is no adequate defense against massive nuclear attack. It is both easier and cheaper to circumvent any known nuclear-defense system than to provide it. It's all pretty crazy. At the very moment we talk of deploying ABMs, we are also building the MIRV, the weapon to circumvent ABMs.

As far as I know, the most conservative estimates of the number of Americans who would be killed in a major nuclear attack, with everything working as well as can be hoped and all foreseeable precautions taken, run to about 50 million. We have become callous to gruesome statistics, and this seems at first to be only another gruesome statistic. You think, bang! -- and next morning, if you're still there, you read in the newspaper that 50 million people were killed.

But that isn't the way it happens. When we killed close to 200,000 people with those first, little, old-fashioned uranium bombs that we dropped on Hiroshima and Nagaski, about the same number of persons were maimed, blinded, burned, poisoned, and otherwise doomed. A lot of them took a long time to die.

That's the way it would be. Not a bang and a certain number of corpses to bury but a nation filled with millions of helpless, maimed, tortured, and doomed persons, and the survivors huddled with their families in shelters, with guns ready to fight off their neighbors trying to get some uncontaminated food and water.

* * * * *

A FEW MONTHS AGO, Sen. Richard Russell, of Georgia, ended a speech in the Senate with the words "If we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, I want them to be Americans; and I want them on this continent and not in Europe." That was a United States senator making a patriotic speech. Well, here is a Nobel laureate who thinks that those words are criminally insane.

How real is the threat of full-scale nuclear war? I have my own very inexpert idea, but, realizing how little I know, and fearful that I may be a little paranoid on the subject, I take every opportunity to ask reputed experts. I asked that question of a distinguished professor of government at Harvard about a month ago. I asked him what sort of odds he would lay on the possibility of full-scale nuclear war within the foreseeable future. "Oh," he said comfortably, "I think I can give you a pretty good answer to that question. I estimate the probability of full-scale nuclear war, provided that the situation remains about as it is not, at 2 per cent per year." Anyboy can do the simple calculation that shows the 2 per cent per year means that the chance of having that full-scale nuclear war by 1990 is about 1 in 3, and by 2000 it is about 50-50.

I think I know what is bothering the students. I think that what we are up against is a generation that is by no means sure that it has a future.

I am growing old, and my future, so to speak, is already behind me. But there are those students of mine, who are in my mind always; and there are my children, the youngest of them now seven and nine, whose future is infinitely more precious to me than my own. So it isn't just their generation; it's mine, too. We're all in it together.

Are we to have a chance to live? We don't ask for prosperity, or security. Only for a reasonable chance to live, to work out our destiny in peace and decency. Not to go down in history as the apocalyptic generation.

And it isn't only nuclear war. Another overwhelming threat is in the population explosion. That has not yet even begun to come under control. There is every indication that the world population will double before the year 2000, and there is a widespread expectation of famine on an unprecedented scale in many parts of the world. Their experts tend to differ only in their estimates of when those famines will begin. Some think by 1980; others think they can be staved off until 1990; very few expect that they will not occur by the year 2000.

That is the problem. Unless we can be surer than we now are that this generation has a future, nothing else matters. It's not good enough to give it tender, loving care, to supply it with breakfast foods, to buy it expensive educations. Those things don't mean anything unless this generation has a future. And we're not sure that it does.

I don't think that there are problems of youth, or student problems. All the real problems I know about are grownup problems.

PERHAPS YOU will think me altogether absurd, or 'academic,' or hopelessly innocent -- that is, until you think of the alternatives -- if I say, as I do to you now: "We have to get rid of those nuclear weapons. There is nothing worth having that can be obtained by nuclear war -- nothing material or ideological -- no tradition that it can defend. It is utterly self-defeating. Those atomic bombs represent an unusable weapon. The only use for an atomic bomb is to keep somebody else from using one. It can give us no protection -- only the doubtful satisfaction of retaliation. Nuclear weapons offer us nothing but a balance of terror, and a balance of terror is still terror.

We have to get rid of those atomic weapons, here and everywhere. We cannot live with them.

I think we've reached a point of great decision, not just for our nation, not only for all humanity, but for life upon the earth. I tell my students, with a feeling of pride that I hope they will share, that the carbon, nitrogen, and oxygen that make up 99 per cent of our living substance were cooked in the deep interiors of earlier generations of dying stars. Gathered up from the ends of the universe, over billions of years, eventually they came to form, in part, the substance of our sun, its planets, and ourselves. Three billion years ago, life arose upon the earth. It is the only life in the solar system.

About two million years ago, man appeared. He has become the dominant species on the earth. All other living things, animal and plant, live by his sufferance. He is the custodian of life on earth, and in the solar system. It's a bit responsibility.

The thought that we're in competition with Russians or with Chinese is all a mistake, and trivial. We are one species, with a world to win. There's life all over this universe, but the only life in the solar system is on earth, and in the whole universe we are the only man.

Our business is with life, not death. Our challenge is to give what account we can of what becomes of life in the solar system, this corner of the universe that is our home, and most of all, what becomes of men -- all men, of all nations, colors, and creeds. This has become one world, a world for all men. It is only such a world that can now offer us life, and the chance to go on.

Current Issues

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
BAYARD RUSTIN, Chairman Executive Committee
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 phone **667-1780** • New York address: 55 West 42nd St., New York 10036, phone 564-3450

MEMO: No. 11-69
July 9, 1969

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A BLOW TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: AND ONE TO VOTING RIGHTS

By now you know that despite vigorous protests from many national organizations and the objections of Republican and Democratic liberals in Congress, the Administration has issued a policy statement on school desegregation that threatens to reverse the progress of the last five years.

We shall send you shortly the text of the statement and an analysis of it. At this moment it is enough to say the mere issuance of this reinterpretation of the government's school desegregation guidelines, after those guidelines have been affirmed by court decision, is a fateful compromise.

The decision to ease up on the requirement that, generally all school districts must desegregate by the start of the 1969-70 school year or face a cutoff of Federal funds is an open invitation to many Southern school officials -- and Southern politicians -- to start pressuring the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to go easy on them.

The Justice Department and HEW officials say only a few school districts will be given extensions. But these few districts are among the holdouts, the diehard, last-ditch fighters for segregation. To treat them leniently, 15 years after the Supreme Court school decision is bound to have harmful repercussions in districts that have already complied. Southern school officials who have carried out desegregation programs in good faith may face hostility in their communities because they sought to comply with the law.

The statement plays politics with constitutional rights. The immediate, informal reaction to it from various Leadership Conference officials who were called by the press was indignation. All of us should voice our protests against this shabby compromise. But more than protest is needed. The Leadership Conference must now consider ways of keeping the school desegregation program from being wiped out. We are addressing ourselves to matters of strategy and hope to have something to report in our next MEMO.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN SOCIAL ACTION TEAM
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES — NATIONAL WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARKET DEVELOPERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
POALE ZION
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
USCC DIVISION FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

A VOTING RIGHTS BILL THAT WEAKENS VOTING RIGHTS

Attorney General John Mitchell had the unenviable task of facing critical members of the House Judiciary Committee at two hearings and defending the Administration's new Voting Rights Act proposals.

The Committee is considering a bill (H.R. 4249), cosponsored by its leading Republican and Democratic members, that would simply extend for another five years key provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, now scheduled to expire on August 6, 1970. The Act had the effect of banning literacy tests in 7 Southern states. The benefits have been dramatic. Some 800,000 Negro voters have been registered since the passage of the law. Nearly 400 Negro officials have been elected in the South since 1965. The simple extension would preserve the conditions that have made such progress possible.

Strengthening That Is Weakening

Announcing it was his intention to greatly strengthen and extend the law, Mr. Mitchell offered proposals that would appear to weaken it. He proposed first, that the ban on literacy tests be extended nationwide to all the states that have such tests, even the 13 that have never used their tests to bar voters because of race. Although the Leadership Conference supports in principle the complete elimination of literacy tests, this proposal at this time would embroil voting legislation in controversy.

The Administration also proposes abandoning the present requirement that states covered by the Act must clear new voting laws and practices with the Attorney General or the District Court of the District of Columbia before putting them into effect. That would permit these states to pass any election laws they want and leave it to the Attorney General to come in and see how they work and if they appear discriminatory try to prove that in Southern Courts. It would shift the burden of proof from states now required to justify such changes, to the Department of Justice.

Mr. Mitchell is also ready to scrap the section of the Voting Rights Act that exempts Puerto Ricans, literate in Spanish, from having to submit to English literacy tests.

His proposal to ban state residency requirements for Presidential elections, while a desirable reform, raised, in the opinion of one Republican Committee member, grave constitutional questions.

The Attorney General Under Attack

The Administration proposals ran into heavy criticism. Clarence Mitchell, Legislative Chairman of the Leadership Conference, called the Attorney General's proposals "an apple of discord" thrown into the Congressional arena at a time when it will be hard enough to get a five-year extension through.

Rep. William McCulloch of Ohio, the ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee, said the "administration bill is actually a weaker bill. It also jeopardizes the chances of passage of voting rights legislation." He said its proposals to extend the ban on literacy tests to states where such tests have never been used discriminatorily and to scrap the review of Southern election laws, "creates a remedy for which there is no wrong and leaves grievous wrongs without adequate remedy." He said, "I ask you, what kind of civil rights bill is that?"

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, called the Administration bill an "apple of Sodom." He likened it to the apple that grows beside the Dead Sea and has the appearance of being a delicious fruit until it is plucked, when it turns to dust and ashes in the hand. "Your proposal," he told the Attorney General, "will disappoint and deceive like the apple of Sodom."

The Legislative Situation

Mr. Celler suggested that the legislation be handled in two stages: the five year extension should be expedited and the Administration's proposals should be considered separately.

By the time this MEMO reaches you, his committee will probably be at work on the extension bill. Considering the strong bipartisan support it has, it should have no trouble there and may be reported out within the next few weeks.

A Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, under Senator Sam Ervin (D., N.C.), starts hearings this week on Voting Rights legislation. Clarence Mitchell and the Attorney General are both scheduled to testify.

What We Must Do

By resolutions, letters, approaches to members of Congress, the organizations of the Leadership Conference must begin now to offset any attempt to set back the Voting Rights Act. The simple five year extension is obtainable if we muster the support for it. We must do that now. Urge members of Congress to work for quick passage of H.R. 4249.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN FOOD STAMPS, WELFARE, FAIR HOUSING

There were new developments within the last two weeks involving three legislative matters of great concern to the Leadership Conference:

1. Food Stamps: The Senate is expected to take up shortly a food stamp bill approved by its Agriculture Committee that would improve the program in several aspects but falls short of allowing free stamps for the neediest families. The bill, among other things, would: raise the fiscal 1970 authorization to $750 million and authorize $1.5 billion a year in fiscal 1971 and 1972 and permit unused funds to be carried over the first two years; permit the Secretary of Agriculture to run Federal food stamp programs in counties that refuse to feed their poor; allow him to set uniform national eligibility standards.

A free stamp amendment will be offered on the Senate floor, probably by Senator George S. McGovern (D., S.C.). His amendment would give free stamps to a family of four with an income of $80 or less a month. Such an amendment would very likely touch off a floor fight - one we can win if there is strong coalition

support for the proposal. The food stamp bill is expected to follow the ABM debate in the Senate and may not be reached before the end of this month.

2. Welfare Freeze Lifted: The iniquitous "freeze" on the number of children eligible for assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program has been repealed. This happy development came after the Senate added to a bill to make permanent the existing temporary suspension of duty on crude chicory roots, an amendment that repealed the freeze, scheduled to take effect by midnight of this June 30; and after the House on the afternoon of June 30, agreed to accept the Senate bill amendment and all. So the freeze, which would have denied help to any more dependent children than those being helped in any state on Jan. 1, 1968, and which would have had the effect of forcing thousands of children off of welfare rolls, has been scrapped at last.

3. Fair Housing Enforcement: The Administration has asked Congress to appropriate $10.5 million in the new fiscal year for enforcement of the fair housing law. The House Appropriations Committee cut that down to a mere $3 million. The Leadership Conference and other organizations were able to persuade House members to make a floor fight on this and an amendment increasing the enforcement money to $5 million was adopted. The bill now goes to the Senate. While this is encouraging, $5 million still falls far short of the money needed to carry out a law that will cover 80 percent of the nation's housing when it comes into full effect in January 1970. A new fight will have to be waged on the Senate side to increase the appropriation even more.

48 Aug 1969 Current Issues

TEACHING UNIONISTS ABOUT CIVIL LIBERTIES

by Harry Fleischman, Director
National Labor Service

"Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making."

John Milton

Trying to teach trade unionists about civil liberties proves that Milton was right. That is one reason why the AFL-CIO American Federationist printed the article "Labor and Civil Liberties" in its March 1963 issue. (Reprints of this article for use in your summer schools can be secured from the AFL-CIO Publications Department, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 or from the National Labor Service.)

Some years ago Ben Segal and I started distributing a questionnaire on civil liberties and civil rights at union summer schools as a research tool to discover whether or not the polls in Professor Samuel A. Stouffer's book, "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties," were accurate. That survey, financed by the Fund for the Republic, used the Gallup and Roper organizations to poll 5,000 rank and file Americans and 1,500 community leaders -- including 1,537 rank and file unionists and 107 presidents of local unions. It showed that unionists ranked low on zeal for civil liberties. The answers to our summer school quizzes, covering 1,247 local union leaders at more than a score of institutes from 1955 to 1962, were remarkably similar to those revealed by Stouffer.

But we'd like to share with you the bonus we got at the union summer schools. We discovered that the quizzes made an invaluable teaching tool -- and one we hope you will use at your summer schools this year.

Here's how we did it:

We distributed the questionnaire at the opening institute session. They were filled out then and there -- without any discussion. We told the local union leaders not to sign their names and emphasized that this was an opinion poll, not a test. It usually took about 20 minutes to have the questionnaires completed. They were then handed in, so that we could compile the results. But we kept these results secret until the closing session of the institutes, so that knowledge of the results would not color classroom discussion.

In class the next day, we asked the students to define democracy. Invariably, and usually without much prodding, the answers -- which we put on the blackboard -- included:

- more -

* Freedom of Speech
* Freedom of Press
* Freedom of Religion
* Freedom of Assembly
* Majority Rule with Protection of the Rights of the Minority

Then, as we asked for discussion on the specific questions, a fascinating process started. As you know, on subjects like collective bargaining, labor economics and political education, most of the students are aware of and accept the union viewpoint, but civil liberties is virgin territory for them. Thus, prior to discussion, the questionnaires revealed that two out of five local union leaders would keep a Socialist from teaching, and one out of five would expel a Socialist from his local union. (See Federationist article.)

We called on students who backed each side of the issue to explain why "I don't want a Socialist giving my kids propaganda about socialism in class," said one. (We had to lay down ground rules and explain that any teacher who propagandized for any point of view was not teaching -- he was indoctrinating. The purpose of teaching, we continued, was not only to present facts to students but lead them to think for themselves about the meaning of these facts. For the sake of our discussion, we had to assume that the teacher was following the approved curriculum, or else he could be fired for not doing his job.)

"I still don't want a Socialist as a teacher. He's opposed to our economic system, and if he's a good teacher, he will have influence on the children, even outside the classroom." Back we went to the blackboard. How did this answer square with the definition of democracy he had previously approved? Brows were furrowed.

The same process, only more so, occurred when it came to atheism. More than half had voted to deny an atheist the right to teach. In talking it over, some stressed that if the atheist was a good teacher and a man of impeccable morals, he would be even more "dangerous," because then his example would be more attractive to the children. Most, however, despite strong personal misgivings, expressed the view that freedom of speech required protecting the rights of even an atheist. Some, backing that view, pointed out that the Bill of Rights declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

What about Communists. "They're enemies of our country. Why let them use our freedoms to destroy freedom?" "They tried to bust our union before. We won't give them another chance." "Yes," replied another, "but what good is freedom of speech if we allow it only to people with whom we agree? Unless those whose views are obnoxious are free to speak, freedom is a fiction." The arguments waxed hot and heavy -- never completely resolved, but certainly with much greater thought given to the complexities of the problem.

The polls showed that five out of six would fire a Communist working in a defense plant, fearing that such employment might endanger national security, and that almost half would fire a Communist who clerked in a store. We then asked, "Should Communists have the right to eat?" When

almost all said yes, the next question was, "If you would even deny a job as a clerk in a store, what jobs should a Communist be allowed to hold? Or should he hold no job, and just be on relief, with our taxes supporting him?"

When two-thirds of the local union leaders voted that American-born admitted Communists should have their citizenship taken from them, we asked them what the U.S. Constitution provided on revoking citizenship for native Americans. They were usually shocked to find that citizenship can only be revoked for treason, and that the Constitution says that treason against the United States consists "only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort" and that "no person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court."

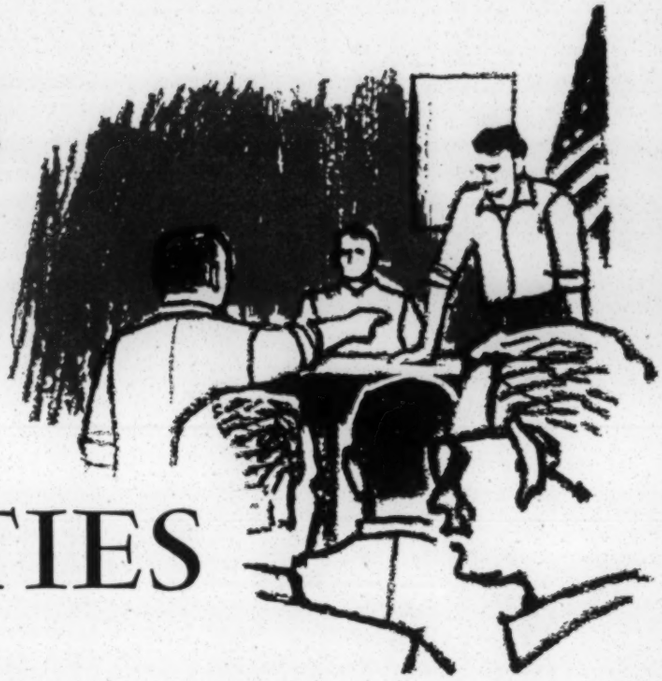
We used a similar Socratic dialogue in dealing with each of the questions in the questionnaire, to the accompaniment of furrowed brows, heated debate and eventual enlightenment. As one union staffer put it, "You're really unfair. You're making our guys think!"

If you use the same questionnaire at your schools, please send the results to the National Labor Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022, so that we can incorporate them in our continuing analysis of unionists' attitudes on civil liberties. We shall send copies of the overall results to all interested labor educators.

This technique, of course, is not the only successful way to teach unionists about civil liberties. But it demonstrated to us that open discussion on the issues invariably made support for civil liberties soar dramatically.

HF:eak

LABOR AND CIVIL LIBERTIES



by Harry Fleischman

Organized labor learned the need for civil liberties the hard way. As early as 1806, when Philadelphia shoemakers went on strike, they were brought on trial and found guilty for forming "a combination and conspiracy to raise their wages." In 1894, in the Pullman strike, a labor injunction—called by union leader Eugene Debs a "Gatling gun on paper"—helped crush the strike and smash the American Railway Union. Lockouts, blacklists, yellow-dog contracts, labor spies to undermine and betray unions and the use of troops and deputized thugs to terrorize workers and organizers were all part of the employer arsenal in the past.

Even today, as the last AFL-CIO convention pointed out, "freedom of speech, assembly, association and solicitation of membership for union organizers and factory workers are virtually non-existent in the rural South and all efforts to exercise these rights have been and are being frustrated, despite the guarantees of the Constitution." In 1961, two organizers of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers were brutally beaten by hoodlums in Ellijay, Georgia, and then arrested for "fighting, disorderly conduct, inciting a riot and soliciting membership without a license." A union organizer was beaten and kidnaped by a mob in Franklinton, North Carolina, while the city police and the county sheriff turned their backs. When two organizers of the Textile Workers Union of America were knifed in Fitzgerald, Georgia, police blandly wrote this incident off with a report that they got into a fight and knifed each other.

The right to dissent, to hold unpopular views, to try to convince others and change existing practices by peaceful and lawful means is the very cornerstone of American liberty, laid down 40 years before the Declaration of Independence in the celebrated trial of Peter Zenger.

Zenger, an obscure German immigrant, was thrown into jail for printing in his small newspaper, the New York Weekly World, articles criticizing the governor of the colony. To his defense came 80-year-old Andrew Hamilton, one of the most prominent attorneys in the colonies, who traveled from Philadelphia to deliver his eloquent and successful plea to the jury. It was not just the cause of a poor printer he was defending, Hamilton explained, but the cause of human liberty—"the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power . . . by speaking and writing the truth."

Yet while every AFL-CIO convention has unanimously passed tough resolutions in defense of civil liberties, there are grounds for believing there is a gap between the positions taken at conventions and the views of rank and file unionists.

Back in 1954 the Fund for the Republic polled 5,000 rank and file Americans and 1,500 community leaders on their attitudes on communists and civil liberties. The survey's results were included in a fact-packed book, "Communists, Conformity and Civil Liberties," by Harvard Professor Samuel A. Stouffer. It included data on 1,500 rank and file unionists and local union leaders.

The next year a group of union education directors conducted polls of local union leaders at 14 union leadership training institutes. Questionnaires were filled out, without any discussion, by 647 union shop stewards, committeemen, local union presidents and other union leaders. Since then, similar polls have been conducted at union institutes, several as late as 1962, polling some 600 local union leaders at nine institutes.

The remarkable thing about all these polls was that

HARRY FLEISCHMAN stresses civil liberties and civil rights in a column he writes as director of the National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee. He is co-author of the AFL-CIO booklet, "Security, Civil Liberties and Unions."

the percentage varied only slightly.

What were the results? True, the local union leaders scored high on their devotion to equal treatment of all, regardless of race, religion or national origin. More than nine out of ten insisted that unions should enforce equal opportunity in respect to apprenticeship training and job promotions. But they displayed considerably less enthusiasm for the traditional American principles embodied in the Bill of Rights. Their tolerance of people whose ideas and opinions differed from their own was lukewarm at best.

What is meant by "tolerance?" It does not necessarily mean approval. Tolerance means that, even if we disagree with other people's opinions, we uphold the civil liberties extended to them by the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

President George Meany of the AFL-CIO has stressed that "everyone devoted to democracy and human dignity must draw a sharp line of distinction between the democratic socialists and the totalitarian communists. One need not accept the doctrines of democratic socialism to realize that its adherents are true democrats who are uncompromising enemies of communism and all other forms of dictatorship. As a matter of fact, democratic socialists have often shared with free trade unionists the honor of being the first and main target of communist hostility, abuse, persecution and liquidation." And yet two out of five local trade union leaders would keep a socialist from teaching and one out of five would expel a socialist from his local union.

Although the Bill of Rights declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, more than half of our local union leaders would deny an atheist the right to teach and one out of four would keep him out of the local union.

As to communists, four-fifths of local union leaders would prevent them from teaching. Two out of three would strip American-born communists of their American citizenship.

Interestingly, less than half of the local union leaders would jail admitted communists. Apparently they feel that loss of citizenship is a smaller penalty than a jail sentence. Moreover, while five out of six would fire a communist working in a defense plant, more than half feel that communists should be allowed to work in non-defense jobs such as clerking in a store.

During the McCarthy period, labor was fearful of the witchhunts which spread throughout the land. While labor has hailed such investigations as the LaFollette probe into labor spying, AFL-CIO spokesmen have criticized "loosely-conducted congressional investigations where unfounded accusations and unproved charges had the effect of character assassination of good, loyal Americans." These inquiries were criticized as wandering from any proper legislative purpose into attempts "to enforce uniformity of opinions and to stifle the traditional American right to dissent." Yet two-thirds of local union leaders polled insisted that Congress should investigate political beliefs and associations in order to determine whether they are "un-American."

While the local union leader may not rise to the defense of an abstract principle of freedom, he tends to identify with individual victims and to respond far more affirmatively to redress specific violations of civil liberties. Thus although a majority supported security tests in other than sensitive posts, nine out of ten local union leaders supported the right of those accused as security risks under federal security programs to confront and cross-examine their accusers. Perhaps the strong support for this position comes from labor's vigorous activity against abuses in the various government security programs, as well as from the publicity some cases have received in the nation's press and on TV. Among cases enlisting their sympathy were the following:

- One "risk" was accused of "leftwing talk." What he had actually said was: "I would rather be a second-class citizen in Mississippi than a first-class citizen in Russia."
- Another man was accused of teaching languages to "persons of the Russian embassy and Russian soldiers." He had taught Russian to U.S. Army and Navy officers during World War II.
- A Negro worker defending himself against "security" charges was asked whether he favored "the mixing of Negroes and whites."
- Another worker was asked if he had dated Japanese girls during the Korean War.

When former Republican Senator Harry Cain was Chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, he charged that the incompetence of many government security officers was at least as dangerous as conscious sabotage. Among the derogatory information they placed against American citizens, some of it in formal charges, according to the Providence Journal Bulletin, were:

- Testimony by a neighbor who said he saw the subject on several occasions walking around his own home without clothes on.
- Statements that blood in blood banks should not be segregated by race.
- Evidence of contributions to the United Jewish Appeal.

Other stupidities of security officers included the suspension of a bachelor for "having a communist wife." A defense plant engineer was suspended because the security officer charged that he and his wife teamed up to make streetcorner communist speeches in 1939—when the husband was 15, the wife 11 years old and when they lived in different cities.

The American Legion reported a member was fired from his government job because his wife accused him of personal misconduct. Later the wife was fired from her government job because it was found that she lied about her husband. But the government refused to reinstate the husband because being accused in public was considered sufficient grounds for dismissal in his particular department.

In one of the classic cases, a unionist was declared

a "security risk" because he was too active a union man! As Jim Schuetz told the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights recently, he had worked at Bell Aircraft since 1940. Chairman of the United Auto Workers' local stewards' council, he had held a government security clearance since 1946. In late 1950, Schuetz was called into the Army Air Force office at Bell and handed a letter withdrawing his security clearance. As a "security risk," the company then told him, he no longer could be employed at Bell.

After the union appealed, Schuetz learned months later that his clearance had been withdrawn because of "picketline offenses" in the Bell Aircraft strike a year and a half earlier, which the hearing board said had shown "poor discretion" and "lack of responsibility." Schuetz was not disloyal or subversive, they said, but they implied he was too active and militant a union man. When the hearing board refused to restore his clearance, UAW officers and the Workers Defense League took the case to the Secretary of Defense in Washington. Five months after he was fired, Schuetz was cleared of the "security risk" tag and reinstated on the job. But even then, it took almost a year to get his back pay.

In another case, when Julius P. Alston was denounced as a security risk and pulled off his job at the Lockheed missiles plant in Van Nuys, Calif., which makes the Polaris missile, the government kept identity of his accusers secret. The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers helped him disprove the anonymous security risk charge that cost him his job back in April 1959. Union representative Hal Shean went with Alston before a hearing board in June 1959. Alston then learned that charges against him arose because he worked for an arms plant in Connecticut where communist infiltration had taken place 17 years ago. It took another 17 months to clear Alston even though Alston, with Shean's aid, showed at the hearing that the charge against him was groundless. His reinstatement order entitled Alston to $9,000 back pay.

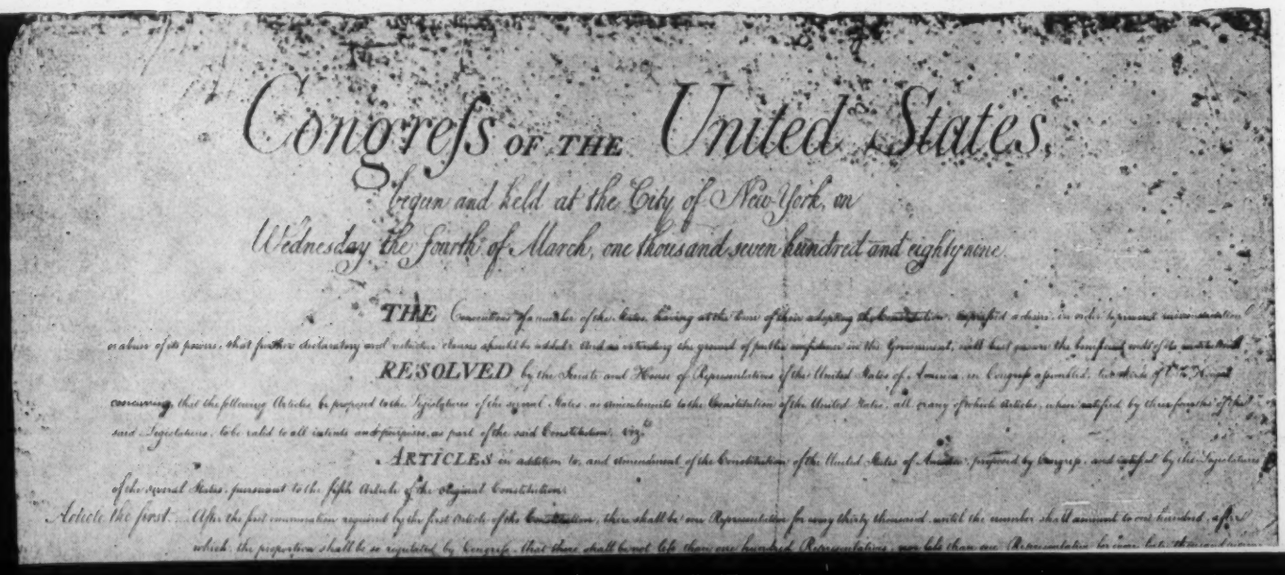
Six days after the Alston hearing, the U. S. Supreme Court held the government's industrial security program invalid in an 8-to-1 decision because denial of confrontation and cross examination of government witnesses, without statutory authority, was illegal. Former President Eisenhower issued an executive order restoring the program with some changes to meet the court's decision, but did not apply the confrontation and cross examination principles to all cases. A bill to back up that executive order with congressional sanction went down to defeat in the last Congress as labor pitched in, along with other liberal forces and a small group of Republicans, to point up its dangers.

American labor traditionally has opposed blacklisting as an unmitigated evil. Labor history is full of examples of active union men fired from jobs because of union activity and blacklisted so they could find no other jobs in their trades. That is why unions campaigned so vigorously for a clause in the Wagner Act to make blacklisting illegal.

During the McCarthy era, a different kind of blacklist ran rampant—the exclusion of actors, writers and others in the entertainment industries because of alleged involvement with communist or communist-front groups. Blacklisters cowed the radio and television industry—networks and stations, sponsors and advertising agencies, even the performers' union—into accepting "political reliability" as a qualification for employment in broadcasting. In part, this was a reaction to earlier communist influence in the entertainment world, where communists and fellow travelers had worked together to blacklist anti-communist writers and actors.

In the mid-fifties, John Henry Faulk, a radio-TV personality earning $36,000 a year as a humorist, decided the blacklist wasn't funny. With several other entertainers he ran for office in the New York local of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) on a slate opposing both communism and blacklisting. When the slate won, a blacklisting newsletter, AWARE, charged that Faulk had attended some communist-front meetings years before. The late Lawrence Johnson, owner of a super-

The Bill of Rights



Congress of the United States,
begun and held at the City of New-York, on
Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.

THE Convention of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best secure the beneficent ends of its institution.

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

Article the first. After the first enumeration required by the first Article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons,

market chain in Syracuse, N. Y., circulated AWARE's attack among Faulk's sponsors, threatening to remove their products from his stores. The sponsors deserted in droves.

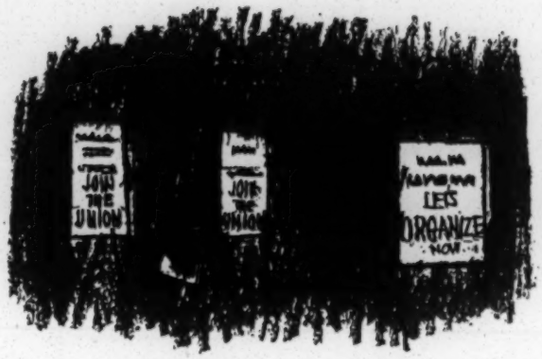
Instead of bowing supinely to AWARE's power, Faulk sued AWARE, Johnson and Vincent H. Hartnett, author of the attack, for libel. Things happened fast. The Columbia Broadcasting System failed to renew Faulk's contract. Stations outside New York offered to hire him only if he dropped his suit. Faulk moved to Texas and opened a small public relations agency to try to keep going.

Finally, last year, when attorney Louis Nizer proved the AWARE charges were untrue, a jury awarded Faulk the unprecedented sum of $3.5 million in compensatory and punitive damages. How much he will collect is uncertain since multi-millionaire Johnson died just as the case went to the jury and a legal question exists as to whether his estate is responsible for his share of the damages. In the light of the Faulk verdict, other individuals similarly victimized may be expected to take similar legal action against their attackers.

Still another area of great concern to labor is the widespread use of wiretapping. As the law now stands, the Communications Act of 1934 makes it a federal crime for anybody, police included, to put a wiretap on somebody's telephone and disclose what was heard. The Supreme Court recently has ruled, in Mapp v. Ohio, that illegally obtained evidence may not be used in state or federal courts. Whether that ruling will eventually bar the use of wiretap evidence in all state courts is not yet settled.

To be able to move at top speed, the Justice Department now wants a law permitting the use of wiretap information in cases involving national security without having to request a court order. In cases where bribery, extortion, kidnapping or murder are suspected, the law would require specific court orders for permission to tap and use the evidence. State and local authorities have urged even wider use of wiretaps, leading the American Civil Liberties Union to demand a complete ban on wiretapping because "innumerable innocent people will have their privacy invaded by officials who, as Justice Brandeis said, at their best are 'men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding' and, at their worst, susceptible to graft, corruption, extortion and other improprieties." The AFL-CIO, recognizing that wiretapping constitutes a serious threat to personal liberties and that technological developments have made it very difficult to control, has urged a law permitting wiretapping only to federal agents, under specific court orders, in an area clearly defined to cover espionage, treason and kidnapping. All other taps should be banned, said the last AFL-CIO convention, including a prohibition on divulging tapped information at congressional hearings.

In 1637, a stubborn English bookseller named John Lilburne stood trial before a star chamber, charged with having brought certain anti-religious books into



Britain. Because he refused to testify against himself, he was sentenced to be whipped.

In 1641, the House of Commons voted this sentence "illegal and against the liberty of the subject." Lilburne's fight established in the English-speaking world the principle that no man should be compelled to bear witness against himself or be tortured into confession. This safeguard was later written into the American Bill of Rights as the Fifth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

The Fifth Amendment states in pretty plain language that in a criminal trial no man is required to testify against himself. It also includes the provision that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law"—that is, without a fair trial. These principles go hand in hand with the assumption that a man is innocent until proved guilty.

Communists and fellow travelers have, of course, made frequent use of the Fifth Amendment. Newspapers headline cases of "Fifth Amendment Communist," "Fifth Amendment Teachers," "Fifth Amendment Gangsters" and "Fifth Amendment Racketeers." As a result, many people forget that the Fifth Amendment was put in the Bill of Rights not as an "escape hatch" for the guilty, but to protect the innocent.

The Fifth Amendment has been called "one of the greatest privileges a free people can possess." Like the rest of the Bill of Rights, it is a symbol of democracy. There were no such safeguards in fascist Italy or Nazi Germany. There is no Fifth Amendment in communist Russia.

"The reason for the guarantee is of such overwhelming importance," wrote President A. J. Hayes of the International Association of Machinists, in his union journal, "that few people would seriously contend we should abandon it and revert to the old practice, still used by communist and fascist dictators, of extracting confessions by physical and mental torture. Indeed, the Fifth Amendment is one of the basic concepts of freedom which distinguishes our form of government from communism and fascism."

Nevertheless, in October 1953 the Eisenhower security order was amended to state that any person who pleads the Fifth Amendment is automatically a "security risk" and not eligible for work on classified government materials. Some companies even dismiss any employe who has claimed the Fifth in a court case or

hearing, whether he is working on defense contracts or not.

The courts have ruled that pleading the Fifth Amendment may not be interpreted as a confession of guilt. In a recent decision, the U. S. Supreme Court declared:

". . . The privilege against self-incrimination would be reduced to a hollow mockery if its exercise could be taken as equivalent either to a confession of guilt or a conclusive presumption of perjury.

". . . A witness may have a reasonable fear of prosecution and yet be innocent of any wrongdoing. The privilege serves to protect the innocent who otherwise might be ensnared by ambiguous circumstances."

There are many reasons which may lead an innocent man to plead the Fifth. He may fear becoming involved in a case although he has committed no crime. He may be frightened and plead the Fifth to avoid further questioning. He may feel that whatever he says will be a link in the chain of his own prosecution.

In April 1956, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Immunity Act, which permits the government to grant witnesses immunity against prosecution and force them to testify in national security cases. Under the law the government may subpoena a man to the witness stand and make him testify against himself and former associates. If he refuses, he can go to jail for contempt of Congress.

An editorial in The Wall Street Journal argued: "The law flies directly in the face of the Fifth Amendment, for the granting of immunity from prosecution is only another way to force a person to testify against himself or go to jail. No one can say what future prosecution may flow from forced testimony."

Three Bethlehem Steel employes—in plants which had no defense contracts—were fired when they pleaded the Fifth Amendment before a congressional committee. The Steelworkers Union took the case to arbitration but lost. Furthermore, the workers were refused unemployment benefits on the grounds that they had been fired for "just cause."

The executive board of the Steelworkers declared that invoking the Fifth Amendment "standing alone cannot be the basis . . . for failure of the union to protect employe rights under a collective bargaining agreement, including the right to be free from unilateral and arbitrary disciplinary action or discharge."

The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the Newspaper Guild, the American Federation of Teachers and the United Auto Workers also have stated they would not go along with dismissals based solely on the fact that a worker claimed the privilege of the Fifth Amendment. If a local union has reason to believe that the individual in question is actually a communist, these national unions declare, he should be tried under local union procedure.

"From Jesus' injunction to swear not at all," noted Gordon M. Browne, Jr., past president of Local 460 of the American Federation of Teachers, "through the U. S. Supreme Court decision in Cummings vs. Missouri in 1867, which held that a test oath denying employment to non-signers was a bill of attainder and specifically forbidden by the Constitution, oaths have been despised and resisted. They have been the tool of tyrants seeking to coerce conformity, often on matters of religious belief."

Yet in the postwar era the prevalence of test oaths has grown mightily. Churches and other organizations in California enjoying tax exemption once were required to swear their corporate loyalty to preserve their tax exempt status. All over the country, teachers have been forced to sign non-communist oaths. Students must sign such oaths to receive federal aid grants. The Christian Century reported that a new subscriber had offered with his check a non-communist oath which he wanted the editor to sign for himself and all his employes before accepting the subscriber's money.

What have the oaths accomplished? They invariably are presented as a weapon against subversion, but communists and other totalitarians would have no hesitation in signing such an oath. After all, Lenin told them that lying, stealing and murder were justified because the end justified the means. The scores of teachers and professors who have been fired or forced to resign for refusal to sign such oaths have been people opposed to the oath on principle. The oath has punished no subversives but has made thornier the path of the non-conformist.

"But if you're not a subversive, why not swear loyalty to your country?" This is the classic question to which the only answer is "If we must suspect each other and be reassured only by oaths, how can a free society function?" Teachers have been special targets of oaths because their influence during the formative years of a child's development has been viewed with anxiety by oath proponents. Teachers, of course, resent such attention. They feel no more inclined to subversion than doctors or bankers—yet doctors are not asked to swear that they are not abortionists or bankers that they are not embezzlers.

What are some of the other civil liberties issues of concern to the trade union movement? Censorship and the McCarran Act are among them. The defeated Cunningham amendment to the postal rate revision bill would have banned from international and domestic mail all matter determined by the Attorney General to

be communist political propaganda. The last AFL-CIO convention opposed such attempt at censorship, rejecting "the totalitarian philosophy that some government officials can judge better than the people themselves what they shall read, see or hear." Herblock, the political cartoonist, echoed this view when he suggested: "It seems to me that we were all better off when the postal department used to deliver mail and left it to a Higher Authority to deliver us from evil."

Junius Scales, a former Communist Party organizer arrested under the Smith Act in 1954, was found guilty of active and knowing membership in the Communist Party and sentenced to six years in jail. During the seven years the case was being considered by various appeals courts, a great deal happened in the world—and to Junius Scales. In 1957 Scales quit the party. In 1961, his conviction was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in a 5-4 decision. (On the same day the Court threw out the conviction of John F. Noto, an admitted and continuing party functionary, on the ground that the government had failed to present sufficient evidence of "illegal party advisory.") No other Communist Party member, past or present, has been convicted on the same charge that put Scales behind bars.

As The Washington Post put it: "What a laugh this must give the commies! The government of the United States . . . in effect joins hands with [communists] to punish an ex-member whom they hate for his apostasy. Moreover the absurdity of this paradox is heightened when one reflects that Scales is being punished for a political crime—holding bad beliefs and bad associations—which most Americans like to believe is punishable only in communist countries. If President Kennedy were to pardon Scales, he would be tempering justice not only with mercy but with equity and common sense as well."

And this did happen; in a series of Christmas amnesties, Kennedy set Scales free in commuting his term.

Last year, the U. S. Supreme Court, also by a 5 to 4 vote, upheld the constitutionality of the key clause of the Internal Security Act (popularly titled the McCarran Act). The U. S. Communist Party was ordered to register as the agent of a foreign power. When the party refused, it was indicted and was recently tried along with several of its leaders. A number of organizations, including one union, were designated "communist-infiltrated" as defined by the Act and prosecutions are pending. Several publications are under orders to label themselves as communist and are threatened with prosecution if they don't.

The four Supreme Court justices who dissented in the McCarran Act decision said:

". . . the freedoms of speech, press, petition and assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment must be accorded to the ideas we hate or sooner or later they will be denied to the ideas we cherish. The first banning of an association because it advocates hated ideas—whether that association be called a political party or not—marks a fateful moment in the history of a free country.

". . . Now, when this country is trying to spread the high ideals of democracy all over the world—ideals that are revolutionary in many countries—seems to be a particularly inappropriate time to stifle First Amendment freedoms in this country. The same arguments that are used to justify the outlawry of communist ideas here could be used to justify the outlawry of the ideas of democracy in other nations.

". . . This widespread program for punishing ideas on the ground that they might endanger the internal security of the nation not only sadly fails to protect that security but also diverts our energies and thoughts from the many far more important problems that face us as a nation in this troubled world."

It has been noted that on many of the civil liberties issues confronting the nation there seems to be a gap between labor's official views and the attitudes of local union leaders and the rank and file. Nor is it only unionists who share such limited views of democracy. A Purdue University poll of teenage opinions reveals that more than half of our high school students believe that wiretapping and the third degree should be legalized to help the police maintain obedience and that police should censor books, movies, radio and TV to shield citizens from improper thinking. Moreover, 41 percent would abolish freedom of the press and 34 percent would deny freedom of speech to people who hold unpopular views. Indeed, Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U. S. Supreme Court said several years ago that he doubted the Bill of Rights would win approval if it were submitted to this generation of Americans in a referendum.

In every union leadership training institute where civil liberties questionnaires were distributed, the replies—filled out without discussion—were disheartening. Yet in every case, after open discussion on the issues, support for civil liberties soared dramatically. Nor was this due to an indoctrination process of lecturing about the "right" answers. What was done was to elicit from the local union leaders their definition of democracy. Invariably, this included not only rule by the majority but protection of the rights of the minority—including freedom of speech, press, assembly and worship. Then as discussion was requested on the specific items in the questionnaire—and the students were asked how their answers related to the definition of democracy they had worked out—they realized the indivisibility of freedom.

When they understand the issues, American workers wholeheartedly support the principles of freedom and democracy. But how to bring about that understanding? Civil liberties should be stressed in labor's schools, press and meetings. And since union members only reflect the prejudices of the communities of which they are a part, labor must push for more intensive education in public schools and in all institutions on the values of democracy.

IUE Districts 1, 2, 3 Institute at Rutgers Univ., Aug. 4-8, 1969
First answers on Aug. 4 before discussion.
Second answers on Aug. 8 after discussion.

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

NOTE TO UNION MEMBERS: Please fill out carefully. Many union members disagree on the correct answers to the questions below. All we are looking for is your opinion. PLEASE DON'T SIGN YOUR NAME.

Put a circle around Y (for Yes) if you agree with a statement below; if you do not agree, circle N (for No.)

1. Should Congress publicly investigate political beliefs and associations in order to determine whether they are "un-American?"	73% Y 47% Y	N 27% N 53%
2. Should the F.B.I. secretly investigate political beliefs and associations in order to determine whether they are "un-American?"	81 Y 32 Y	N 19 N 68
3. Should an admitted Communist or a Black Panther		
(a) be allowed to teach?	34/47 Y	N 66/53
(b) be expelled if he is a member of your union?	66/68 Y	N 34/32
(c) be fired if he works in a defense plant?	66/68 Y	N 34/32
(d) be fired if he is a clerk in a store?	13/6 Y	N 87/94
4. Should a member of a White Citizen's Council or the Klu Klux Klan		
(a) be allowed to teach?	28/44 Y	N 72/56
(b) be expelled if he is a member of your union?	63/38 Y	N 37/62
5. Do you favor preventive detention (in advance of being found guilty in court) of persons who, in the judgement of the police, represent a threat to the safety and property of other citizens?	81 Y 59 Y	N 19 N 41
6. Do you favor preventive detention by government of persons who, in the judgement of the F.B.I., represent a threat to national security?	88 Y 59 Y	N 12 N 41
7. Should a man who favors government ownership of the railroads and big industry		
(a) be allowed to teach?	52/67 Y	N 48/33
(b) be expelled if he is a member of your union?	34/27 Y	N 66/73
8. Should an atheist (a man who doesn't believe in the existence of God)		
(a) be allowed to teach?	72/60 Y	N 28/40
(b) be expelled if he is a member of your union?	13/40 Y	N 87/60

9.	Should native Americans, who favor forcible overthrow of the government, be made to forfeit their citizenship?	73 Y 53 Y	N 27 N 47
10.	Should naturalized Americans, who favor forcible overthrow of the government, be made to forfeit their citizenship?	77 Y 47 Y	N 23 N 53
11.	Should employers be forced to hire Negroes and other minority workers?	68 Y 63 Y	N 32 N 37
12.	Should trade unions be entitled to restrict their membership on the basis of color, religion or national origin?	0 Y 6 Y	N 100 N 94
13.	Should unions enforce equal opportunity for all, regardless of race or religion, in respect to apprenticeship training and job promotion?	100 Y 94 Y	N 0 N 6
14.	If employers in your industry hire no Negroes, should your union try to make them change their policy?	81 Y 94 Y	N 19 N 6
15.	Should landlords be forced to rent to blacks and other minorities who meet their standards for tenants?	76 Y 73 Y	N 24 N 27
16.	Should owners have the right to refuse to sell their homes to persons of any racial or religious group?	40 Y 53 Y	N 60 N 47
17.	Are people born with prejudices just the way they are born with instinctive reactions to heat, hunger and loud noises?	20 Y 6 Y	N 80 N 94
18.	Should public schools have to admit children of every race and religion?	100 Y 100 Y	N 0 N 0
19.	Are universities justified in using a quota system to insure admission of members of certain racial or religious groups?	42 Y 40 Y	N 58 N 60
20.	Is the government favoring black people over whites?	44 Y 29 Y	N 56 N 71

(Distributed by National Labor Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022)

7/30/69

Current Issues — 1969

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
BAYARD RUSTIN, Chairman Executive Committee
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 phone 667-1780 • New York address: 55 West 42nd St., New York 10036, phone 564-3450

MEMO: No. 12-69
August 11, 1969

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A HOUSE ACTION THAT CAN WRECK SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Just as it did in 1968, the House last week took a step that could destroy the school desegregation program. Once again it passed an appropriations bill (H.R. 13111) for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) with amendments in it whose clear intent is to help Southern districts keep segregated schools.

The amendments are exactly the same ones that their sponsor, Rep. Jamie Whitten of Mississippi added to last year's Labor-HEW Appropriations bill. They got through the House then, too, but the Senate was able to water down the language and render them virtually harmless. Our hope in this Congress lies with the Senate again.

Repeat Performance

"Its like watching summer reruns on TV," a secretary remarked, as she watched the action on the House floor. And sure enough, there they were again: the same Southerners professing their commitment to desegregation and civil rights while they attempted once more to scuttle the program.

The Whitten amendments say, in brief, that none of the funds allocated to HEW shall be used "to force busing of students, the abolishment of any schools" or to force a student to attend a public school against the wishes of his parent.

The two amendments together would nullify the Supreme Court decision of last year in the Green case, which held that "freedom-of-choice" plans are an acceptable way to desegregate schools in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 only where they result in the elimination of discrimination. Mr. Whitten would make "freedom-of-choice" plans acceptable even if they didn't desegregate schools.

Little Time to Act

The way the amendments were added to the bill and brought to the House floor underscored a criticism the Leadership Conference aimed at the whole appropriations procedure in the legislative program it adopted in January.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN SOCIAL ACTION TEAM
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES — NATIONAL WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARKET DEVELOPERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
POALE ZION
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
USCC DIVISION FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

There we observed that secret hearings and hurried reports made it almost impossible to mount any kind of effective opposition to bad legislation slipped into appropriations bills. The Whitten amendments of 1968, the Conference statement noted "were unavailable and unknown until almost the very day they were to be considered on the House floor."

Things were no different this year. The first notice of the amendments came on the afternoon of Thursday, July 24th, when the Appropriations bill was reported out of committee. Since the bill was scheduled to be taken up on Tuesday, July 29th, and action possibly completed then, there was no time to issue a warning MEMO. As it happened, action was delayed and the vote on the Whitten amendments did not come until two days later, on Thursday, July 31st. An emergency meeting of Washington representatives to the Leadership Conference was called and assignments made but there was not much time in which to act in Washington and even less in the field.

Even so, effective opposition could have been mounted and the amendments might have been beaten if there had been a greater effort in Congress and if the Administration had opposed them.

The Administration's Role

An Administration that early this month, in a policy statement declared it was "unequivocally committed to the goal of finally ending racial discrimination in the schools" was strangely silent at this crucial time. An Administration fighting loudly and strongly for a surtax extension and for the deployment of the ABM, had nothing to say in support of a civil rights program it professes to champion.

HEW issued no statement on the amendments. The White House issued none, although last year Mel Laird, then the Republican Whip, cited candidate Nixon's objections to the amendments in expressing his party's opposition to them. This year, with Mr. Laird gone to the Defense Department, House Minority Leader Gerald Ford (R., Mich.) was in charge. Mr. Ford made no speech on the amendments. And on teller votes, he walked up the aisle with the Dixiecrats in favor of the Whitten amendments, symbolizing the marriage of convenience between his party and the Southern Democrats.

This helps confirm the suspicion that the Nixon deal with Thurmond dictates the Administration's civil rights actions. It is a suspicion further confirmed by the July 3rd policy statement on school guidelines (see Memo No. 11-69) which attempts to do administratively what Whitten is trying to do legislatively.

Bi-Partisan Blame

But all the blame cannot be placed on the Republicans. At least 50 voted against the Whitten amendments. And one of the things that undermined the best efforts of the valiant opponents of the Whitten riders was the conspicuous absence from the floor of many liberal Democrats. Rep. Edith Green (D., Ore.) whose national reputation as a liberal still persists, continued to play her ambiguous role in educational matters by avowing nothing but the most liberal

motives, while she joined Republicans and Dixiecrats, first, in support of fund cuts for education and punitive measures against the campus rioters and then spoke in favor of the Whitten amendments and voted for them.

A Near-Miss Victory

There were two attempts by civil rights champions in the House to get rid of the Whitten amendments or to nullify them. Rep. Jeff Cohelan (D., Cal.), who led the fight last year, assisted by Rep. Silvio O. Conte (R., Mass.), spearheaded a bipartisan effort to strike the amendments from the bill. That move was defeated by an unrecorded teller vote of 141 to 158, in which members are counted by tellers as they walk up the aisle. Rep. James O'Hara (D., Mich.) then sought to get stricken from the amendments the language specifically aimed at the Supreme Court's "freedom-of-choice" decision. That was defeated by a teller vote of 153 to 157.

What made both defeats so hard to take was that the votes to strike or dilute the Whitten amendments were available if only attendance by liberal Democrats had been better. But the vote came at 6:15 P. M., the dinner and social hour, and on a Thursday evening, when members who commute are itching to catch planes and trains back to their districts. Had the vote come two hours earlier we might have won.

What Must Be Done

The fight now shifts to the Senate. There, the Appropriations Committee will probably have begun hearings by the time this MEMO reaches you. But it will take no action until after the summer recess, which runs from August 13 to September 3. If you know any of them, try to see members of the Appropriations Committee (list enclosed) and urge them to work to strike the Whitten amendments in Committee. Looking beyond that, to the action on the floor, we must start now to mobilize the Senate opposition to these dangerous amendments. Recess is a good time to begin. Only massive public protest can rescue school desegregation from a grave blow.

APPROPRIATIONS
D 14 - R 10

Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.) Chairman

Allen J. Ellender (La.)	Milton R. Young (N.D.)
John L. McClellan (Ark.)	Karl E. Mundt (S.D.)
Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)	Margaret Chase Smith (Maine)
Spessard L. Holland (Fla.)	Roman L. Hruska (Neb.)
John Stennis (Miss.)	Gordon Allott (Colo.)
John O. Pastore (R.I.)	Norris Cotton (N.H.)
Alan Bible (Nev.)	Clifford P. Case (N.J.)
Robert C. Byrd (W. Va.)	Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii)
Gale W. McGee (Wyo.)	J. Caleb Boggs (Del.)
Mike Mansfield (Mont.)	James B. Pearson (Kans.)
William Proxmire (Wis.)	
Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas)	
Jos. M. Montoya (N.M.)	

Wall Street Journal Elon Cooper Current Issues

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1969

House Liberals: A Frustrated Majority

* * *

By NORMAN C. MILLER

WASHINGTON—As the largest bloc in the majority party, the liberal Democrats in the House ought to be a powerful force in Congress. Their actual influence, however, is suggested by one of the few 1969 victories they claim: Persuading Congressional leaders to grant the vacation the lawmakers have just concluded.

It was ironic to see the activist liberals prevailing upon the leaders, whom they constantly criticize for doing little, to allow Congress to do nothing at all for three weeks. The irony seemed lost on the liberals, but that was understandable: They needed the respite from the frustrations they face in the House.

The liberal Democrats know they are going to be frustrated throughout this 91st Congress and maybe for much longer. They can score an occasional legislative victory, but the realists among them emphasize the word "occasional." Liberal leaders complain about the House rules and customs that deny them power, yet they spend much time maneuvering to avoid initiating any reforms of those rules, lest an attempt at concerted action shatter their fragile bloc of stubborn individualists.

The result is a sort of paralysis that limits liberal Democrats in the House to only spasmodic effectiveness. This weakness is not new, but it is more serious with a Republican in the White House. Under a Democratic President, the liberals in the House were expected merely to follow. Now, the burden is on them to help develop and promote national party positions.

It is at once an opportunity and an awful problem for the 150 or so (out of 245) House Democrats who are more or less in the liberal camp. For before they can hope to play a more leading role, the liberals must somehow overcome their formidable internal difficulties.

To begin with, they lack a real leader. Speaker John McCormack, to be sure, is himself a liberal of New Deal vintage. But the 77-year-old Speaker merely presides over the House, he does not lead it. He allows the committee chairmen to call legislative signals, and in return they form a defensive line against any challenge to his position.

Rewarding the Hacks

The seniority system, of course, gives conservative Southerners—reelected regularly from safe districts—a disproportionately large number of committee and key subcommittee chairmanships, including the powerful Appropriations and Ways and Means posts. It is less discussed, but equally true, that the seniority system also rewards a lot of hack Democrats from the North who are perpetuated in office by big-city organizations.

Consequently, most of the Democratic powerholders are hostile or indifferent to the ideas of the liberal rank and file. "Around here, any innovation more radical than the electric light is thought to be un-American," typically grouses Thomas Rees of California.

Junior liberals like third-termer Rees find it very difficult to translate their grumbling into effective pressure for change. Unlike more visible Senators, Congressmen are hard put to command attention unless seniority has invested them with power. Speaking out against the status quo also risks retaliation. So the system tends to have a suffocating effect.

The relatively few liberals who have acquired pieces of power in the House are not eager to upset the system in which they have become comfortable. Thus, before the 91st Congress convened, Majority Leader Carl Albert rejected the pleas of some liberals that he challenge old friend John McCormack for the speakership. Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, one of the brightest liberal stars, finally mounted a candidacy—and was crushed by Mr. McCormack, 178 to 58, in the Democratic caucus.

The secret-ballot vote exposed the fact that most liberals weren't ready to revolt, despite their grumbling. Leaders of the Democratic Study Group, a loose alliance including almost all House liberals, didn't take sides publicly in the McCormack-Udall clash. Instead, they seized the chance to negotiate with Mr. McCormack for concessions. The resulting accomplishments, some bitter Udall supporters believe, undercut their candidate's chances.

Some McCormack concessions to the DSG were simply sops, like the summer vacation that House members with school-age children had long yearned for. But one concession was potentially important: An agreement to hold monthly caucuses of House Democrats for the first time in decades. Revival of the dormant caucus long had been advocated by iconoclast Richard Bolling of Missouri as the means by which the party's liberal majority could counter the dominance of conservative committee chairmen.

Whether the Bolling theory can work remains a question. Having demanded regular caucus meetings, it is up to the DSG to prod the caucus into grappling with policy decisions. But the 10-year-old DSG has existed mainly as an arm of Democratic Administrations. It has never before tried to initiate a sustained campaign, and DSG leaders aren't sure how to do it.

Thus, fourth-termer Donald Fraser has moved cautiously since beginning his one-year term as DSG Chairman in January, and the group has avoided provoking fights in the caucus—with one exception. Early in the year the DSG successfully mustered its troops to discipline Rep. John Rarick of Louisiana for his open 1968 support of third-party Presidential candidate George Wallace.

The 101-to-73 vote that stripped Mr. Rarick of his seniority nailed down precedents the liberals consider important: It put conservatives on notice that sabotage of the party's Presidential candidate won't go unpunished and it asserted the power of the caucus to overrule the Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee, who make the committee assignments for the party. The latter precedent was particularly pleasing to some liberals because it represented a setback for Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills, most powerful of the House conservatives.

It may be questioned, however, whether the liberals' success in disciplining an obscure second-term Louisiana Congressman had significance. Since the Rarick fight back in January, nothing has happened in party caucuses that clearly tests the liberals' ability to unite on a controversial issue.

Rep. Fraser and other DSG leaders believe it's important to accustom the caucus to making decisions before confronting it with tough issues. Accordingly, the matters they have brought before the caucus have tended to be entirely noncontroversial, like a unanimous resolution favoring installation of data-processing computers to help with paperwork chores. Even one important policy matter—a recent caucus resolution favoring repeal of the investment tax credit—represented a soak-business decision that all Democrats could easily support at a time when the Republican President was seeking extension of the 10% surtax.

Avoiding a Confrontation

All the resolutions liberals have proposed so far for caucus action do have one common feature: They carefully avoid ordering committee chairmen to do anything. Yet as one DSG leader admits, "The caucus will become significant only if it gives the committees direction. Otherwise, you might as well not have it."

The reason the DSG leaders shrink from a showdown with an important committee chairman is simple: They are afraid they will lose. Remembering Morris Udall's lopsided defeat at the hands of the Speaker, neither mild-mannered Don Fraser nor any other DSG leader dares rely on general desire for change as a motive for battling the House establishment.

Nor is there much chance of DSG's unruly membership working out a point-by-point set of liberal objectives. "When you get six of these guys in the same room, you wind up with seven differences of opinion," sighs a veteran liberal staffer.

Several small DSG task forces were formed this year to develop specific positions on issues, but few of them have been active. Meantime, the liberal Democrats sometimes have seemed immobilized while legislation they favor, such as draft reform and food-stamp expansion, is bottled up by conservative committee chairmen.

To be sure, the DSG has made some strides. With an expanded staff, the research information provided for members is probably the best the DSG has ever produced. The DSG also has recruited outside experts to brief its members on military-spending issues; this has created new interest in the DSG among a number of liberals who had felt it was too preoccupied with legislation pushed by the labor movement.

And the Democratic liberals certainly have contributed importantly to the pressure that has produced a broad tax-reform bill. Two alert DSG leaders, Reps. Bolling and James O'Hara of Michigan, also exposed an embarrassing goof by Chairman Mills and his Ways and Means Committee, and forced the panel to rewrite its omnibus tax-revision bill so middle-income taxpayers would get a greater tax cut.

The liberals' most significant victory came in early August when they organized to add $894.5 million to an education money bill despite the opposition of the Appropriations

The liberals' most significant victory came in early August when they organized to add $894.5 million to an education money bill despite the opposition of the Appropriations Committee. It was the first time in the memory of many veteran legislators that the powerful Appropriations Committee had lost such a major battle on the House floor.

This DSG-managed operation succeeded mainly because education and labor lobbyists were enlisted in a well-organized pressure campaign. Heat applied by these interest groups not only generated wide support for the extra school aid but, just as importantly, spurred lawmakers to show up for the key nonrecord votes that locked the money into the bill.

The Importance of Pressures

The importance of interest-group pressure was demonstrated the day after the DSG's school-aid victory, when a bipartisan group tried to delete from the appropriations bill language that they believe will slow school integration in the South. Without a horde of watchful lobbyists in the galleries this time, many liberal Democrats didn't show up for two key nonrecord votes. Their absence was the reason the civil rights forces failed.

This unreliability of the liberal troops at crucial moments is one reason DSG leaders have no ambitious plans for new legislative forays on the House floor. On many issues, too, conservative Democrats can combine with Republicans to win even if all the liberals vote.

"We have only limited chances against targets of opportunity," says a liberal leader. "We have got to have an issue that commands broad support, not just by liberals, and be able to turn out the interest groups on our side."

If they face severe problems on the House floor, the liberal Democrats have an even more difficult task within the Democratic caucus. On paper, they have a clear majority. The question is whether they can muster the collective will to really challenge the entrenched power structure.

Current Issues

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Committee Chairman
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
JAMES HAMILTON, Compliance & Enforcement Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 phone **667-1780** • New York address: 55 West 42nd St., New York 10036, phone 564-3450

MEMO: No. 15-69
September 19, 1969

Civ Rts. Com. Report on Schools
Hearings on Whitten Amend.

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RETREAT ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DOCUMENTED - AND ATTACKED

The Nixon Administration's slowdown on school desegregation came in for two blunt attacks during the past week. A comprehensive study by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission verifies our own condemnation of the Administration's recent tactics. (The study finds that the new procedures the government has adopted "appear to be a major retreat in the struggle to achieve meaningful school desegregation.")

At the same time the report was issued, delegates to the Institute of Black Elected Officials, meeting in Washington, were virtually unanimous in opposing the Administration's approach to civil rights. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, in the keynote address to the first national attempts to bring the 1,200 elected Negro officials together, said, "the promises of racial progress, initiated and accelerated during the past two decades...seem in doubt." The Institute issued no formal resolutions, but the Negro officeholders seemed to share Dr. Clark's evaluation and were strongly critical of the delays in desegregation.

A HARSH INDICTMENT

The six-man Civil Rights Commission, in its new report, "Federal Enforcement of School Desegregation" examines developments of the past two months and indicts the Administration for a slowdown. Of the Whitten Amendment to the Labor-HEW Appropriation bill, which the House adopted last month, (see MEMO 12-69) the report observes that its passage, by requiring acceptance of freedom-of-choice plans, "would slow or halt the progress of school desegregation. We believe that there is a serious chance that its passage would reverse some of the limited gains already made."

Perhaps anticipating the Commission's report, HEW Secretary Robert Finch came out with a statement the same day promising "remarkable progress" in school desegregation and expressing his opposition to the Whitten amendment. It was the Administration's refusal to speak out against the Whitten amendment earlier, and indeed the cooperation of Republican House leadership that were major factors

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN GI FORUM
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN SOCIAL ACTION TEAM
FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES — NATIONAL WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR SOCIAL POLICY & DEVELOPMENT, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARKET DEVELOPERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
POALE ZION
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
U. S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE — DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA, NATIONAL BOARD
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

in adding this rider to the Appropriations bill. There is still a chance to beat the amendment in the Senate and that must become the object of a major effort by Leadership Conference organizations.

The Government Asks For A Slowdown

The Commission report notes that on July 3rd, Attorney General John Mitchell and Secretary Finch issued a joint statement affirming their commitment "to the goal of finally ending racial discrimination in schools, steadily and speedily..." The report finds little to substantiate that commitment.

In fact, it finds that since July 3rd "court orders have been entered and desegregation plans accepted which in our opinion postpone meaningful desegregation from 1969 to 1970."

Regarding the move in which Justice and HEW asked the courts in Mississippi to postpone implementation of desegregation plans in some school districts, the report observes, "for the first time since the Supreme Court ordered schools desegregated, the Federal government has requested in court a slowdown in the pace of desegregation."

What The Commission Found

In the course of its 100 page analysis, these were some of the major findings the Commission made:

1. HEW and Justice statistics on school desegregation in the July 3rd statement "give an overly optimistic, misleading and inaccurate picture of the scope of desegregation actually achieved. In fact, in a number of Southern states, relatively little desegregation of elementary and secondary schools has been accomplished in the last 15 years."

2. A major fallacy in the Administration's claim of substantial desegregation "is that many of the districts (counted as desegregated) have violated the terms of the assurances they have signed or of court orders that have been entered against them." There is insufficient personnel to police compliance and little likelihood of getting enough people for the job.

3. Court orders to desegregate generally have not been as effective in forcing desegregation as the threat of fund cutoffs. The Administration's emphasis on court orders rather than administrative proceedings, "can be expected to slow the pace of school desegregation."

4. Congress has slowed school desegregation by limiting HEW's appropriations and by placing unnecessary restrictions, such as the Whitten amendment, upon the Department's operating procedures.

5. Freedom of choice plans, as the Commission found in a 1967 report, are ineffective in desegregating schools since they place the full burden of desegregation on the shoulders of black parents and their children and often subject them to campaigns of intimidation and economic retaliation.

The Commission concludes, "If this Nation truly respected the law, if it truly cherished each of its children, the last vestiges of segregated education would have disappeared years ago. Instead, segregation continues as the pattern, and not the exception, of education in many states."

What We Must Do

On October 13, Senator Warren Magnuson, (D., Wash.) is scheduled to begin hearings on the Labor-HEW Appropriations bill and the Whitten Amendment. Here are the members of his subcommittee:

Chairman: Senator Warren Magnuson (D., Wash.)

Democrats	Republicans
Richard Russell (Ga.)	Norris Cotton (N. H.)
John Stennis (Miss.)	Clifford Case (N. J.)
Alan Bible (Nev.)	Hiram Fong (Hawaii)
Robert C. Byrd (W. Va.)	J. Caleb Boggs (Del.)
Spesard Holland (Fla.)	

Please write to these members urging them to strike the Whitten Amendment. Get your members to write their Senators urging them to support the elimination of the amendment. Write to President Nixon and Secretary Finch, expressing your dismay at the slowdown in school desegregation and urge them to use their full influence to do more than simply announce opposition. White House silence helped add the amendment to the bill. White House opposition could help get rid of it.

Great efforts on our part is necessary to beat the amendment. Passage of this rider would restrict HEW in enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and gravely injure the school desegregation program.

Ammunition

To help you rally opposition to the Whitten amendment, we reprinted an editorial from the New York Times. Copies of the full U. S. Civil Rights Commission report can be obtained upon request by writing to:

The Information Office
U. S. Civil Rights Commission
1405 I Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20425

- 30 -

NYT 9/14/69

Retreat From Integration

The United States Commission on Civil Rights has bluntly stated what had become increasingly evident —that the Nixon Administration is permitting "a major retreat in the struggle to achieve meaningful school desegregation."

The commission's statement was deliberately delayed until the facts and implications of the Administration's approach to the enforcement of desegregation could be carefully reviewed. The pattern which emerges from that analysis is one of a deliberate softening of attitudes, often hidden behind a screen of optimistic predictions and deceptive claims. It is a pattern that, in the commission's view, encourages those who, since the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, have developed high skills at evasion.

The six-man commission headed by the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame, was unanimous in sketching a critical picture of contradictions between the Administration's stated goals and its actions. It point out that the Administration has accepted integration delays in South Carolina and Alabama and has taken the unprecedented step of requesting the delay of the Government's own desegregation plans in Mississippi.

* * *

The indictment does not end with these specific actions. The commission properly points out that the Administration's shift from the administrative enforcement of guidelines set down by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to reliance on court orders is a segregationist victory. Federal judges who, in the South, are frequently unsympathetic to desegregation pose less of a threat than termination of Federal funds by administrative ruling.

Perhaps the most serious threat to the future of desegregation is contained in an amendment introduced by Representative J. L. Whitten, Democrat of Mississippi, which would make freedom-of-choice plans acceptable substitutes for effective desegregation. Although the Whitten amendment was passed by the House almost two months ago, the first Administration opposition to this blatant effort at sabotage was voiced only last week by H.E.W. Secretary Robert Finch. Freedom of choice in white-supremacy regions offers no choice at all: intimidation and economic blackmail aimed at Negro parents who try to avail themselves of their "freedom" make the plan meaningless.

Despite his lame attempt to defend Administration policies before the Institute of Black Elected Officials yesterday, there is persuasive evidence that Mr. Finch and officials in his department's civil rights office are honestly dedicated to racial equality. But they lack the backing of the President, who, in his efforts to please Southern conservatives, has refrained from speaking out on this crucial issue.

The commission, in calling for "a great positive statement," warns poignantly that "time is running out on us as a nation." It is the President's responsibility to heed this warning and assert his leadership unequivocally for integration in the schools.

Wall St. Jnl. 10-7-69 Current Issues

SP) 15 CENTS

Curbing Firearms

Violent Crimes Drop In Toledo After It Gets Law Controlling Guns

Total Off 31.5% in First Half; Results Less Encouraging In Other Cities With Curbs

Cheap Pistols' Sales Slashed

By JERRY LANDAUER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TOLEDO—This city of 400,000 on the western tip of Lake Erie was once known as the gun capital of the Midwest. Firearms of all kinds could be bought at jewelry stores, gasoline stations and pawn shops. Gun dealers hawking pistols for as little as $4.95 vied for choice locations along roads leading in from Detroit, where controls were stricter. The crime rate soared.

The state legislature declined to restrict the trafficking in lethal weapons despite repeated appeals from Toledo officials. So in August 1968, the city council enacted an ordinance aimed especially at the sale of "Saturday-night specials"—cheap guns toted by holdup men to terrorize merchants on busy weekends. The ordinance prohibits anybody in the city from keeping or obtaining a pistol, revolver or other handgun without a license from the police.

At the time, few law officers believed the ordinance would reverse the city's mounting crime rate; unlicensed residents can still buy guns outside the city limits. But whether because of the gun-control law or because of other anticrime measures or even mere chance, crime is abating here while still surging higher in most cities.

Dramatic Statistics

This development shows up most dramatically in statistics released late last month by the FBI. For the nation, the violent crimes of rape, murder, robbery and aggravated assault—armed or otherwise—rose 9% in the first six months of 1969 from the like period last year. But in Toledo these violent crimes dropped 31.5% from the first half of 1968. "We're the only major city which shows such a dramatic decrease," exults John J. Burkhart, the city's chief counsel.

Indeed, crime in most other cities that have adopted gun controls, such as Washington, D.C., continues to move up pretty much in step with the national pattern. "Even if firearms were totally eliminated," contends a gun-control foe, "other weapons would be substituted."

However, crimes committed with a gun in Philadelphia have dropped since that city adopted a licensing law in 1965, even though the law exempts firearms owned at the time. In New York, Mayor John Lindsay credits gun laws with keeping murder rates low; despite its rising crime, New York often ranks lowest among the 10 largest U.S. cities in number of homicides per 100,000 population.

But Toledo's experience is unique. It may be traceable in part to special restrictions on gun dealers as well as owners, to a tough, well-publicized court crackdown on violators of the control law and to other city efforts against crime.

Crime Categories Analyzed

Whatever other factors may enter in, gun-control advocates insist that a close look at developments in major crime categories here supports their case:

—In the year before the ordinance was adopted, Toledo's police counted 422 aggravated assaults, with guns and without; these include shootings, stabbings and other attacks intended to maim or kill. In the year after enactment, the number of such attacks dipped 9% to 385. But the assaults with guns dropped much more steeply—from 152 to 83, or 45%.

—In the year before the ordinance, 36 people were murdered, 22 by handgun; in the following year, murders totaled 14, of which eight

Curbing Firearms: Violent Crimes Drop After Toledo Gets Gun Law

Continued From First Page

ledo and Detroit. In one nine-month period, his register rang up sales of 16,000 guns, including 5,500 to residents of Michigan who couldn't legally buy at home without a police permit (the revolver used in the highly publicized 1966 synagog slaying of Detroit Rabbi Morris Adler came from Toledo). But now, along with perhaps half the other gun outlets in town, the big store stands abandoned.

Besides the Toledo gun law's licensing provision, it requires detailed monthly gun sales reports to the Toledo police. It also prohibits selling to out-of-towners who aren't armed with authorization from their local police chief or sheriff.

Severe Sentences

"The sale of cheap guns is down to nothing," Chief Bosch says. "The punk who walks down the street, buys a gun and knocks off a gas station—that's all been eliminated."

In municipal court, Judge George M. Glasser says severe sentencing of violators may be another reason for the gun law's apparent effectiveness. Already, court records show, city judges have packed 37 people off to jail (the average is 90 days), mainly for possessing a gun without a license. In addition, judges have imposed 27 fines ranging from $25 to $1,000.

"The word is out that you can't just carry a gun around here without doing days in the workhouse," says chief Counsel Burkhart, praising newspapers, radio and television for publicizing the court crackdown.

(In contrast to Toledo, crime-ridden Washington can impose penalties no harsher than 10 days in jail or a $300 fine—the maximum allowed by Congress. So far there have been no prosecutions.)

In the mayor's office here, square-jawed ex-Marine William J. Ensign cites other measures that may have helped bring crime down. He points to improved street lighting; an expanded, improved police department; an active program to prevent juvenile crime; an ordinance making it a crime to harass or abuse school children or newsboys; more effective probation and parole procedures, and a 4,000-member citizens group that distributes cards pledging people to cooperate with the police whenever possible.

Inquiries From Other Cities

Mayor Ensign also feels sure that the gun law helps a lot. "You just know that the unavailability of guns has got to be a big factor," he observes. Officials in other cities think so, too. The drop in crime here is drawing inquiries about the Toledo ordinance from Wichita, Los Angeles, Dayton, Cleveland, Baltimore and Cincinnati.

As these inquiries suggest, the gun-control controversy may be shifting to the cities, while antigun agitation in Washington and in state capitals is losing steam. Last year, of course, Congress banned mail-order sales of all firearms across state lines except to licensed dealers and prohibited dealers from selling handguns over the counter to out-of-state customers. One hope was to encourage state and local governments to enact stricter controls.

One Federal official who has urged local authorities to act is FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. He has said: "I see no great problem to the individual in requiring all guns to be registered, if the owner has nothing to hide and if he is a law-abiding citizen."

But some local policemen oppose municipal gun controls. Deputy Chief Lloyd Forbus of the Columbus, Ohio, police force, for example, asserts that the possible crime-curbing effects of local gun-control laws don't justify violating a cardinal principle of the National Rifle Association—that restrictions should be aimed only at those who misuse firearms. Mr. Forbus is an NRA member and serves as a sales manager for a gun wholesaler in his spare time.

Many hunters, marksmen and gun collectors remain convinced that ordinances such as Toledo's will eventually disarm the law-abiding citizenry. Insists Walter W. Schuhmacher, speaking for the League of Ohio Sportsmen: "This is the first step toward total disarmament."

But for the foreseeable future the civilian population will surely remain heavily armed. According to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, headed by Milton Eisenhower, probably 30 million guns were added to the civilian stockpile during the last decade, bringing the total to 90 million—35 million rifles, 31 million shotguns and 24 million handguns.

intended to maim or kill. In the year after enactment, the number of such attacks dipped 9% to 385. But the assaults with guns dropped much more steeply—from 152 to 83, or 45%.

—In the year before the ordinance, 36 people were murdered, 22 by handgun; in the following year, murders totaled 14, of which eight were by gun. (Because murders with other weapons dropped at roughly the same rate as murders with guns, it's possible that some factor other than the control law may be at work.)

—Robberies both armed and unarmed dropped from 1,188 in the year before gun control to 798 in the next year, a decline of 33%. But gun robberies dropped even more sharply —from 350 to 160, or 54%.

Rifle Group's View

Statistics can be tricky, of course. Woodson D. Scott, a New York attorney who is president of the National Rifle Association, an opponent of most gun control, says: "The statistics only prove that the statistics are down. In terms of cause and effect, it doesn't prove a thing."

The unexpected crime statistics have sent city counsel Burkhart scrambling to recheck them. "I've gone over every possible angle to see whether there might have been a mistake. I can't find any," he reports.

"I'm as much puzzled as anybody," Mr. Burkhart adds, noting that Toledo enacted its ordinance primarily to persuade the legislature that gun controls can be imposed with little inconvenience and minimum intrusion on citizens' rights. "It was really an effort to sell the General Assembly," says the city counsel. "I didn't think we'd be able to make an impact on crime in less than three or four years."

His caution in checking and interpreting the statistics arises partly from the gun law's relatively lenient licensing standards. Unlike New York's Sullivan Law, the Toledo plan doesn't require residents to show good cause for possessing a gun. Instead, the police must issue a numbered "handgun owner's identification card" costing $3 and good for three years to all applicants except fugitives, minors under 21, certified mental cases, narcotics addicts, habitual drunks or people who have been convicted twice in the past year of crimes involving the use or threat of force.

So far the police have issued 16,000 ID cards; roughly 100 applications have been rejected. It also seems likely that some people have been deterred from buying guns because, for various reasons, they did not want to apply to the police for a license.

Police Chief Anthony Bosch reports the law has had a harsh effect on gun dealers who formerly sold to almost any cash customer. One such dealer ran Toledo's biggest gun store in a seedy neighborhood on Jackson Street just five minutes from Interstate Route 75 linking To-

Please Turn to Page 33, Column 1

Vietnam

What businessmen did on protest day

To the surprise of their long-haired sons and the shock of some of their white-collar colleagues, thousands of businessmen across the nation participated in Wednesday's Vietnam moratorium protest. They included top executives and small entrepreneurs, Republicans and Democrats, and they acted both individually and in concert with fellow executives. They represented a minority, probably a small minority, of U. S. business sentiment, but their voices were loud and clear, and no one could accuse them of acting out of venal self-interest.

"Many in our ranks are in companies which are profiting from the war," says Henry E. Niles, chairman of Baltimore Life Insurance Co., "but there are more important things than profits—it's time to end this useless slaughter." Niles heads Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace, a nationwide organization of some 2,500 company officials that helped mobilize business participation in the moratorium. "We found that the myth that business blindly supports the war is just that—a myth," says Niles.

'Walk for peace.' Helping puncture the myth were demonstrations and observances in a number of cities:

- In New York's financial district, 15,000 people from the business and financial communities assembled for a noontime "walk for peace" up Wall Street to historic Trinity Church. One observer described the event as "perhaps the most massive demonstration ever staged on the Street. Another big demonstration came later in the day in midtown Bryant Park.

From Trinity's two stone pulpits about 100 executives also took part in a day-long reading of the names of GIs killed in Vietnam. Among the readers: J. Sinclair Armstrong, executive vice-president of U. S. Trust Co. of New York and former chairman of the Securities & Exchange Commission; Michael Burke, president of the New York Yankees; Robert V. Roosa, partner in Brown Bros. Harriman and former Under Secretary of the Treasury; John R. Lehman of Lehman Bros.; Amyas Ames of Kidder, Peabody; John Winthrop of Wood, Struthers & Winthrop; John Whitehead, partner in Goldman, Sachs; and Roswell Gilpatric, partner in Cravath, Swaine & Moore and former Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Calling roll of dead GIs, Yankees President Michael Burke takes turn at pulpit of New York's Trinity Church.

- In Philadelphia, a group of local executives sponsored a seven-column advertisement in the morning Inquirer carrying the banner headline, "Students and Faculty We Are Behind You. Business Executives Support Today's Vietnam Moratorium." Among the signers were George E. Beggs, president of Leeds & Northrup Co; Peter A. Benoliel, president of Quaker Chemical Corp.; Kermit Fischer, president of Fischer & Porter Co; Charles E. Simpson, general manager of Philadelphia Gas Works, and Bernard S. Weiss, vice-president of Gimbel Bros. In addition, the business group paid for 55 spot ads on local radio stations supporting the moratorium.
- In downtown Chicago, several hundred businessmen led by Gordon B. Sherman, president of Midas-International Corp., participated in an afternoon peace vigil at Civic Center Plaza. Earlier Sherman and others had sponsored full-page ads in Chicago papers urging the business community to attend. Said the balding 42-year-old industrialist: "We're here to add the sober, unimpeachable voice of business to the clamor of the kids."
- In Los Angeles, scores of executives on the steps of Beverly Hills City Hall took turns reading a list of the Vietnam war dead. Al Appleby, president of National Girl Services, who organized the demonstration, announced that many of the businessmen participants would also speak out in a series of radio spots to be broadcast in the next few weeks; they will take personal stands against the war and identify themselves with their companies.

Their own thing. Besides their group activities, businessmen acted individually in a variety of ways. Many, like Clarence E. Heller, vice-president of Blair & Co.'s Schwabacher Div. in San Francisco, and R. A. Childers, president of Houston's Childers Mfg. Co., simply attended forums at nearby universities with friends and family. Others, like Kenneth Monfort, president of Monfort of Colorado, Inc., a Greeley (Colo.) meat-packing company, and Martin Stone, chairman of Monogram Industries, Inc., in Los Angeles, were featured speakers at local rallies against the war.

Not a few businessmen donated time, money, or facilities to the cause of the moratorium. In generally conservative Dallas, for example, advertising executive Norman Riffe organized a peace rally and music festival to appeal to "ordinary middle-of-the-road citizens" who might be intimidated by hippie or student rallies. Attendance at the day-long event was estimated at several thousand. And in McKeesport, Pa., Maurice Taksel, part owner of Feig's Bakery, one of the small steel city's largest baking concerns, provided facilities at the bakery for the distribution of anti-war literature.

Decisions. For many top executives, the moratorium provoked few pangs of personal conscience, but did spark some anxiety over last-minute decision-making. Should employees be given time off to attend demonstrations? Should they lose pay for time taken for such purposes? Should a company allow its premises to be used for rallies or ceremonies? The answers varied with the size of the company involved, the strength of anti-war sentiment among employees, and the political leanings of top management.

For a number of companies, the problem of laying down policy was more theoretical than real. Said an official of Cleveland Trust Co. on Tuesday: "We haven't established a formal policy, but we haven't heard much about it. We've had no indication that employees want to take time off."

Other executives were inclined to view

the day's proceedings critically: Said K. B. Chandler, president of Koehring Co.'s Koehring Div. in Milwaukee: "We're as concerned as anyone else in ending the war, but we feel nothing can be accomplished by this thing. We would take a dim view of any employee leaving to take part in the demonstrations." Dillard Munford, chairman of Atlanta's Jackson-Atlantic Co., was more emphatic: "We hope like hell we don't have any of those kind working for us. If we do, and they demonstrate, they won't work here on Thursday."

Neutrality. Most companies, though—IBM, General Motors, McGraw-Hill, and scores of others—neither condoned nor condemned the moratorium, leaving participation to individual conscience. Employees were allowed to take time off without pay or to charge their absence against vacation time or accrued personal time. And no attempt was made to ban the wearing of black armbands or buttons. As an official of Cleveland's TRW, Inc., put it: "Employees are free to wear armbands if it doesn't interfere with the operation of a machine or anything."

Not every company observed a policy of strict neutrality. A number decided that the seriousness of the issue raised by the moratorium demanded a certain generosity on the part of management. Itek Corp. of Lexington, Mass., for example, allowed those who wished to do so to leave work an hour early to attend local rallies. At Midas-International, employees were encouraged to take the afternoon off to protest. And at American Heritage Publishing Co., where many staffers had signed an anti-war letter to President Nixon, employees were informed they could leave to take part in demonstrations without loss of pay. "Our offices will be open," said a memorandum from the executive committee. "Let your conscience be your guide."

Other companies, while taking no stand on the moratorium, did permit the use of their premises for related programs. A panel discussion on the war held at Chicago's First National Bank during the noon hour featured speakers both for and against Administration policy. Similarly, Time, Inc., in New York granted employees the use of an auditorium in the Time & Life Building to hold extended discussions on Vietnam.

Busy day. In the flurry of activity over the moratorium, perhaps the busiest businessman of them all was long-time peace advocate Jerome Grossman, president of Massachusetts Envelope Co., who is credited with coming up with the idea for a national anti-war demonstration last April. Grossman had little time for business or meditation on the day he had helped plan. He delivered speeches at two local high schools and a college, distributed leaflets at several Boston shopping centers, and made a TV appearance on the Dave Garroway show.

Current Issues - 1972

THE NIXON ECONOMIC PROGRAM

- No Fairness
- No Equity
- No Justice

Statement Adopted Unanimously by the AFL-CIO Executive Council Washington, D. C., March 22, 1972

SEVEN MONTHS of the Administration's so-called new economic policy—including four months of Phase 2 controls—have demonstrated that it is nothing more than a device to make the average worker and consumer both the victim and the goat, while the banks and big business pile up increasing profits.

In the guise of an anti-inflation policy, the American people are being gouged at the supermarket and squeezed in the paycheck. The heaviest burden of this lopsided program is placed on the backs of those at the bottom of the economic ladder, who are least able to protect themselves. Meanwhile, millions of American workers remain unemployed, their wages frozen at zero, with no real prospect of relief.

The continuing, rapid rise of prices—such as February's 8.4 percent yearly rate of increase in wholesale prices—reveals the emptiness of the price control program.

Retail food prices have gone through the roof and are continuing up—eroding the buying power of American families.

WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION permits this rising tide of price increases, its Pay Board persists in holding down workers' wages. Yet profits are free to rise, without even the pretense of controls. Instead of a tax on excess profits, in a period of wage controls, the Administration has provided business with additional billions of dollars of tax bonanzas, reducing federal revenues and further inflating the deficit at the expense of the nation's most pressing needs.

Even the President's Council of Economic Advisers reports that 21 percent of the Consumer Price Index is not subject to any controls at all. Further exceptions are announced almost weekly and the Price Commission approves price boosts on a wholesale basis.

Interest rates were never controlled. Neither were fresh foods, which are part of the essential expenses of every family.

There are no controls on life insurance premiums, mortgage interest payments and the prices of land and homes. Neither are there controls on used cars, used furniture and other used goods which are bought primarily by the poor. Controls have been lifted from three-quarters of all retail stores and nearly half of all rental units.

Moreover, there is no effective machinery to enforce whatever price and rent controls remain on the books.

IN THE FACE of this record on the price front, the Administration has flouted the intent of the Congress to exempt the working poor and low-wage workers from wage controls. The Administration's Cost of Living Council exempted only wages below $1.90 an

hour—less than the amount needed to meet the government-defined poverty line for an urban family of four.

Wage increases for workers in even the smallest establishments require approval if they exceed the Pay Board's 5.5 percent guideline, although their employers are not required to file any notification about price or rent increases and may be completely exempt from such controls.

So the worker's wages are regulated and controlled, even when his employer is exempt from controls, while prices continue to "bulge."

As a result, profits have begun to skyrocket, despite the disappointing levels of sales and production, and continued heavy unemployment. In the second half of 1971, the after-tax profits of all corporations were up 19 percent from the same period of 1970—nearly three times faster than the 6.6 percent increase of total wage and salary payments to all of the nation's employes.

THE LION'S SHARE of the gain in profits is going to the big corporations and conglomerate giants. Reports indicate that the nation's 100 largest corporations scored a sensational 76 percent rise in profits last year.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported on Mar. 3 that the average hourly earnings of some 47 million production and non-supervisory workers in the private economy remained unchanged between January and February, at $3.54, and were merely 3 cents above December. While prices are going up and profits are soaring, workers' wages have been held down.

The record of flagrant favoritism speaks for itself. The Administration's so-called new economic policy is heavily loaded against the worker and consumer, in favor of the profits of big business and the banks, and is dominated by the view that economic progress begins and ends in the stock market and the corporate financial report.

Slick rhetoric and double-talk cannot hide these self-evident facts from the American people. There is no fairness, no equity, no justice in the Administration's economic program.

The Pay Board

THE TRADE UNION movement's direct relationship with the Administration's control program has been with the Pay Board.

It is our duty to report, after four months' experience with this Board, that it is merely a direct instrument of the Administration's economic policies, motivated by the Administration's political considerations and the interests of big business.

We joined the Pay Board in good faith, desiring—despite our misgivings—to give it a fair chance, and with the hope that we could bring the voice of workers into the decision-making process of an autonomous and genuinely tripartite wage stabilization effort.

A few weeks after the Pay Board was created, we reported to the Ninth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO on Nov. 18: "The trade union movement joined the Pay Board on the basis of a commitment from the President that it would be tripartite and independent and that the public members would be citizens of high repute, knowledgeability and neutrality. That commitment has not been kept."

The so-called public members are neither neutral nor independent. They are tools of the Administration, and imbued with its viewpoint that all of the nation's economic ills are caused by high wages.

As a result, the Pay Board has been completely dominated and run, from the very start, by a coalition of the business and so-called public members. All major board decisions have been concocted by this coalition, with its mechanical majority of the votes. The trade union movement's representatives on the board have been treated as outsiders—merely as a facade to maintain the pretense of a tripartite body.

THE BOARD'S BUSINESS and so-called public member majority has continuously revealed a contempt for free collective bargaining and freely negotiated labor-management agreements. They have shown an utter lack of understanding or sympathy for workers and the realities of industrial life.

In a supposedly free country, in time of peace, with no national emergency defined or like sacrifices required of the affluent elements of society, it is not tolerable to subject free American workers to control at such hands.

The system of wage controls, under the Administration and business-dominated Pay Board, has extended a web of confusion and chaos in labor-management relations across the country. It has been a device to undermine and wreck free collective bargaining.

IT IS BUILDING UP inequities, distortions and pressures that can only be suppressed by more and more controls and acts of repression.

Complex and sometimes contradictory regulations and reporting requirements have added confusion. Smaller unions and newly organized groups of workers, in particular, have been vulnerable to the stalling, the mix-ups and confusions.

Responsible collective bargaining agreements have

been rejected and the Pay Board majority has been imposing the terms of settlements on the parties.

Equities have been ignored and workers have been denied basic rights.

Whatever small degree of justice has been achieved in the stabilization control program—such as the granting of deferred increases that were due, during the 90-day freeze, under previously negotiated agreements —has been the work of congressional legislation, imposed on the Pay Board.

ALTHOUGH ADMINISTRATION spokesmen engage in public lectures on the urgent importance of increasing productivity, and provision for the recognition and reward of greater productivity is expressly incorporated in the enabling law, the Pay Board has given this issue short shrift so as to leave the major benefits of productivity gains in the pockets of employers. The rejection of the West Coast longshore agreement, for example, will mean an average loss of about $1,150 for each of the 15,000 workers on the docks in the 18 months of the contract and a $17 million windfall profit for the employers.

The Pay Board is an integral part of the Administration's effort to place the burden of its failures on the backs of workers, while providing favors and financial gains to those who already have too much.

On Nov. 18, we reported to the AFL-CIO Convention: "There is little hope that economic justice can be achieved by this board, the majority of whom are guided by the dictates of the Administration or the interests of big business."

We have reviewed the events of the past four months. We have carefully examined the record.

IT IS OUR DUTY to report, now, to the membership of the trade union movement and the American public that we have no hope for fairness, equity or justice in the Pay Board.

The board is not tripartite. It is not independent and autonomous.

The Pay Board represents government control. It represents political and business interests.

If the wage stabilization program is to be government-controlled, let it be so, openly and clearly. Let the people who are exercising the power take the full responsibility for their decisions—without the facade of labor representation and the pretense of tripartitism.

The AFL-CIO members, therefore, are immediately resigning from the Pay Board.

WE WILL NOT BE a part of the window-dressing for this system of unfair and inequitable government control of wages, for the benefit of business profits.

It is now very clear that the Administration's "new" economic policy is nothing more nor less than a means of shifting to the average working man and his family the burden and the blame for the dismal failure of its former economic policy. It is an effort, at the expense of personal and institutional freedom in this country, to avoid the measures, resisted by big business and other selfish interests—such as constructive tax reform —most needed to correct the consequences of that failure. Having as we do a deep disbelief in and distrust of the aims and purposes of this Administration's economic and social policies, we intend at the least to free representatives of the AFL-CIO from any grounds for the inference of complicity in the formulation or execution of those policies.

~~19~~ Current
EU - Issues

The bullets at the battlefront do not discriminate—but the landlords at home do. The pack of the Negro soldier is as heavy as the white soldier's—but the burden his family at home bears is far heavier.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON
—special civil rights message to Congress, February 15, 1967

PUBLIC ORDER BASED ON EQUAL JUSTICE

BOMB-MURDERERS CAN BE PUNISHED IF 1967 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL IS ENACTED

Wharlest Jackson who lived in Natchez, Miss., until February 27, 1967, cannot write this message to you.

He is dead. He was murdered by a bomb which exploded in the engine of his pickup truck just after he had left his job at the Armstrong Tire and Rubber Company in Natchez.

Wharlest Jackson left a widow and five children, four girls and a boy. One day they had a husband and father and that same night they had a corpse.

Mr. Jackson had just been upgraded at the plant to the job of mixer, one not held before by Negro workers.

Scarcely 18 months ago, on August 27, 1965, a bomb attached to the starter of the car of George Metcalfe, an Armstrong employee, exploded as Metcalfe was leaving his work. He lived, but was crippled for life. On March 5, he was one of the pallbearers for his friend, Wharlest Jackson.

George Metcalfe was president of the Natchez NAACP and Wharlest Jackson was its treasurer.

If Wharlest Jackson could write today to the American people from coast to coast he would urge that all of them write *their* Senators and Congressmen asking them to pass the 1967 civil rights bills. These bills have a section which makes the Wharlest Jackson bomb-murder a Federal crime, punishable in Federal courts.

At present, the Federal government is limited to using a conspiracy statute which **PROVIDES ONLY A FINE AND A SHORT IMPRISONMENT,** even for murder.

The 1967 bills were sent to the Congress in the special message by President Johnson on February 15, reproduced on the pages of this booklet.

Do not be pushed to one side on this issue.

Wharlest Jackson is dead. George Metcalfe is crippled. Vernon Dahmer is dead. Andrew Goodman is dead. Viola Liuzzo is dead. James Chaney is dead. Michael Schwerner is dead. Medgar Evers is dead. The list is a long one.

Speak for the dead who were killed in hatred and cruelty by men who were sure the law would never dare touch them.

Get justice for the dead. Get a Federal law that will help stop these brutalities.

ROY WILKINS
NAACP Executive Director

BULLETS do not discriminate *LANDLORDS* DO!

By Lyndon B. Johnson

ALMOST two centuries ago, the American people declared these truths to be self-evident:

"That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Seventy-five years later, a savage war tested the foundations of their democratic faith. The issue of the struggle was, as Lincoln said, whether "we shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope on earth."

Democracy triumphed in the field in 1865. But for the Negro American, emancipation from slavery was but the first engagement in a long campaign. He had still to endure the assaults of discrimination that denied him a decent home, refused his children a good education, closed the doors of economic progress against him, turned him away at the voting booth, the jury box, at places of public accommodation, seated him apart on buses and trains, and sometimes even threatened him with violence if he did not assent to these humiliations.

In 1948, President Truman ordered the defense establishment to accord equal treatment to servicemen of every race. That same year, the Supreme Court declared that state courts could not enforce racial covenants in the sale of houses. The court later struck down racial discrimination in public transportation.

In 1954, segregated education was found to be inherently unequal and in violation of the 14th Amendment.

In 1957, the first Civil Rights Act in 82 years passed the Congress.

Three later acts were adopted within the next decade—in 1960, 1964 and 1965. Congress prohibited interference with the right to vote—to use any hotel, restaurant or thea-

*President Johnson's message to the Congress, February 15, 1967.

ter—to secure a job on the basis of merit. It barred the use of Federal funds to any agency that practiced racial discrimination.

Within these 20 years, the institutions of democratic government have begun to make the ancient, self-evident truths a reality for all Americans.

Though much of our task still lies before us, it is important to measure the progress we have made in the past few years.

COMBATING DISCRIMINATION

Voting

SINCE the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the number of Negroes registered in the five states where voter discrimination was most severe has increased by 64 per cent—from 715,099 to 1,174,569. The vast majority of the new voters—about 334,000—were registered by local officials in voluntary compliance with the act.

The remainder—some 125,000—were registered by Federal examiners in 47 counties of the five states. Federal observers were present in many counties during the 1966 primary and general elections to insure that the newly registered voters were permitted to vote without interference.

In 1960, a Negro citizen complained that for 10 years he had tried without success to register to vote. Not a single Negro had been registered in his county for 60 years. In 1966, he ran for a seat on the local school board—and won.

Today, 20 Negroes serve in Southern Legislatures. Several important local offices, such as school boards and county commissions, now have Negro membership.

The electorate in these states has begun to change. The right to vote—the fundamental democratic right—is now exercised by men and women whose color served in years past to bar them from the polls. After centuries of silence, their voice is being heard. It will never again be stilled.

Schools

In the 1963-1964 school year, 10 years after the landmark Brown decision, 1 per cent of the Negro students in the 11 Southern states were in schools also attended by white students.

Then came the 1964 Civil Rights Act and its prohibition against the use of Federal funds to support racial bias.

In September, 1966, 12.5 per cent of the Negro students in those same states were enrolled in desegregated schools. We expect this figure to increase significantly next fall. We will proceed with the task of securing the rights of all our children.

Hospitals

This year, Negroes are being admitted to hospitals which barred them in the past. By January, 7,130 hospitals—more than 95 per cent of the hospitals in the nation—had agreed to provide services without discrimination. More than 1,500 of these hospitals have had to change past policies to make that commitment.

Getting rid of discriminatory practices has benefited hospital systems, as well as the people they serve.

Last year, for example, half the beds in an all-white hospital were unoccupied. Yet Negroes in the community were sent to a completely segregated and overcrowded hospital. The half-empty hospital changed its policies to admit Negroes, and it now operates at full capacity. The formerly Negro hospital will be converted into a nursing home serving both races. The effect of the change was to provide better medical care for the entire community.

Public Accommodations

When the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed, prohibiting racial discrimination in places of public accommodation, fears were expressed that this sharp change in established customs would bring about serious economic loss and perhaps even violence.

Yet from the start there has been widespread voluntary compliance with the law. Thousands of restaurants, motels and hotels have been opened to Americans of all races and colors. What was thought to be laden with danger proved generally acceptable to both races.

Because all businesses of a similar type are covered, each businessman is free, for the first time, to operate on a non-discriminatory basis without fear of suffering a competitive disadvantage.

Now Negro families traveling through most parts of their country do not need to suffer the inconvenience of searching for a place to rest or eat where they will be accepted or the humiliating indignity of being turned away.

SOCIAL JUSTICE PROGRAMS

THE struggle against today's discrimination is only part of the nation's commitment to equal justice for all Americans. The bigotry of the past has its effects in broken families, men without skills, children without learning, poor housing and neighborhoods dominated by the fear of crime.

Because these effects are encrusted by generations of inferior opportunities and shattered hopes, they will not yield to laws against discrimination alone. Indeed there is no swift medicine, no matter how potent or massively applied, that can heal them at once. But we know some of the things we must do if the healing process is to begin—and we are doing them.

Education

Head Start has given deprived children a chance to learn in later years—instead of being merely exposed to school. Through this and other pre-school programs, two million children have been offered better education and health care.

More than seven million children in 70 per cent of all school districts in the United States have participated in programs under Title I of the 1965 Education Act. These programs have a single aim: to improve the education of disadvantaged children. The better libraries, larger professional staffs, advanced instructional equipment and other services they provide are investments in the future of children who need them most.

In my message on America's chil-

dren and youth, I asked the Congress to provide an additional $135-million to strengthen Head Start. With these funds, we will launch a Head Start follow-through program in the early grades of elementary school to maintain the momentum the child has gained and we will extend the Head Start program downward to cover more three-year-olds.

Extraordinary help at the start of life is necessary for all disadvantaged children. It is particularly necessary for the Negro child reared in poverty and encumbered by generations of deprivation.

Jobs and Training

Thousands of job opportunities for the young have been created by the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps. The first, active in both urban and rural areas, has enabled many young people to earn enough to remain in school, and provided employment and remedial education for dropouts.

The Job Corps—also meant to help those between 16 and 21—has offered other thousands both a change of environment and the opportunity to acquire education and job training.

The Manpower Development and Training Act gives men without jobs or skills the chance to acquire both, by combining Government planning and resources with private industry. The work experience program offers welfare recipients a means of obtaining the experience they need for gainful employment.

Today's strong economy, which last year put almost three million more Americans on the payrolls, is also of tremendous benefit to needy persons in search of dependable employment. But for the long term, and as demand for better qualified workers grows, training and remedial education will be of even greater importance to the disadvantaged. This is particularly true for those who leave the farm and move to urban areas in search of employment, without the skills an urban society requires.

During the last three years, our training programs have provided the means of self-sufficiency to almost a million men and women. The value of these programs to the Negro American is especially great.

The unemployment rate for Negroes is more than double that for whites. About 650,000 Americans, more than 20 per cent of all unemployed, are nonwhite. About 213,000 of these are between 14 and 19 years of age. Job training is essential to enable them to get off the welfare rolls and to go on the tax rolls.

Our economy is also strengthened by these programs. If Negroes today had the same skills as other Americans, and if they were free from discrimnation in employment, our gross national product could become $30-billion higher.

I will shortly submit recommendations to strengthen and expand these training programs. I am asking the Congress for an additional $135-million in appropriations for the Office of Economic Opportunity for a special program to open the doors of opportunity and meaningful employment to our most disadvantaged citizens.

I will call for the active assistance

of private industry and organized labor to provide skills and jobs to those now confined to the welfare rolls and the slums.

NEED FOR PERSEVERANCE

THERE are those who believe this series of accomplishments is long enough. There are those who grow weary of supporting great social programs, impatient with the failures that attend them and cynical about those they are intended to help. There are those who think "equal justice" is a rhetorical phrase, intended only as an admonition to judges, not as a guiding principle for national policy.

To them I can only say: Consider the consequences if the nation—and I as the President—were to take what appears to be the easy way out, abandon the long, hard struggle for social and economic justice and say that enough has been done.

- There would be little hope of strengthening the economy of the country through the improved earning power and productive capacity of Negro Americans.
- There would be little hope of avoiding massive welfare expenditures for people denied the training and jobs they need to become self-supporting.
- There would be little hope of ending the chain of personal tragedies that began with ancient bigotry and continues to this hour.
- There would—above all—be little hope of achieving the self-respect that comes to a nation from doing what is right.

Our task is far from over. The statistics demonstrate the magnitude of the effort required.

- The life expectancy of the Negro is five years shorter than that of his white contemporary, and the infant mortality rate for Negroes is 40 per cent higher.
- The adult white has had at least three more years of education —and has been educated in better schools—than the average adult Negro.

High Unemployment Rate

- The unemployment rate for non-whites aged 21—even in this time of near full employment—is double that of whites.
- Negroes are characteristically more densely housed in units only 56 per cent of which meet health and safety standards.
- The income of the average Negro family is about 40 per cent lower than that of the average white family.

The programs we have adopted in the past few years are only a beginning. We have made a good start.

But we must remember that it is only a start, we must realize that civil rights are also civil opportunities. Unless these rights are recognized as opportunities by Negro and white alike, they can achieve nothing. We must realize that training and education programs provide skills and opportunities. But only where there is both the will to seek the job and the willingness to hire the job applicant, can these programs achieve their ultimate objectives.

The next steps are harder, but they are even more important. We shall need years of trial and error—

years in which children can be strengthened to grow into responsible young adults, years of better training, better jobs, better health, and better housing—before the results of what we have done so far can be seen.

Perseverance, the willingness to abandon what does not work, and the courage to keep searching for better solutions—these are the virtues the times require.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

LAST year I proopsed the enactment of important civil rights legislation. I proposed that legislation because it was right and just.

The civil rights legislation of 1966 was passed by the House of Representatives and brought to the floor of the Senate. Most of its features commanded a strong majority in both houses. None of its features was defeated on the merits.

Yet it did not become law. It could not be brought to a final vote in the Senate.

Some observers felt that the riots which occurred in several cities last summer prevented the passage of the bill.

Public concern over the riots was great, as it should have been. Lawlessness cannot be tolerated in a nation whose very existence depends upon respect for law. It cannot be permitted because it injures every American and tears at the very fabric of our democracy.

We want public order in America, and we shall have it. But a decent public order cannot be achieved solely at the end of a stick, nor by confining one race to self-perpetuating poverty.

Let us create the conditions for a public order based upon equal justice.

The act I am proposing this year is substantially the same as last year's bill. Some revisions have been incorporated to take account of useful suggestions and perfecting amendments made by the 89th Congress. I believe these revisions offer a basis for common action.

I recommend the adoption of a national policy against discrimination in housing on account of race, color, religion or national origin. I propose the adoption of progressive steps to carry out this policy.

I recommend the clarification and strengthening of existing Federal criminal laws against interference with Federal rights.

I recommend requirements for the selection of juries in Federal courts to guard against discrimination and insure that juries are properly representative of the community.

I recommend legislation to eliminate all forms of discrimination in the selection of state court juries.

I recommend that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 be amended to authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue judicially enforceable cease-and-desist orders.

I recommend the extension, for an additional five years, of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

I recommend a 90 per cent increase in appropriations for the Community Relations Service.

These measures are not new. I have recommended and supported them in the past. I urge the Congress to act favorably upon them

because justice and human dignity demand these protections for each American citizen.

EQUAL JUSTICE IN HOUSING

FOR most Americans, the availability of housing depends upon one factor—their ability to pay.

For too many, however, there are other crucial factors—the color of their skin, their religion or their national origin.

When a Negro seeks a decent home for himself and his family, he frequently finds that the door is closed. It remains closed—though the Negro may be a serviceman who has fought for freedom.

The result of countless individual acts of discrimination is the spawning of urban ghettos, where housing is inferior, overcrowded and too often overpriced.

Statistics tell a part of the story. Throughout the nation, almost twice as many nonwhites as whites occupy deteriorating or dilapidated housing. In Watts, 32.5 per cent of all housing is overcrowded, compared with 11.5 per cent for the nation as a whole.

In Harlem, more than 267,000 people live in an area consisting of three and one-half square miles. This is a density of 105 people per acre. Ninety per cent of the buildings in Harlem are more than 30 years old, and almost half were built before the end of the 19th century.

The environment of most urban ghettos is the same: Inferior public facilities and services—streets, lighting, parks; sanitation and police protection; inferior schools; and isolation from job opportunities. In every sphere of urban life the ghetto-dweller is short-changed.

A child growing up in such an environment must overcome tremendous man-made obstacles to become a useful citizen. The misery we tolerate today multiplies the misery of tomorrow.

Many of our exisiting and proposed programs—though not directed simply at relieving the problems of any particular minority group—will relieve conditions found in their most acute form in the urban ghetto. These programs are necessary and they must be fully supported.

But money and assistance are not enough. Since the ratification of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, this nation has been committed to accord every citizen the equal protection of its laws. We must strengthen that commitment as it relates to discrimination in housing —a problem that is national in scope.

The legislation I recommend would ultimately apply to all housing in the United States. It would go into effect by progressive stages.

The proposed legislation would direct the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to carry out education and conciliation measures to seek an end to discrimination in housing. He would call conferences of leaders in the housing industry, consult with state and local officials and work with private organizations.

The prohibition against discrimination in the sale or rental of housing would become effective progressively over a two-year period:

• During 1968, to dwellings sold or rented by someone other than their occupant, and to dwellings for five or more families. Essentially, this stage would cover large apartment houses and real estate developments.

• In 1969, the act would apply to all housing.

This act would be aimed at commercial transactions, not at the privacy of the home. It would outlaw discrimination practices in financing housing and in providing real estate brokers' services. It would prohibit "block-busting," by which unscrupulous dealers seek to frighten homeowners into selling quickly, out of fear that the value of their homes will decline.

In every instance, the legislation would require the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to try to achieve a voluntary solution. Only if such a settlement could not be reached would the Secretary be authorized to hold an administrative hearing. If, after an administrative hearing, a violation of the law were found, the Secretary would be authorized to issue a judicially enforceable cease-and-desist order.

The Secretary would work with state and municipal fair housing agencies that already exist. In appropriate cases he would be authorized to rely on their enforcement of the state and city laws.

The Attorney General would be empowered to support these enforcement efforts, when he had reason to believe that a general pattern or practice of discrimination exists.

Last year the legislation I proposed to ban discrimination in housing stirred great controversy. Although a majority of both houses in the Congress favored that legislation, it was not enacted. Some of the problems raised by its adversaries were real; most involved myths and misinformation. The summer riots in our cities did as much damage to the chances of passing that legislation as the unfounded fears of many Americans and the opposition of special interest groups.

There should be no need for laws to require men to deal fairly and decently with their fellow man. There should be no need to enact a law prohibiting discrimination in housing—just as there should have been no need to send registrars to enforce voting rights, to issue guidelines to require desegregation of our schools, to bring suits in Federal courts to insure equal access to public accommodations and to outlaw discrimination in employment.

But the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were necessary and they have moved this country toward our goal of providing a decent life for each of our citizens.

I am proposing fair housing legislation again this year because it is decent and right. Injustice must be opposed, however difficult or unpopular the issue.

I believe that fair housing legisla-

tion must and will be enacted by the Congress of the United States. I was proud to be a member of the Congresses that enacted the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 and as President to sign into the law the 1964 and 1965 acts. I believe the generations to come would look upon the enactment of this legislation by the 90th Congress as one of its proudest achievements.

I cannot urge too strongly that the Congress act promptly on this legislation.

Today the subject of fair housing is engulfed in a cloud of misinformation and unarticulated fear. Some believe the value of their homes must decline if their neighborhoods are integrated. They fear the conversion of their communities into unsightly slums, if a family of a different color moves into a house across the street. Neither of these events need occur. In an atmosphere of reason and justice, they would not occur. In the scores of cities and states that have such laws these events have not occurred.

The task of informing the minds and enlightening the consciences of those who are subject to these fears should begin at once. Churches can help perform this task with a unique competence—and they should. So should civic organizations, public officials, human relations commissions, labor unions and private industries. It must be done. The sooner it is done, the nearer we will come to that just America it is our purpose to achieve.

INTERFERENCE WITH RIGHTS

ANOTHER basic test of equal justice is whether all men are free to exercise rights established by the Congress and the Constitution. A right has little meaning unless it can be freely exercised. This applies in particular to Negro Americans who seek to vote, attend school and utilize public accommodations on an equal basis.

Negro children have been abused for attending previously segregated schools, shots have been fired into the homes of their parents, employers who practiced nondiscrimination have been harassed. Most shocking of all are the crimes which result in loss of life. Some of the were whites devoted to the cause of victims have been Negroes, others justice.

State and local officials are primarily responsible for preventing and punishing acts of violence. In many cases, however, these officials have not been able to detect or prosecute the perpetrators of the crimes. In some, unfortunately, they have not been willing to meet their obligations. For these reasons and because violence has too often been used to deny Federal rights, there is need for Federal legislation.

Present Federal statutes are inadequate in several respects. Maximum penalties are too low for crimes which cause death or serious injury. Only in some instances do the statutes reach misconduct by private persons not acting in concert with public officials. Existing laws do not spell out clearly the Federal rights which they protect.

To remedy these deficiencies, I

recommend legislation to:

- Specify the activities which are protected, including voting, purchasing a home, holding a job, attending a school, obtaining service in a restaurant or other place of public accommodation.
- Prohibit acts or threats of violence, by private individuals acting alone or public officials, directed against Negroes or members of other minority groups because they are or have been participating in those activities.
- Authorize victims of violence to bring civil actions for damages or injunctive relief.

The penalties prescribed are graduated, depending on the gravity of the offense. When physical injury results, the maximum penalty is imprisonment for any term of years or for life.

FEDERAL AND STATE JURIES

A FAIR jury is fundamental to our historic traditions of justice.

Fairness is most likely to result when the jury is selected from a broad cross-section of the community. The exclusion of particular groups or classes from jury duty not only denies defendants their right to an impartial jury. It also denies members of the excluded group the opportunity to fulfill an important obligation of citizenship and to participate in the processes of their government.

On many occasions, I have emphasized the importance of respect for the law. Yet, creating respect for legal institutions becomes virtually impossible when parts of our judicial system operate unlawfully or give the appearance of unfairness.

Current methods of Federal court jury selection have sometimes resulted in the exclusion of Negroes and other minority groups. Often the cause lay in the method of selection.

I recommend legislation to:

- Eliminate discrimination in the selection of juries in Federal courts.
- Insure that juries in Federal courts are uniformly drawn from a broad cross-section of the community.

To reduce to a minimum the possibility of arbitrary exclusion of certain groups, the act will spell out in detail the selection procedures to be followed in all Federal District Courts. Names of prospective jurors would be obtained by random selection from voter lists—a broadly representative source in almost all parts of the country, now that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is being implemented. Under the bill only objective standards, including basic literacy requirements found in existing law, could be used to determine the qualifications of a prospective juror.

Legislation to deal with selection of state court juries is also needed. There has been persistent, intentional discrimination in juror selection in some localities. A recent case involved jury discrimination in a county whose population in 1960 was more than 70 per cent Negro. Of the persons listed on the jury rolls between 1953 and 1965, less than 2 per cent were Negro. No Negro had ever served as a member of a jury in that county.

Numerous criminal convictions obtained in state courts have been

set aside on the ground that Negroes were excluded from the juries. Such court decisions may assure justice in a particular case. They cannot reform the jury selection systems.

The 14th Amendment establishes equality before the law and charges the Congress with enforcing that requirement. Such flagrant, persistent abuses as are revealed in many recent jury selection cases cannot be tolerated by a society which prides itself on the rule of law.

I recommend legislation to:

- Prohibit discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national origin, sex or economic status in the selection of state or local juries.
- Authorize the Attorney General to sue state or local jury officials who exclude Negroes or members of other minority groups from juries.
- Prescribe new remedies to make it easier to prove jury discrimination.
- Authorize the courts to issue a variety of orders specially tailored to eliminate the most common methods by which jury discrimination is practiced.

JUSTICE IN EMPLOYMENT

THE Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in hiring, promotion and working conditions, as well as discrimination in the membership practices of labor organizations. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was created to carry out the Congressional mandate.

The commission was directed to eliminate discriminatory employment practices by informal methods of conciliation and persuasion. By the end of this fiscal year, the commission will have completed over 2,000 investigations and more than 500 conciliation efforts. This is hard work, but when it succeeds, case by case it opens up new opportunities to:

- The minority group employes of an aircraft company, who no longer are confined to dead-end jobs but now have training opportunities in 40 job classifications.
- The employes of a large ship construction firm which has improved the job rights of over 5,000 Negroes.

Unlike most other Federal regulatory agencies, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was not given enforcement powers. If efforts to conciliate or persuade are unsuccessful, the commission itself is powerless. For the individual discriminated against, there remains only a time-consuming and expensive lawsuit.

In considering the proper role of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, it is important to bear in mind that nonwhite unemployment remains disproportionately high:

- In 1966, the unemployment rate was 3.3 per cent for white persons. It was 7.3 per cent for nonwhites.
- Nonwhite unemployment in 1965 was twice the rate for whites. In 1966, the ratio rose to 2.2 to 1.
- Among youth not attending school, the unemployment rate in 1966 was 8.5 per cent for whites and 20.3 per cent for nonwhites.

No single factor explains the dif-

ferences in the unemployment rates of nonwhites and whites. But part of the disparity is clearly attributable to discrimination. For that reason, effective remedies against discrimination are essential.

I recommend legislation to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to issue orders, after a fair hearing, to require the termination of discriminatory employment practices.

The cease-and-desist orders of the commission would be enforceable in the Federal Courts of Appeal and subject to judicial review there. These powers are similar to those of other Federal regulatory agencies.

Enforcement power would harmonize the procedures of the commission with the prevailing practice among states and cities that have had fair employment practices agencies for many years. It would reduce the burden on individual complainants and on the Federal courts. It would enhance the orderly implementation of this important national policy.

The Commission on Civil Rights

The United States Commission on Civil Rights has, since its creation in 1957, proved to be an exceptionally valuable agency. This bipartisan fact-finding agency has contributed substantially to our determined effort to assure the civil rights of all Americans. Its investigations and studies have contributed to important changes in the laws and policies of the Federal Government. Publications of the commission—in the fields of voting, housing, employment, school segregation and equality of opportunity in Government programs—have been helpful to other Government agencies and to private groups interested in equality of opportunity.

The commission has also served as a clearing house for information on civil rights matters. It has provided information on Federal laws, programs and services to assist communities and private organizations in dealing with civil rights issues and with economic and social problems affecting race relations.

Under existing law, the term of the commission expires on Jan. 31, 1968. But much more remains to be done.

I recommend that the life of the commission be extended for an additional five years.

Community Relations Service

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 recognized the importance of providing bridges of understanding for communities across the land struggling with problems of equal justice and discrimination. Last year, I recommended, and you in the Congress approved, the transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice to make it a more effective instrument of national policy.

This year, I recommended that the funds for the work of the Community Relations Service be increased by 90 per cent—from $1.4-million to $2.7-million.

In city after city and county after county, the men of the Community Relations Service have worked, quietly and effectively, behind the scenes, to conciliate disputes before

they flared up in the courtrooms or on the streets.

I deeply believe that, under our democratic system, the work of conciliation can be brought to bear increasingly to remove many of the injustices, intentional and unintentional, which derive from prejudice. It is in this spirit and with this conviction that I request a substantial increase in the funds appropriated to the Community Relations Service.

EQUAL JUSTICE

WE adopted a Constitution "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure the domestic transquility" and "provide for the common defense."

In our wars Americans, Negro and white, have fought side by side to defend freedom. Negro soldiers —like white soldiers—have won every medal for bravery our country bestows. The bullets of our enemies do not discriminate between Negro Marines and white Marines. They kill and maim whomever they strike.

The American Negro has waited long for first-class citizenship—for his right for equal justice. But he has long accepted the full responsibilities of citizenship.

If there were any doubt, one need only look to the servicemen who man our defenses. In Vietnam, 10.2 per cent of our soldiers are American Negroes bearing equal responsibilities in the fight for freedom—but at home, 11 per cent of our people are American Negroes struggling for equal opportunities.

The bullets at the battlefront do not discriminate—but the landlords at home do. The pack of the Negro soldier is as heavy as the white soldier's—but the burden his family at home bears is far heavier. In war, the Negro American has given this nation his best—but this nation has not given him equal justice.

It is time that the Negro be given equal justice. In America, the rights of citizenship are conferred by birth —not by death in battle. [*Italics ours*]

It is our duty—as well as our privilege—to stand before the world as a nation dedicated to equal justice. There may be doubts about some policies or programs, but there can be no doubt about the rights of each man to stand on equal ground before his government and with his fellow man.

On June 4, 1965, at Howard University, I spoke about the challenge confronting this nation—"to fulfill these rights." What I said then has even greater importance and meaning for every American today:

"Freedom is the right to share fully and equally in American society—to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others.

"But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, do as you desire and choose the leaders you please.

"You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, 'You are free to compete

with all the others,' and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

"Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All of our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.

"This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity—not just legal equity but human ability—not just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and as a result.

"For the task is to give 20 million Negroes the same chance as every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities—physical, mental and spiritual, and to pursue their individual happiness.

"There is no single easy answer to all of these problems.

"Jobs are part of the answer. They bring the income which permits a man to provide for his family.

"Decent homes in decent surroundings, and a chance to learn—an equal chance to learn—are part of the answer.

"Welfare and social programs better designed to hold families together are part of the answer.

"Care of the sick is part of the answer.

"An understanding heart by all Americans is also a large part of the answer.

"To all these fronts—and a dozen more—I will dedicate the expanding efforts of the Johnson Administration."

Ent.

Organizations

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

AFFILIATED

WITH

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

JUNE 1, 1965

© 1956, AFL-CIO

DIRECTORY OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES 1967

Listing of National and International Unions
State Labor Organizations
Developments Since 1965
Structure and Membership

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Bulletin No. 1596

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Bureau of Labor Statistics

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

UNIVERSITY LABOR EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

DIRECTORY OF MEMBERS

1967

TABLE OF CONTENTS

University of California *Berkeley* 1
University of California *Los Angeles*. 1
University of Colorado 1
University of Connecticut 1
Harvard University 3
University of Illinois 2

Indiana University 2
University of Iowa 3
University of Maine 3
University of Massachusetts 3
University of Michigan - Wayne State University 4
Michigan State University 4

University of Minnesota 4
University of Missouri *Columbia* 5
N. Y. State School of Industrial & Labor Relations . . . 5
Ohio State University 6
Pennsylvania State University 6
University of Puerto Rico 6

Roosevelt University 2
Rutgers - The State University 5
Southern Illinois University *Carbondale* 2
West Virginia University 7
University of Wisconsin 7

The University of Maine program was initiated since the last Membership List was issued. Additions to the staffs of the various programs are noted with an asterisk.

California

University of California @ Berkeley

Don Vial, Chairman
Center for Labor Research and Education
Institute of Industrial Relations
206 California Hall
(415) 845-6000 Ext 2571

William Rentfro, Coordinator
Labor Programs

Oliver McMillan, Associate Coordinator
Labor Programs

Sara Behman, Director of Research

University of California @ Los Angeles

Arthur Carstens, Administrator
Labor Programs
Institute of Industrial Relations
272-8911

Jack Blackburn, Associate Coordinator
Labor Programs

Mary Heineman, Head
Labor Extension
University Extension

Fred Schmidt, Labor Research

Ethel C. Davis, Administrative Assistant
Center for Research and Labor Education

*Ted Ellsworth, Associate Administrator
Labor Programs

Colorado

University of Colorado - Boulder

George W. Zinke, Director
Center for Labor Education and Research
Economics Department
443-2211 Ext 6192-7098

Walter H. Uphoff, Director
Labor Education

Connecticut

University of Connecticut - Storrs 06268

John Glynn, Director
Labor Education Center
(203) 429-9321 Ext 336, 796

Joseph S. Smolen, Assistant Director

(U of Conn)
David Pinsky, Research Director

Robert R. Jensen, Assistant Professor

Donald Beecher, Instructor

Illinois

University of Illinois - Champaign 61822

Phillips L. Garman, Coordinator
Labor Programs
Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations
504 East Armory
(217) 333-0980

Herman Erickson, Professor of LIR

*Allan Harrison, Instructor

Mil Lieberthal, Associate Professor of LIR (on leave)

Stanley Rosen, Coordinator
Chicago Labor Education Program
University of Illinois
LaSalle Hotel
10 North LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60602

*William Adelman, Visiting Instructor, LIR

Roosevelt University - Chicago 60640

Frank McCallister, Director
Labor Education Division
430 South Michigan Avenue
(312) 922-3580 Ext 201-3, 384

Duane Beeler, Assistant Director

Ron Peters, Coordinator - Extension

*Calvin Lewis, Project and Clinic Director - Chicago Area Plan for Workers' Mental Health

Southern Illinois University - Carbondale

John M. McDermott, Director
Labor Institute
(618) 453-2856

Dale O. Dillard, Assistant Director

Indiana

Indiana University - Bloomington 47401

D. W. Murphy, Director
Labor Education and Research Center
201 Owen Hall
(812) 337-4500

Dale G. Brickner, Staff Associate
337-4078

(Indiana University)

Terrence F. Connors, Staff Associate

H. Haines Turner, Staff Associate (on leave)

Iowa

University of Iowa - Iowa City 52140

Anthony V. Sinicropi, Associate Director
Center for Labor and Management
(Labor Education Program)
Phillips Hall
(319) 353-4275

*Edgar Czarnecki, Program Director

*Bertram Gottlieb, Visiting Professor

*Michael Whitehill, Research Assistant

*Gregory Delf, Research Assistant

Maine

*University of Maine - Orono 04473

Charles Craypo, Director
Bureau of Labor Education
Stevens Hall, South
(207) 866-7302

Asst. Dir. Bureau of Labor Ed: Mr. Gerald Lapowitz

Massachusetts

University of Massachusetts - Amherst 01002

Ben B. Seligman, Director
Labor Relations and Research Center
Draper Hall
(413) 545-2884

Harvey L. Friedman, Assistant Director

Joseph J. Cass, Assistant Director

Harvard University - Boston

Joseph P. O'Donnell, Executive Director
Trade Union Program
Harvard Business School
Sherman 2
549-800

Elizabeth A. Wisdom, Librarian

James J. Healy, Faculty Chairman
Morgan Hall

Michigan

University of Michigan - Wayne State University

Hy Kornbluh, Director (on leave)
Division of Labor Education and Services
Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations
108 Museums Annex
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
(313) 746-0492

Gene Brook, Acting Director
Mackenzie Hall
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan 48202
831-5144 Ext 275, 605

Oscar Paskal, Senior Coordinator
(WSU)

Lew Burt, Coordinator
(WSU)

Prince Moon, Coordinator
(WSU)

Michigan State University - East Lansing

Fred K. Hoehler, Jr., Director (on leave)'
Labor Programs
School of Labor and Industrial Relations
Room 4-B, Marshall Hall
(517) 355-5070

Russell Allen, Acting Director

Robert Repas, Associate Professor

Jacqueline Brophy, Assistant Professor

Neil Vandevord, Instructor
Oakland University
Rochester, Michigan

Minnesota

University of Minnesota- Minneapolis

John J. Flagler, Director
Labor Education Service
Industrial Relations Center
423 B.A. Tower
(612) 373-3662

Martin W. Duffy, Assistant Professor
421 B.A. Tower
373-4110

Missouri

University of Missouri @ Columbia 65201

James W. Robinson, Coordinator
Labor Education Program
35 B&PA Building
449-9251 Ext 341 (314)

*Stephen L. Cook, Specialist
302 Whitten Hall
449-9171 Ext 329

*Edward S, Grigg, Specialist
35 B&PA Building
449-9251 Ext 342

Jerald F. Robinson, Specialist
33 B&PA Building
449-9251 Ext 343

New Jersey

Rutgers - The State University, New Brunswick 08903

Herbert A. Levine, Director
Department of Labor Services
Lewis M. Herrmann Labor Education Center
(201) 247-1766 Ext 1502-04

George V. Boyle, Associate Extension Specialist

Robert A. Steffen, Assistant Extension Specialist

Albert Humza, Director
Vocational Rehabilitation Project

John W. Kilhefner, Labor Education Specialist
Vocational Rehabilitation Project

Bernard Rifkin, Director
Community Action Intern Project

Robert Curvin, Field Coordinator
Community Action Intern Project

New York

New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations
(Extension Division) at Cornell University, Ithaca 14850

Robert F. Risley, Assistant Dean
for Extension and Public Service

Ronald Donovan, Assoc. Prof. & Extension Specialist

AR 5-4469 and AR 5-3153

George W. Brooks, Extension Specialist

Sara Gamm, Extension Specialist

Alice B. Grant, Extension Specialist

Eric Polisar, Extension Specialist

(NYSSILR continued)

Lois S. Gray, Director
Metropolitan District Office
7 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Abraham Nash, Field Representative

Richard K. Pivetz, Director
Western District
120 Delaware Avenue-Room 225
Buffalo, New York 14202

William A. Toomey, Director
Capital District
11 North Pearl Street-Room 1212
Albany, New York 12207

Ohio

The Ohio State University - Columbus 43210

A. J. Wann, Director
Labor Education and Research Service
65 South Oval Drive - 111 Page Hall
(614) 293-7930 and 293-2097

Leon Applebaum, Associate professor

Harry R. Blaine, Assistant professor

Eugene C. Hagburg, Assistant Director

Higdon C. Roberts, Jr., Program Coordinator

Richard P. Sears, Program Coordinator

Pennsylvania

The Pennsylvania State University - University Park 16802

Helmut J. Golatz, Head
Department of Labor Education
209 Engineering E
(814) 865-5425 Ext 5426

Wells H. Keddie, Research Director

Charles J. Slanicka, Program Director

Mark L. Brown, Field Representative

Peter R. Gregan, Field Rep.

Ed Kudla, Jr., Field Rep.

Edna E. Raphael, Associate professor of labor studies

Puerto Rico

University of Puerto Rico - Rio Piedras 00931

Miles E. Galvin, Director (on leave)
Labor Relations Institute
Box BH, U. of P. R. Station
(809) 766-0000 Ext 302, 446, 502

Jose

(Puerto Rico continued)

Jose E. Diaz, Program Officer

Norberto Montes, Program Officer

West Virginia

West Virginia University - Morgantown 26506

Frederick A. Zeller, Director
Institute for Labor Studies
Appalachian Center
293-3323 Ext 2691

Robert Miller, Assistant Director

Jack MacKenzie, Assistant Director

Frank Collins, Asst. Prof. of Labor Studies

*Jerome Breslaw, Asst. Prof. of Labor Studies

*Roger Rines, Project Associate

*Robert Winn, Project Associate

*Ronald Ludin, Project Associate

Wisconsin

University of Wisconsin - Madison 53706

Robert Ozanne, Director (on leave)
School for Workers
825 Extension Division Building
432 North Lake Street
(608) 262-2111

Norris Tibbetts, Assoc. Prof. of Lab. Ed. (Acting Dir.)

George Hagglund, Instructor

James Stern, Prof. of Labor Education

Emory Via, Assoc. Prof. of Labor Educ. (on leave)

E. Keith Dix, Asst. Prof.

Harvey Juris, Asst. Prof.

Irving Brotslaw, Assoc. Prof. of Labor Education
600 West Kilborn
Milwaukee

** indicates staff additions since last directory*

Tissed into AFT #189 Directory

AMERICAN
FEDERATION
OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO

Workers Education Local 189

AFT

432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
Telephone: Area Code 608
262-2111

1967 LABOR EDUCATION DIRECTORY ADDENDA

Here is a list of new 189 members and address changes received since the Directory was published:

NEW MEMBERS	AFFILIATION
James D Boyle 907 Spring Rd Charleston W Va 25314	Director of Field Operations AFL-CIO Appalachian Council
Rose Bush Box 5138 Philadelphia Pa 19141	Education Department Amalgamated Clothing Workers
Rennard Davis 849 W Gunnison Chicago Ill 60640	Organizer JOIN Community Union
Lee A Dawes 200 Rideau Terr Ottawa 2 Ontario Canada	Training Systems Consultant
Gregory D Delf Coral Trailor Court Coralville Iowa 52240	Assistant The University of Iowa
Oliver Mc Millan 1622 N Lombard Portland Ore 97217	Ass't Dir of Research & Education International Woodworkers
Marilyn Salzman 1945 Calvert St N W Washington D C 20009	Student University of Chicago
Richard J Scupi 1750 Harvard St N W Washington D C 20009	Assistant General Counsel IUE
Walter Simcich 1622 N Lombard Portland Ore 97217	Dir of Research & Education International Woodworkers
Richard Rothstein 4502 N Racine Chicago Ill	JOIN Community Union
Edward H Thomas 1624 Kanawha Blvd E Charleston W Va 25311	Job Corps Recruiting Director AFL-CIO Appalachian Council

(New members cont.)

Norman A Weintraub
1840 California St
Denver Colo 80201

Assistant Research Director
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers

Ernest Weiss
Box 465D Route 4
Troy New York

Research & Education Associate
Papermakers Union

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

NEW ADDRESSES

Donald N Cagle
3520 W Oklahoma Ave
Milwaukee Wis 53215

John S Carroll
2337 Palomar Ave
Ventura Calif 93003

Camille Sue Henderson
PTTI Rm 505
1925 K St N W
Washington D C 20006

Harry Kranz
615 H St S W
Washington D C 20024

Paula Paley
8102 E Jefferson
Detroit Mich 48214

OAT/je afscme #171
5/8/67

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

1967 DIRECTORY OF LABOR EDUCATION

AFT

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189

American Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO

A DIRECTORY

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

1969

Intergroup Relations Agencies

prepared by...

Brotherhood-In-Action

in cooperation with...

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

Index Guide to
"Minority Group Employment Information"

text of a document can be used to supplement words which appear in titles and further describe the document being indexed. These supplementary words are called "enrichment terms." Enrichment terms have been added to keywords drawn from titles where (1) the title was considered misleading or not revealing as to content, and (2) the project staff had access to information which provided for the selection of additional key descriptors. More detailed information about the KWIC format follows in the User's Guide.

USER'S GUIDE

Document Code

Each bibliographic entry included in the DART has been assigned a document identification code. This code is an important part of the index, and the user should understand its composition. The following are typical document identification codes:

Grouping — Author's Last Name — Author's first + middle Initial — date — ignore

CSHANLW63724
ISTEISX64373
NEDUCTS64721
NWACHDX65720

Each entry has been assigned a document identification code according to the following system:

1. The first letter refers to a specific minority group or a composite grouping with which the document is concerned. In the DART nine initial letters are used. Their references are:

9

I	Documents refer specifically to	American Indians
J		Jewish Americans
M		Mexican Americans
N		Negroes
O		Orientals
P		Puerto Ricans
W		women
C	Documents refer to more than one specific minority group, e.g., Negroes and Puerto Ricans; Negro women	
G	Documents refer to general problems involving minority group employment, e.g., provisions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964	

2. The six letters which follow the initial letter (CSHANLW63724) refer to the first four letters of the author's last name (CSHANLW63724), the first letter of the author's first name (CSHANLW63724), and the author's middle initial (CSHANLW63724). For documents having more than one author, only the name and initials of the first author are used in constructing the document identification code. When an author's last name has less than four letters, or the author's middle initial is not supplied, the letter X has been inserted to maintain the line length of the code (e.g., MAYX). In cases of institutional authorships, the same rules have been applied with few modifications. For example, in one of the preceding document identification code illustrations (NEDUCT64721), the Education Testing Service represents an institutional author and the letters EDUCTS in the code designate this authorship.

3. The first two numbers following the author designation refer to the year of publication (CSHANLW63724; NWACHDX65720). In cases of documents bearing no publication date, the letters ND have been used.

4. The last three numbers (CSHANLW64724) are accession numbers assigned to entries by the project staff and have no user relevance.

Abbreviations and Punctuation Marks

The computer program used in preparing the DART KWIC-Index necessitated the development of several conventions affecting the use of abbreviations and punctuation marks.

Abbreviations used in the DART are listed alphabetically with their full English equivalents in Appendix A. (See Contents)

Alterations in conventional punctuation marks for purposes of computer processing include the following:

1. A single hyphen between two letters within a word is used as a substitute for the apostrophe. When an apostrophe appears at the end of the word, however, it has been omitted.

2. A single hyphen between two words is used to join those words in a compound, or conceptual, sense for purposes of indexing. For example, Title VII appears in the index as TITLE-VII, Mexican American as MEXICAN-AMERICAN, technological change as TECHNOLOGICAL-CHANGE, etc. These compound forms represent keywords developed for user convenience.

3. All quotation marks or italicizations in the original citations have been omitted.

4. The comma is used both normally and as a substitute for the semi-colon.

5. The period is used normally and as a substitute for the colon, the exclamation mark, and the question mark.

Keyword Index

Document citations are arranged alphabetically by keyword. The keywords appear in bold face on the left side of the page, as seen in the following example. Any given citation will appear as an entry under each of its keywords. If, for example, a citation contains the keywords EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPPORTUNITY, DISCRIMINATION, and PRACTICES, then that citation will appear in full under each of these keywords with its assigned document code. Within the citation, the keyword being referenced will be in bold print.

```
EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPP
  WHAT THE SUPERVISOR SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPPORTUNITY LAW.          GAHEREX65804
  PARTIAL INVENTORY OF ON-GOING RESEARCH IN EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPPORTUNITIES.            GANDEBR67589
  MANAGEMENT GUIDE. EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPPORTUNITY.                                      GASSOIC63407
  AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SUITABILITY OF THE FACETED STRUCTURE OF THE WRU EDUCATION THESAURUS AS A FRAMEWORK
  FOR PREPARATION OF A THESAURUS OF EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPPORTUNITY TERMS.                GBARMGC66162
  6. TEST TECHNOLOGY AND EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPPORTUNITY.                                 GBAYRAG66428
  EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPPORTUNITY UNDER CIVIL-RIGHTS-ACT OF 1964.                         GBERGRK64437
  EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPPORTUNITY AND EXECUTIVE ORDER 10925.                              GBIRNOX62451
  THE QUESTS FOR ECONOMIC STABILITY AND EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPPORTUNITY.                  GBRIMAR66475
  A SPECIAL REPORT -- THE EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT-OPPORTUNITY LAW. TITLE-VII OF THE CIVIL-RIGHTS-ACT OF 1964.   GBURENAND495
```

In the example, the keyword is truncated at 20 spaces. This is true for all keywords with more than 20 letters (including hyphens). In all cases there will be a sufficient number of letters of the keyword to enable the reader to ascertain which keyword is being referenced.

Bibliography

The bibliography is divided into nine sections, according to the initial letters of the document identification codes. (See preceding section on Document Code) The three parts of the bibliographic entry are author, title (including enrichment terms, if these have been added), and source. Each of these is illustrated by the following example:

NHOLLJH65560 HOLLAND JH (1) *EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE (5)
(2) PREPARATION OF THE NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATE FOR BUSINESS.
(3) /EMPLOYMENT-SELECTION/
(4) SELECTING AND TRAINING NEGROES FOR MANAGERIAL POSITIONS.
EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE. PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY. 1965.
PP 23-34.

1. Author's last name, followed by the first letter of the author's first name and middle initial if supplied. In cases of institutional authorships, the full name or an abbreviation is given.

2. Title of document. Titles longer than one line will have the second and any additional lines indented two spaces.

3. Keywords enclosed by slashes / / are enrichment terms. These terms are NOT a part of the original document titles.

4. Source of document.

5. Names of organizations preceded by an asterisk are "supplementary index" terms and have been used to compile the Institutional Sponsors List. (See Contents) Organizations so identified are key sponsors or producers of information relating to minority group employment. In the DART they are selectively identified.

Author Index

The Author Index is arranged alphabetically by author (whether individual, corporate, primary or secondary) and the code numbers of all the entries by that author which appear in the index.

Institutional Sponsors Index

The Institutional Sponsors Index is arranged alphabetically by name of organization and the code numbers of all the entries identified with the particular organization which appear in the index.

List of Keywords

All keywords used in the index appear in this alphabetical listing. Keywords include selected important words from the titles of documents and enrichment terms purposely assigned to some documents.

When using the List of Keywords, it is important to note that certain words with variant forms may be separated in the listing because of the alphabetizing technique

used in computer processing. For example, the words COED and CO-ED both appear in the index, as do RESURVEY and RE-SURVEY, but in neither case are they listed consecutively. Thus, the user must be sensitive to words having variant forms.

List of Suppressed Words

Words in document titles that do not appear as index terms can be found in the List of Suppressed Words. This list can assist the user in avoiding fruitless searches for words that have been prevented from indexing.

Conducting a Search

The user's access to relevant documents is provided through the List of Keywords and the Keyword Index itself. The List of Suppressed Words aids the user in eliminating certain words as a starting point.

If the List of Keywords is used as the starting point for a search, the user should select from the List those keywords which best describe his subject interests. Then, by referring to the Keyword Index under each of the selected keywords, he will find a list of relevant citations. Although the user may find it easier to browse first in the List of Suppressed Words or the List of Keywords, he may, of course, use the Keyword Index directly.

The user should remember that KWIC indexes do not provide cross-references, and he must establish his own list of "see" and "see also" references. For example, if a user is interested in documents relating to fair employment legislation, relevant citations may be found under the keywords TITLE-VII, CIVIL-RIGHTS-ACT, LEGISLATION, and LAW. A user should also search the antonymic form of a given keyword, e.g., EMPLOYMENT and UNEMPLOYMENT. The normal redundancy of alphabetical listing will aid the user in his search by listing in close proximity such related keywords as EMPLOYEE, EMPLOYER, and EMPLOYMENT. When a relevant citation is located, the user may wish to expand his search by using all or some portion of the keywords assigned to that citation.

The easiest way to find all papers by a given author is to consult the Author Index, and using the document codes listed, locate the complete references in the Bibliography.

file RDC — Special Projects

western union

Telegram

1249P EDT MAY 6 70 AH096 CTC160

WK127 WW NFA132 PE GOVT PDB 11 EXTRA PD NF WASHINGTON DC 6

1123A EDT

JAMES N WOOD, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTHE ST NORTHWEST ATLA

YOUR ORGANIZATION IS INVITED TO TESTIFY BEFORE THE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON DISASTER RELIEF ON THE FEDERAL RESPONSE TO HURRICANE CAMILLE AND ON S. 3619 AND S. 3745, DISASTER RELIEF LEGISLATION, AT A PUBLIC HEARING IN ROOM 4200, NEW SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, BEGINNING AT 2 P. M. FRIDAY, MAY 22.

WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ORAL PRESENTATION BEING LIMITED TO 15 MINUTES WITH YOUR FULL STATEMENT SUBMITTED FOR THE PRINTED RECORD. KINDLY SUPPLY 50 COPIES PREPARED STATEMENT IN ADVANCE. PLEASE ADVISE STEWART MCCLURE, PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER

BIRCH BAYH CHAIRMAN SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

SF-1201 (R5-69)

Special Projects

Statement by James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Special Subcommittee on Disaster Relief
Committee on Public Works
United States Senate
May 22, 1970

We appreciate the invitation to appear before this subcommittee and to once again have the opportunity to thank the chairman of the full committee and those senators associated with him in forming this subcommittee. The very existence of the subcommittee and the hearings held have already improved the federal response to disasters. Members of the subcommittee appear to share our concern that disaster relief meet the needs of individuals, regardless of their station in life.

For a number of years we have worked closely with the American Friends Service Committee on problems of racial discrimination, hunger, poverty, natural disasters and other similiar areas. We appear today to endorse the testimony made by them yesterday. We will try not to repeat their testimony, but would like to pose certain questions to the subcommittee for its consideration, questions relating generally to the coverage of the legislation under consideration.

The first question concerns disaster-related unemployment. Why is unemployment assistance limited to a major disaster? Individuals need aid whenever a disaster causes loss of jobs. Natural disasters are declared by the Secretary of Agriculture upon the request of a governor and make available a number of

aid programs to farm operators and farm owners but not to farm workers. A recent example occurred in Florida. In late March, extremely heavy rains fell for days through much of South Florida and in some areas as much as 90 per cent of the agricultural land was under water. As a result the governor of Florida requested the Secretary of Agriculture to declare a natural disaster in six counties. This made some aid programs available to farmers. The Governor was requested to ask the President to declare a major disaster because of the problems of the unemployed, but he would not act. Estimates of unemployment as a result of the heavy rains ran as high as 40,000 individuals. The Governor contended, however, that unemployment was not a serious problem. It appears to us unfortunate that disaster relief was available to farm operators and their livestock but not available to farm workers and their families.

Another section of the Act, also relating to the Secretary of Agriculture, is the emergency food section. Is the Secretary of Agriculture authorized under the legislation to put free food stamps in a county even if there is a commodity program already there? If there is no food program at all? Can there be both stamps and commodities in the same county? Since the U.S.D.A. has always claimed food stamp programs and commodity programs could not coexist in the same county, and given its past history of unimaginative use of enabling legislation to feed people, we would hope whatever bill passed could be quite clear on these points.

Insurance to adequately protect victims of disasters is a general problem area. It remains a critical problem in Mississippi today.

The subcommittee saw for itself how the lack of insurance had stalled major rebuilding along the Mississippi coast. A recent article in Businessweek, May 16, indicates that this problem remains, quote, "According to Gulf Coast residents the Carriers refuse to write policies on proposed new homes or businesses. Without such insurance little rebuilding takes place," unquote. Does the legislation before the subcommittee deal adequately with this problem?

The last question we would like to raise relates to the authority given the Farmers Home Administration. The FHA historically has dealt with farmers; does the legislation before the committee adequately authorize the FHA to extend aid to all rural people and not just those engaged in farming?

Thank you gentlemen for your time and consideration.

Resources Development Center — Special Projects

(2)

May 22

Mr. Wood. Yes, sir.

Senator Spong. Have you testified before us previously?

Mr. Wood. Yes, sir.

Senator Spong. Would you like to be heard now?

Mr. Wood. I have no objection, sir.

Senator Spong. Senator Bayh is ready to go here.

STATEMENT OF JAMES N. WOOD, JR.
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Mr. Wood. We appreciate the invitation to appear before this subcommittee and to once again have the opportunity to thank the Chairman of the full committee and those Senators associated with him in forming this subcommittee. The very existence of the subcommittee and the hearings have already improved the Federal response to disasters. Members of the subcommittee appear to share our concern that disaster relief meet the needs of individuals, regardless of their station in life.

For a number of years we have worked closely with the American Friends Service Committee on problems of racial discrimination, hunger, poverty, man-made and natural disasters and other similar areas. We appear today to endorse the testimony made by them yesterday. We will try not to repeat their testimony, but would like to pose certain questions to the subcommittee for its consideration, questions relating generally to the coverage of the legislation under consideration.

The first question concerns disaster-related unemployment.

1 Why is unemployment assistance limited to a major disaster?
2 Individuals need aid whenever a disaster causes loss of jobs.
3 Natural disasters are declared by the Secretary of Agriculture
4 upon the request of a governor and make available a number of
5 aid programs to farm operators and farm owners, but not to farm
6 workers.

7 A recent example occurred in Florida. In late March extremely
8 heavy rains fell for days through much of South Florida and in
9 some areas as much as 90 percent of the agricultural land was
10 under water. As a result the Governor of Florida requested
11 the Secretary of Agriculture to declare a natural disaster in five
12 counties. This made some aid programs available to farmers.

13 The Governor was requested to ask the President to declare
14 a major disaster because of the problems of the unemployed, but
15 he would not act. Estimates of unemployment as a result of the
16 heavy rains ran as high as 40,000 individuals. The Governor con-
17 tended, however, that unemployment was not a serious problem. It
18 appears to us unfortunate that disaster relief was available
19 to farm operators and their livestock, but not available to farm
20 workers and their families.

21 Must we have great physical damage in order to have a major
22 disaster declared?

23 Another section of the Act, also relating to the Secretary
24 of Agriculture, is the emergency food section. Is the Secretary
25 of Agriculture authorized under the legislation to put free food

stamps in a county even if there is a commodity program already there? If there is no food program at all? Can there be both stamps and commodities in the same county?

Since the USDA has always claimed food stamp programs and commodity programs could not coexist in the same county, and given its past history of unimaginative use of enabling legislation to feed people, we would hope whatever bill passed could be quite clear on these points.

Insurance to adequately protect victims of disasters is a general problem area. It remains a critical problem in Mississippi today.

The subcommittee saw for itself how the lack of insurance had stalled major rebuilding along the Mississippi coast. A recent article in Business Week, May 16, indicates that this problem remains: "According to Gulf Coast residents the Carriers refuse to write policies on proposed new homes or businesses. Without such insurance little rebuilding takes place." Does the legislation before the subcommittee deal adequately with this problem?

Some of the testimony yesterday by the insurance industry, I remember one example, ~~some~~ quoted figures showing of approximately 5000 ~~4500~~ homes with ~~would be~~ VA-insured loans, ~~It stated~~ insurance fully ~~was~~ covered the damage on ~~2900~~ 3400 of them.

That sounded very nice, but if you stop and look at that, there were 30 percent of those VA-insured loans which ~~had no~~ insurance did not fully cover the damage.

1 30 percent seems to me to be a very significant figure.

2 The last question we would like to raise relates to the

3 authority given the Farmers Home Administration. The FHA his-

4 torically has dealt with farmers. Does the legislation before

5 the committee adequately authorize the FHA to extend aid to all

6 rural people and not just those engaged in farming?

7 Thank you, gentlemen, for your time and consideration.

8 Senator Bayh. Thank you very much, Mr. Wood. I appreciate

9 your taking the time to let us have your additional thoughts in

10 light of what has happened between our first discussion and now.

11 I think your point is well taken that this is a repetition of

12 concern which has been expressed earlier, as I am sure you heard

13 yesterday.

14 We need to be very careful that we are not paying more

15 attention to property rights than to personal suffering and human

16 needs. In examining our legialtion I have asked the staff to look

17 into this.

18 We do need to do more for disaster victims who are not home

19 owners, not just in the area such as you described relative to

20 farm owners and farm workers, relative to the unemployment situa-

21 tion.

22 We know our disaster bill does provide for unemployment. It

23 is just that the Governor did not ask the President for a major

24 disaster to be declared. It is difficult for me to understand

25 some of the activities of the Governor involved in this particular

area. But we also need to take into consideration the problem of those who rent a house where they lose their personal belongings.

This is a problem in the area of stamps and commodities. It is my judgment from the dialogue in the conference committee that it would be possible to have both stamps and commodities in a given area. Perhaps we should be more definite and make certain this is the case.

Mr. Wood. It is my understanding in Lubbock, although I am not complaining about the availability of food, there apparently seems to be adequate food provided. But the Department of Agriculture did so decide they could not put food stamps into that county because it was a commodity county.

Senator Bayh. I want to stress that to see whether it is a commodity county and that is the reason he did not bring it in there or because the local authorities had not taken advantage of the food stamp programs prior to that time.

Mr. Wood. This seems to be a real problem in that the Department of Agriculture is now saying if there were ~~not a~~ no stamp program in a county prior to a disaster, they could not move in.

Senator Bayh. Of course, our jurisdiction, as you know, is not unlimited, although this is a pretty broad spectrum bill that we are putting in under a disaster umbrella.

Mr. Wood. If I might, I would like to put in the record Senator Dole's question to me in Biloxi, and which he again brought

1 the question up with the Red Cross witness this morning in regard
2 to some examples that were included in the American Friends and
3 Southern Regional Council reports put in the record earlier.
4 The Senator asked the question on several occasions that
5 the American Friends Committee and Southern Regional Council
6 furnish the names to the Red Cross. As I said in Biloxi in an
7 exchange with Senator Dole and with Senator Muskie, we would
8 request those individuals for permission to release their names.
9 We have done this. The individuals have requested that we
10 not release their names. I would like the record to show that.
11 Senator Bayh. Thank you. I was about to suggest that as
12 far as the Senator from Indiana is concerned, it is difficult
13 for me to see the rationale behind other legislation which permits
14 certain officials to deny available assistance necessary to
15 hungry citizens in a nondisaster situation.
16 We have been unable to change the law yet on that. Hope-
17 fully we will be able to move in this direction so that all hungry
18 people not affected by disaster will be given adequate nutrition.
19 It seems to me there is even less reason to permit this injustice
20 to exist when the people are struck by disaster, but here again
21 we are facing the same forces who have refused to give way in the
22 nondisaster area.
23 I think the point you make is well taken. This is one member
24 of the committee who will do everything he can to see that this
25 is taken care of. We appreciate your bringing this to your

attention.

Mr. Wood. Thank you, sir.

Senator Bayh. Is Mr. Stringfellow here? Mr. Pomeroy? Or Mr. Stark? Mr. Swift?

I guess we have no recourse, but to recess and reconvene at two o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. of the same day.)

GL fols

For Release in AM'S
Sunday, March 22, 1970

Economic Development

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

The Deepening Schism

Remarks by

Andrew F. Brimmer
Member
Board of Governors of the
Federal Reserve System

At the

Founders' Day Convocation

Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

March 22, 1970

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

The Deepening Schism

By
Andrew F. Brimmer*

To be asked to address this Founder's Day Celebration in honor of the memory of Booker T. Washington is really a way of honoring the one receiving the invitation. Not only on this campus, or in this community, but in the country at large anyone with even the most modest sense of history knows that the memory of Booker T. Washington is honored every day by the simple fact that Tuskegee Institute is here. That memory is embossed and embellished each time that this institution can render another day of service to the Negro community, to its region and to the nation through its commitment to higher education.

Yet, it is also good to pause at least once each year to reflect explicitly on the founding of this institution in rural Alabama in 1881. Since 1917, Tuskegee has found the time for such reflection, and the roster of speakers testifies to the high regard for Tuskegee in this country and in the world. This annual celebration has drawn to this campus a President of the United States, the Head of a foreign government, a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, members of the President's Cabinet, other leading representatives of the Federal and State governments -- as well as eminent scholars and educators and

---

* Member, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.
I am grateful to Mr. Henry S. Terrell and Miss Harriett Harper of the Board's staff for assistance in the preparation of these remarks.

outstanding figures in the private sector. However, in coming here, they came as much to encourage the work of a growing Tuskegee as to honor the memory of its founder. So I am flattered to be a part of this tradition.

Having accepted the invitation to speak before this assembly, I decided that you really did not want me to dwell on the obstacles which Booker T. Washington had to overcome in the creation of a viable institution; nor did you expect me simply to extol the record of Tuskegee's achievements during the last 89 years. Rather, given the nature of my own responsibilities, I assumed that I was invited because you thought I might have something to say with a bearing on some of the central economic issues which we face today -- especially those issues of immediate relevance to the Negro community.

On that assumption, I decided that it might be helpful to focus on a question that has generated a considerable amount of debate in the last few weeks: did Negroes make such extraordinary progress during the 1960's that the best course for public policy over the years ahead is one of "benign neglect"? Obviously this is not a trivial question. While the exact meaning of this proposition is far from clear, it has been advanced in a context whose potential impact on public policy in the area of race relations can be considerable. Thus, it is crucial that all of us have a clear understanding of the extent of economic progress which Negroes have made -- and we must also

have a full appreciation of the extent to which important segments within the Negro community have failed to share in this progress.

To help provide such an understanding, I have pulled together a considerable amount of statistical information relating to the economic experiences of Negroes during the last decade. From an examination of this evidence, I am convinced that it would be a serious mistake to conclude that the black community has been so blessed with the benefits of economic advancement that public policy -- which played such a vital role in the 1960's -- need no longer treat poverty and deprivation among such a large segment of society as a matter of national concern. To accept such a view would certainly amount to neglect -- but it would also be far from benign.

The evidence underlying my assessment is presented in some detail in the rest of these remarks, but the salient conclusions can be summarized briefly:

- During the 1960's, Negroes as a group did make significant economic progress. This can be seen in terms of higher employment and occupational upgrading as well as in lower unemployment and a narrowing of the income gap between Negroes and whites.

- However, beneath these overall improvements, another -- and disturbing -- trend is also evident: within the Negro community, there appears to be a deepening schism between the able and the less able, between the well-prepared and those with few skills.

- This deepening schism can be traced in a number of ways, including the substantial rise in the proportion of Negroes employed

in professional and technical jobs -- while the proportion in low-skilled occupations also edges upward; in the sizable decline in unemployment -- while the share of Negroes among the long-term unemployed rises; in the persistence of inequality in income distribution within the black community -- while a trend toward greater equality is evident among white families; above all in the dramatic deterioration in the position of Negro families headed by females.

- In my judgment, this deepening schism within the black community should interest us as much as the real progress that has been made by Negroes as a group.

Before concluding these remarks, I would also like to comment briefly on the new program of family assistance, recommended by the President and now being considered by the Congress. It is my impression that this program is a source of much discussion -- and some apprehension -- within the Negro community. In my personal judgment, there is more reason to support it than to campaign against its enactment.

Let us now turn to a closer examination of each of these main points.

Employment and Occupational Upgrading

The economic progress of Negroes can be traced in the trends of the labor force, employment and occupational advancement during the last decade. In 1969, there were just under 9 million nonwhites in the labor force -- meaning that they were holding jobs or seeking work.

(Well over 90 per cent of nonwhites are Negroes.) This was a rise of 16 per cent since 1960, a rate of increase virtually the same as for whites and for the total labor force. However, employment of nonwhites rose more rapidly than it did for whites (by 21 per cent to 8.4 million for the former compared with 18 per cent to 69.5 million for the latter). Expressed differently, while nonwhites represented about 11 per cent of the total labor force in both 1960 and 1969, their share of the gains in employment during the decade was somewhat larger: they accounted for 12 per cent of the employment growth, although they held just over 10 per cent of the jobs at the beginning of the period.

Advancement in the range of jobs held by Negroes in the last decade was also noticeable. This was particularly true of the improvements in the highest paying occupations. Between 1960 and 1969, the number of nonwhites in professional and technical positions increased by 109 per cent (to 692 thousand) while the increase for whites was only 41 per cent (to 10,031 thousand). By last year, nonwhites had progressed to the point where they accounted for 6-1/2 per cent of the total employment in these top categories in the occupational structure (compared with less than 4-1/2 per cent in 1960), and they got about 11 per cent of the net increase in such jobs over the decade. During this same period, the number of nonwhite managers, officials and proprietors (the second highest paying category) increased by 43 per cent (to 254 thousand) compared to an expansion of only 12 per cent

(to 7,721 thousand) for whites. In the 1960's, nonwhite workers left low-paying jobs in agriculture and household service at a rate two to three times faster than did white workers. The number of nonwhite farmers and farm workers dropped by 56 per cent (to 366 thousand) in contrast to a decline of 31 per cent (to just under 3 million) for whites in the same category. In fact, by 1969, nonwhites accounted for the same proportion (11 per cent) of employment in agriculture as their share in the total labor force; in 1960, the proportion for nonwhites (at 16-1/2 per cent) was more than 1-1/2 times their share in the total labor force. The exit of nonwhites from private household employment was even more striking. During the last decade, the number of nonwhites so employed fell by 28 per cent (to 712 thousand); the corresponding drop for white workers was only 9 per cent (to 900 thousand). Although roughly half of all household workers were nonwhite in 1960, the ratio had declined to just over two-fifths by 1969. The number of nonfarm laborers also fell (by 8 per cent to 876 thousand) over the last decade while the number of white laborers rose by the same percentage (to 2,809 thousand).

Nevertheless, as already indicated, the accelerated movement of nonwhites out of the positions at the bottom of the occupational pyramid did not carry through the entire occupational structure. For example, nonwhites in 1969 still held about 1.5 million of the service jobs outside private households -- most of which require only modest skills. This represented one-fifth of the total -- approximately the

same proportion as in 1960. Moreover, the number of nonwhites holding semi-skilled operative jobs (mainly in factories) rose by 41 per cent (to about 2 million) during the decade, compared with an expansion of only 17 per cent (to 12.4 million) for whites. The result was that nonwhites' share of the total climbed from 12 per cent to 14 per cent. Taken together, these two categories of low-skilled jobs chiefly in factories or in nonhousehold services accounted for a larger share (42 per cent) of total nonwhite employment in 1969 than they did in 1960 -- when their share was 38 per cent. In contrast, among whites the proportion was virtually unchanged -- 26 per cent at the beginning of the decade and 27 per cent at its close.

While nonwhites made substantial progress during the 1960's in obtaining clerical and sales jobs -- and also registered noticeable gains as craftsmen -- their occupational center of gravity remained anchored in those positions requiring little skill and offering few opportunities for further advancement. At the same time, it is also clear from the above analysis that those nonwhites who are well-prepared to compete for the higher-paying positions in the upper reaches of the occupation structure have made measurable gains. These contrasting experiences should be borne in mind because they point clearly to the deepening schism within the black community.

Trends in Unemployment

Over the 1960's, unemployment among Negroes declined substantially. In 1960, about 787 thousand nonwhites were unemployed,

representing 10.2 per cent of the nonwhite labor force. Among whites in the same year, about 3.1 million were without jobs, and the unemployment rate was 4.9 per cent. By 1969, unemployment had dropped by 28 per cent (to 570 thousand) for nonwhites and by 26 per cent (to 2.3 million) for whites. Their unemployment rates had fallen to 6.4 per cent and 3.1 per cent, respectively.

The incidence of joblessness among nonwhites continued to be about twice that for whites during the 1960's. Even in those categories where the most favorable experience was registered, nonwhite unemployment rates remained significantly higher than those for whites. For instance, among married nonwhite males aged 20 years and over, the unemployment rate in 1969 stood at 2.5 per cent, compared with 1.4 per cent for white men in the same circumstances. Nevertheless, one should not lose sight of the fact that -- taken as a group -- Negroes made real strides in escaping idleness in the 1960's.

But, here again, we should not stop with this over-view. On closer examination, one quickly observes that a sizable proportion of the remaining unemployment among Negroes appears to be of the long-term variety. For example, in 1969, just under 20 per cent of the unemployed nonwhites on the average had been without jobs for 15 weeks or longer; among whites the proportion was only 12-1/2 per cent. Moreover, those out of work for more than half a year represented 7 per cent of the joblessness among nonwhites compared with 4 per cent for whites. In 1961, when unemployment rose substantially under the impact of the 1960-61 recession, nonwhites accounted for about 21 per

cent of total unemployment and for roughly 24 per cent of those without jobs for at least 3-1/2 consecutive months. However, by 1969, nonwhites made up 27 per cent of the pool of long-term joblessness -- although their share of total unemployment had declined slightly to 18 per cent. So, while a significant number of Negroes did find -- and keep -- jobs during the last decade, a sizable number of others were stuck in idleness for fairly long periods of time.

Still other evidence can be cited which underlines the contrasts within the Negro community. During the first eleven months of 1969, the unemployment rate among nonwhites living in the central cities of the 20 largest metropolitan areas averaged 6.3 per cent; it was a full percentage point less among those living in the suburban sections of these areas. Among nonwhite teenagers (those members of the labor force 16 to 19 years old), the unemployment rate averaged 27 per cent. During the same period of 1969, there was very little difference in unemployment rates between whites living in central cities (3.1 per cent) and those living in suburbs (2.9 per cent), and for white teenagers, the rate was 10 per cent.

So, judged by the differential impact of unemployment -- as well as by the trend of employment and occupational upgrading -- some Negroes have experienced commendable improvement while others have lingered behind in relative stagnation.

Trends in Income: A Reexamination

Undoubtedly, income statistics are probably the most closely watched indicators of economic progress. This is true for Negroes as well as for whites. These figures also demonstrate that the Negro community recorded significant gains during the last decade. In 1961, aggregate money income of families in the United States totaled $306.6 billion, of which whites received $290.4 billion and nonwhites received $16.2 billion. Thus, the nonwhites' share was 5.3 per cent. By 1968, the total had risen to $488.4 billion -- with $454.5 billion going to whites and $33.9 billion going to nonwhites. In that year, the nonwhites' share had risen to 6.9 per cent.

In terms of median family income, the same indication of progress is evident. In 1959, the median income of nonwhite families amounted to $3,164, or 54 per cent of that for whites -- which amounted to $5,893. By 1968, the figure had risen to $8,936 for whites and to $5,590 for nonwhites, thus raising the nonwhite/white ratio to 63 per cent.

These relative family income data are a useful concept for some purposes, but they must be interpreted carefully. Otherwise they yield a misleading picture of the comparative economic status of the nonwhite population. A principal source of error is the failure of data on median family income to account for the fact that nonwhite families on average tend to be substantially larger than white families.

Data on median family income adjusted to a per capita basis to account for much larger minority families are presented in Table 1. (Attached.) When further adjustments are made to differentiate among types of families, several important conclusions result. The first and most important of these is that, for all types of families, nonwhite per capita family income is substantially lower in relation to that for white families than was suggested by the unadjusted figures. It appears that in 1967 the median income data unadjusted for differences in family size may have overstated the relative economic status of nonwhite families by something on the order of 11 per cent.

The information in Table 1 permits a further analysis of growth trends in per capita family income compared to growth trends in relative median family incomes for different types of households. For all families and for husband and wife families, the relative gains on a per capita basis were only slightly less than the relative gains on a total family income basis. The picture for female headed families, however, is completely different. The latter have the lowest median family income in general, and nonwhite families headed by females have the lowest median income compared to their white counterparts. What is perhaps even more disturbing, however, is that -- because of the much larger size of nonwhite female headed households[1/] -- the per capita differences

1/ In 1967, the average Negro husband-wife family was .76 members larger than its white counterpart, but the average Negro female headed family was 1.26 members larger.

in family income are substantially wider than the differences in median family income. In 1967, the ratio of family income per capita of female headed nonwhite families (at 44 per cent) was 18 percentage points lower than the ratio of Negro to white median family income. The data in Table 1 appear to indicate that the gap between white and Negro per capita family income has not been narrowing as rapidly as suggested by the most widely cited income figures.

The conclusion reached by expressing median family income in per capita terms is that the usually observed ratios convey an unrealistic picture of family well-being because they fail to account for the larger absolute size of nonwhite families.

Another indication of the widening gap within the Negro community is provided by the distribution of income among families and individuals at different levels of income. Data showing these trends, by race and broad groupings of income classes, are presented in Table 2.

In examining these data, the first thing to note is that the distribution of income is by no means equal in either the white or nonwhite community. If it were, each fifth of the families would receive 20 per cent of the aggregate income in each year. In reality, however, only those families around and just above the middle of the distribution come close to receiving approximately this proportion of the total income. The families constituting the lowest fifth receive between 3-1/2 per cent and 6 per cent of the income, while those in the highest fifth

receive over 40 per cent of the total. This general pattern of income distribution holds for both white and nonwhite families.

But looking beyond these overall characteristics, it will also be observed that, within the nonwhite community, the distribution of income is considerably more unequal. Among nonwhites, from the lowest through the middle fifth, for each of the years shown, the proportion of aggregate money income received by the families in each category is below that for the white community. The opposite is true for nonwhite families above the middle fifth; their share is greater than that received by white families in the same category. The same tendency is evident when the top 5 per cent of the families with the highest incomes in both groups are compared.

Moreover, in the last few years, the distribution of incomes within the nonwhite community has apparently run counter to the trend among white families. In both the 1961-65 period and the 1965-68 period, the income distribution for white families became more equal. For nonwhite families, the same trend toward greater equality was evident in the first half of the decade. However, it remained roughly constant in the 1965-68 years. And the share received by the top 5 per cent particularly showed no further tendency to decline.

Again, these figures seem to underline a conviction held by an increasing number of observers: a basic schism has developed in the black community, and it may be widening year-by-year.

Poverty in the Negro Community

Poverty is a difficult concept to define in any meaningful sense. Yet, quantitative estimates are necessary if policymakers are to have reliable information on which to make decisions. Since 1965, the United States Government has relied on the estimates developed by the Social Security Administration which, for whatever their defects, appear to be the most reliable data available. The poverty concept developed by the Social Security Administration classifies a family as poor if its income is not roughly three times as great as the cost of an economy food plan for a family of that particular size and farm or nonfarm residence. In 1968, a nonfarm family of four was assumed to be living in poverty if its total money income was less than $3,553. The income deficit of a family is that amount required to raise its income to the poverty threshold.

Table 3 reviews the 1959-68 record of the escape of individuals from poverty. These data demonstrate quite clearly that the rate of decline of poverty for whites has been substantially faster than the rate of decline for nonwhites. Between 1959 and 1968, poverty among whites declined by 39 per cent while poverty among nonwhites declined by 27 per cent. Thus, in 1968 nonwhites made up a greater proportion of the total poor population than they did in 1959 -- the fraction increasing from 27.9 per cent to 31.5 per cent. This much more rapid rate of exodus by whites from poverty is explained by the fact that in 1959 the average poor white family was not nearly as

deeply in poverty as the average poor nonwhite family. In 1959, the median income deficit for white families was only $868 while for nonwhites it was $1,280, or 47.5 per cent higher. Clearly, it took less economic achievement to lift the average white family out of poverty. It should be further noted that in 1968 the median income deficit for poor nonwhite families was $1,260 while for white families it was only $907, a difference of 38.9 per cent. Thus, these figures suggest that the future will continue to witness a more rapid rate of escape from poverty by whites than by nonwhites.

The data in Table 3 are of further interest because they permit an analysis of changes in poverty status by type of family. Disaggregating the poverty data into male and female headed families highlights several important points. Between 1959 and 1968, the rate of decline in poverty among individuals in male headed families of whites and nonwhites was roughly equal and also rather rapid. In 1968, the number of individuals classified as poor in male headed households for both races was roughly half the number in 1959.

Distressingly, however, for female headed families, the pattern was quite different. For the white population, the rate of decline among poor individuals in female headed families was substantially below the rate for individuals in male headed families. By 1968, there were only 16 per cent fewer poor individuals in white female headed households compared with 1959. For nonwhites, the data

on changes in poverty among individuals in female headed families are extremely disturbing. Between 1959 and 1968, the number of nonwhites in poor female headed families increased by 24 per cent, and the number of nonwhite family members under 18 rose by an alarming 35 per cent. Between 1959 and 1968, there was an absolute increase of 609 thousand nonwhite family members 18 or less classified as poor living in a female headed family. So while the 22 million Negroes constituted only 11 per cent of the country's total population in 1968, the 2.3 million poor children in nonwhite families headed by females represented 52 per cent of all such children.

The data on the rate of escape from poverty for different types of families also emphasize the development of a serious schism within the Negro community. Negroes in stable male headed families appear able to take advantage of economic growth and are leaving poverty at roughly the same rates as whites. The opposite appears true for families headed by a female, who appear unable to earn a sufficient income to escape poverty. The rapid increase in the number of poor nonwhites in female headed families -- and particularly the very rapid rise of children 18 and under in their families -- suggests that the problem of poverty in the black community has by no means disappeared.

Having discussed recent changes in the overall poverty population, it is important to examine briefly the rural experience. For farm families the record is much more encouraging with a decline

of almost three-fourths in the number of poor individuals in nine years. Moreover, the rate of decline was roughly equal for whites and nonwhites. These results may in part reflect a growing prosperity in agriculture, but in large part they are due to a migration of the poor of both races from rural to urban settings.

The conclusions from this section are that nonwhite poverty in general has not declined as rapidly as white poverty, primarily because nonwhites classified as poor tended to be substantially poorer than whites classified as poor. This section has also shown that in the last decade there has been an alarming rise in the number of poor nonwhite children under 18 living in female headed families.

Prosperity in the Negro Community: The Importance of Education

The above discussion has obviously reflected a rather pessimistic assessment of several aspects of economic developments in the Negro community -- focusing as it did on nonwhite poverty and the fact that actual white-nonwhite income discrepancies are wider than commonly observed statistics would suggest. To stop here, however, would present a somewhat unbalanced view of Negro economic progress. To present a more balanced picture, it is important to consider the source of some of the recent gains within the Negro community. In particular, it is important to discuss the role of education.

Recent data suggest that Negroes are making considerable gains in both secondary and higher education. Between 1960 and 1969,

the per cent of Negro males aged 25 to 29 who had completed 4 years of high school or more increased from 36 per cent to 60 per cent while the white fraction increased from 63 per cent to 78 per cent. Thus, in 1960 the gap had been 27 percentage points, and in nine years this gap had narrowed to only 18 percentage points. In 1968, for the first time a greater percentage of Negro males aged 25-29 completed high school than Negro females.

In the case of higher education, the gains also have been impressive. Table 4 presents data on trends in Negro college enrollment between 1964 and 1968. In these four years, the number of Negroes in college rose by 85 per cent. What is more striking, however, is the fact that during this period, 82 per cent of this enrollment growth occurred in institutions other than the predominantly Negro colleges. Thus, in only four years, the per cent of Negro college students enrolled outside predominantly Negro colleges increased from 49 per cent to 64 per cent. This fact suggests that the larger institutions are becoming increasingly aware of minority problems and are making a concerted effort to assist minority group students. In four years the number of Negro students at these institutions has more than doubled.

The importance of higher education in the economic achievements of whites and Negroes is underlined by the data in Table 5. It is clear that median incomes for men of both races increase dramatically with increasing amounts of education. What is even more important, the ratio of Negroes' income to that of whites rises as the level of education

climbs. Stated in a slightly different fashion, the relative gaps within the Negro community between those with higher education and those with lower education are wider than for whites. In 1968 a Negro man, aged 25-54, with a high school education had an income 29 per cent above that for a Negro man with only an 8th grade education, while for whites this gap was 26 per cent.

The case of a Negro with some higher education is of particular interest. This is a man with the highest absolute income and the highest income relative to whites. Unfortunately, due to the unavailability of more data, the figures in Table 5 probably seriously understate the contribution of higher education to Negro income. The last line in Table 5 shows the income of whites and Negroes with 1 or more years of college. This category is really a composite of the categories 1 to 3 years of college and 4 or more years of college. Of all Negro men 25 years of age or over in 1967 reporting one or more years of college, 60 per cent were concentrated in the 1-3 year category. For all white men reporting more than 1 year of college, there was a much greater tendency to have four or more years of college, with only 42 per cent concentrated in the 1-3 year class. If a more complete breakdown of the data in Table 5 were available, they would probably indicate a higher return to Negro higher education.

A second reason why the data in Table 5 may understate the returns to higher education for Negroes is that they fail to account

for the age distribution of those achieving higher education. Since major education gains among Negroes have been a rather recent occurrence the better educated Negro man will be substantially younger than his white counterpart. Table 6 documents this point by comparing educational achievements of whites and Negroes at similar age levels. These data show conclusively that the differences in educational achievements are in large part a function of age with the widest gaps among the older segments of the population. It is clear that the best educated within the Negro community are much more highly concentrated in the younger age brackets. Since income increases directly with age, when education is held constant,[1/] due to factors of experience and promotions based on length of service, the failure of the data in Table 5 to account for the relatively younger age distribution of the better educated Negro population seriously underestimates the returns to education for Negro males. The figure for white males with higher education refers to an older population and thus, in part, reflects returns to age and experience as well as returns to education. Unfortunately, we will have to wait until the processing of the 1970 Census has been completed to get more complete data.

The conclusions from this discussion of education then are much more encouraging than the results reached above. Younger Negroes

---

1/ In 1967, the median income of all males aged 25-34, with four years of college, was $8,716, for those with the same education, aged 45-54, it was $12,267, or 40.7 per cent higher.

are making substantial progress in achieving secondary and higher education, and this increased education is associated with higher absolute income and income relative to whites.

Negroes and the Family Assistance Program

As I indicated above, I would like to comment briefly on the proposal to change significantly the principal means through which the Federal Government provides assistance to needy families. In recent years, these programs have become an important source of income for many Negro families headed by females in which a sizable number of children are found. Thus, one can readily understand why the President's recommendation to change them submitted to Congress in August, 1969, has generated so much discussion (and some apprehension) in the Negro community.

It will be recalled that, in broad outline, the proposed family assistance program would have the Federal Government pay a basic income to all families who could not provide for themselves -- whether they are employed or unemployed. It would be geared to dependent families with children. It would replace entirely the largest of the Federally supported public assistance programs (i.e., aid to families with dependent children). Under the proposal, persons (except mothers with preschool children) who accept assistance would be required to register for work or training. It is estimated that in the first year of the program, over half of the families covered would have one member employed or undergoing training.

As recommended to Congress, the family assistance program would work in the following fashion: A family's basic allowance would consist of $500 for the first two members and $300 per member for each additional member. Thus, for a family of four, the allowance would be $1,600 per year.

Cash payments to families would be computed by adjusting the basic allowance to account for the earnings of the family. The first $720 of family income would not affect the payments because it is assumed that there are basic costs of transportation, lunches, clothing, etc., associated with taking a job. Cash payments to families would then be reduced by 50 cents for each additional dollar of earnings above the $720 minimum.

A simple numerical example will illustrate the program's operation. Assume a family of four has a cash income of $2,000. The first $720 of this income would be disregarded, leaving a balance of $1,280. A family's cash payment would then be reduced by half this amount, or by $640. Since the family's basic allowance was $1,600, its cash payment after earnings would be $960.

So far only a rough idea can be provided with respect to the probable coverage of the family assistance program. The projections available are shown in Table 7, as prepared by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in February of this year. According to these estimates, in 1971, about 3.3 million families would be covered; of these 2 million (three-fifths) would be white, and 1.3 million

(two-fifths) would be nonwhites. These families would include close to 18 million persons -- of whom 44 per cent would be nonwhites. Gross payments would approximate $3.5 billion, and nonwhites would receive about $1.5 billion -- or 43 per cent. These annual payments would average around $1,060 for all families, about $1,000 for white families, and about $1,154 for nonwhites. However, since nonwhite families are expected to be somewhat larger (averaging 6.0 members vs. 5.1 members for whites and 5.4 members for all families), payments per capita would be about the same: $196 for all families, $198 for whites, and $192 for nonwhites.

It is difficult to compare the differential impact of the proposed program on particular groups of families compared with the existing program. However, it appears that a somewhat greater proportion of the families covered by the new program would be white compared with those covered by aid to families with dependent children (AFDC). In 1968, there were 1.5 million families participating in AFDC, involving 6.1 million persons, of whom 4.6 million were children. Outlays under the Federally aided programs amounted to $3.4 billion, and the average monthly payment per family was $168 (just over $2,000 per year).

In 1967, according to an HEW survey conducted in 1968, about 51.3 per cent of the families covered by AFDC were white, 46 per cent were Negro, and 2.7 per cent were other nonwhites. In 1961, whites constituted 51.8 per cent of the total, Negroes 43.1 per cent, and

other nonwhites made up the remaining 5 per cent. So during the decade of the 1960's, Negroes as a proportion of total AFDC coverage increased while the proportion for all other groups was declining.

On balance, it appears that the new family assistance program would represent a considerable improvement -- compared with the existing AFDC program -- in about 20 States. Of these, 14 are Southern States (with a heavy concentration of Negroes), and most of the remainder are Western States (with a sizable proportion of Indians and Mexican-Americans among their populations). In 1968, the average annual payment under AFDC in the 14 Southern States was approximately $1,116. However, the average payment varies greatly among these States, and in some it is much below $1,000. Thus, given an annual payment of $1,600 for a family of four, there would be an increase of roughly $480 (or well over 40 per cent) compared with the amounts received by the average AFDC family in this region. While the exact status of families under the old and new programs cannot be determined, there appears to be no doubt whatsoever that the new proposal would result in a real improvement.

In 30 States there would also be an opportunity to make further improvements. However, in these cases, the outcome would depend on whether the States and local governments maintained their existing programs at substantially the same level. If these outlays were held at no less than 90 per cent of the 1968 level, assisted families would be better off in virtually every instance. Under the existing AFDC

program, the average annual payment in these States in 1968 was $2,195 (of which $1,044 represented non-Federal payments). Under the new program (and assuming the 90 per cent maintenance factor), the average payment per family would rise to about $2,536. Thus, the new arrangement would imply an increase of roughly $340, or 15 per cent. The 30 States include primarily the heavily populated northern industrial States plus California. Most of these have a sizable concentration of low-income nonwhites in urban areas.

So, while these estimates of the probable improvement which might accrue under the new program of family assistance are obviously crude, they are suggestive. They imply that Negroes -- and particularly the poverty-stricken families headed by females -- would benefit substantially. And above all, it would create a promising basis for checking the increased dependence on public welfare of a growing segment of the population.

Concluding Observations

The analysis presented here has sketched a rather mixed picture of economic progress among Negroes in the United States. While not meaning to deny or demean the recent impressive economic gains by Negroes, we must be careful that no one is lulled into believing (falsely) that the economic problems of Negroes have been solved. In this regard, the commonly observed income statistics, when accepted at face value,

convey an unwarranted sense of greater economic parity between whites and Negroes than actually exists.

It was also noted that a closer analysis of the available data shows clearly that a definite economic schism has arisen within the Negro community. Individuals in male headed households appear able to share fairly well in economic advances, while those in female headed households are sinking backwards into poverty. Those individuals who have prepared themselves for challenging careers by seeking and obtaining higher education are registering relatively large improvements in incomes, while those without such training are falling further behind. Clearly, the economic condition of those who currently are lagging should be made a matter of serious national concern.

For this reason, the proposed family assistance program is pointing in the right direction, and -- despite reservations many might have about some of its components -- it should be viewed with greater receptivity within the Negro community.

Table 1

Family Income Adjusted to Per Capita Basis, by Type of Family, by Race of Head, 1959 and 1967

	All Families		Husband-wife Families		Female-Headed Families	
	1959	1967	1959	1967 1/	1959	1967 1/
Median Family Income						
White	5893	8274	6089	8269	3538	4879
Nonwhite	3164	5141	3663	5854	1734	3015
Ratio	.54	.62	.60	.71	.49	.62
Persons Per Family						
White	3.58	3.59	3.66	3.66	2.93	3.03
Nonwhite	4.31	4.35	4.42	4.42	4.04	4.29
Per Capita Family Income						
White	1646	2305	1664	2358	1208	1610
Nonwhite	733	1182	829	1324	429	703
Ratio	.45	.51	.50	.56	.36	.44

1/ Data for 1967 refer exclusively to Negroes.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Income in 1967 of Families in the United States, Series P-60, No. 59, April 18, 1969, and, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population. Part 1, United States Summary, 1964

Table 2. Trends in the Income of Families in the United States: 1950 to 1968

INCOME RANK	1968	1967	1965	1961	1950
FAMILIES					
TOTAL - ALL RACES					
PER CENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
LOWEST FIFTH	5.7	5.4	5.3	4.8	4.5
SECOND FIFTH	12.4	12.2	12.1	11.7	12.0
MIDDLE FIFTH	17.7	17.5	17.7	17.4	17.4
FOURTH FIFTH	23.7	23.7	23.7	23.6	23.5
HIGHEST FIFTH	40.6	41.2	41.3	42.6	42.6
TOP 5 PER CENT	14.0	15.3	15.8	17.1	17.0
WHITE					
PER CENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
LOWEST FIFTH	6.0	5.8	5.6	5.2	4.8
SECOND FIFTH	12.7	12.5	12.5	12.1	12.2
MIDDLE FIFTH	17.7	17.5	17.7	17.3	17.3
FOURTH FIFTH	23.4	23.5	23.4	23.2	23.1
HIGHEST FIFTH	40.3	40.7	40.8	42.2	42.5
TOP 5 PER CENT	14.0	14.9	15.5	17.3	17.6
NEGRO AND OTHER RACES					
PER CENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
LOWEST FIFTH	4.8	4.4	4.6	4.0	3.5
SECOND FIFTH	10.5	10.4	10.7	9.7	10.2
MIDDLE FIFTH	16.5	16.4	16.5	15.9	17.6
FOURTH FIFTH	24.6	24.1	24.7	24.3	25.2
HIGHEST FIFTH	43.6	44.7	43.5	46.0	43.5
TOP 5 PER CENT	16.1	17.5	15.5	17.4	16.6

Table 3

Persons Below Poverty Level in 1959 and 1968,

by Family Status and Sex and Race of Head
(Numbers in Thousands)

	1959	1968	Percentage Change
White, Total	28,484	17,395	-38.9
In Families with Male Head, Total	20,211	9,995	-50.5
Head	4,952	2,595	-47.6
Family Members under 18	8,966	4,298	-52.1
Other Family Members	6,293	3,102	-50.7
In Families with Female Head, Total	4,232	3,551	-16.1
Head	1,233	1,021	-17.2
Family Members under 18	2,420	2,075	-14.3
Other Family Members	579	455	-21.4
Unrelated Individuals	4,041	3,849	- 4.8
Negro and Other Races, Total	11,006	7,994	-27.4
In Families with Male Head, Total	7,337	3,710	-49.4
Head	1,452	697	-52.0
Family Members under 18	4,097	2,032	-50.4
Other Family Members	1,788	981	-45.1
In Families with Female Head, Total	2,782	3,439	+23.6
Head	683	734	+ 7.5
Family Members under 18	1,725	2,334	+35.3
Other Family Members	374	371	- 0.8
Unrelated Individuals	887	845	- 4.7

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Poverty in the United States 1959 to 1968, Series P-60, No. 68, December 31, 1969.

Table 4

Negro College Students Enrolled in 1964 and 1968,
by Type of Institution
(Numbers in thousands)

	1964 (Fall)	1968 (Fall)	Change, 1964-68 Number	Percent
Total Enrollment	4,643	6,801	2,158	46
Total Negro Enrollment	234	434	200	85
Percent total enrollment	5	6	(X)	(X)
Enrollment in predominantly Negro colleges	120	156	36	30
Percent of all Negroes in college	51	36	(X)	(X)
Enrollment in other colleges	114	278	164	144
Percent of all Negroes in college	49	64	(X)	(X)

(X) Not applicable.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education

Table 5

Median Income of Men 25 to 54 Years Old, by Educational Attainment, 1968

		Median income, 1968		Negro income as a percent of white
		Negro	White	
Elementary:	Total	$3,900	$5,844	67
	Less than 8 years	3,558	5,131	69
	8 years	4,499	6,452	70
High School:	Total	5,580	7,852	71
	1 to 3 years	5,255	7,229	73
	4 years	5,801	8,154	71
College:	1 or more years	7,481	10,149	74

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

Table 6

Median Years of School Completed for Persons 20 years of Age and Over, by Age, 1969

Age	White	Negro	Difference
20 - 21 years old	12.8	12.2	.6
22 - 24 years old	12.7	12.2	.5
25 - 29 years old	12.6	12.1	.5
30 - 34 years old	12.5	12.0	.5
35 - 44 years old	12.4	10.6	1.8
45 - 54 years old	12.2	9.1	3.1
55 - 64 years old	10.9	7.6	3.3
65 - 74 years old	8.9	6.1	2.8
75 years old and over	8.5	5.2	3.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

Table 7

Racial Distribution of Recipients
Under the Proposed Family Assistance Program:
1971 Projection

(Numbers in millions; amounts in billions of dollars)

Race	Families Covered		Persons Covered		Gross Payments	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
White	2.0	60.6	10.1	56.4	2.0	57.1
Nonwhite	1.3	39.4	7.8	43.6	1.5	42.9
Total	3.3	100.0	17.9	100.0	3.5	100.0

Source: Department of Health Education and Welfare, "Selected Characteristics of Families Eligible for Family Assistance Plan: 1971 Projection," February 2, 1970.

Econ. Development

IMPROVING THE SOUTHERN ENVIRONMENT

Paper by Frank E. Smith, Director, Tennessee Valley Authority, presented at Symposium on "The Emerging South," sponsored by The L. Q. C. Lamar Society and Southwestern at Memphis, Memphis, Tennessee, April 18, 1970.

The South has not been too much concerned about the excesses which threaten the quality of our environment, just as there has not been as much concern in our region as in some other areas about the excesses of an affluent society. What might seem at first glance to be indifference is actually a matter of economics, for both of these circumstances arise from the fact that we have not fully shared in either the affluence or the economic base which has produced the affluence. We are, therefore, still too much preoccupied with efforts to develop an adequate share of that affluence to be very much concerned about some of the questionable long-range effects of the technology upon which a vastly productive economy, and an affluent society, rests.

The Southeast today has a slightly greater part of its population employed in manufacturing enterprises than any other section of the country. Our continued comparative poverty is because we have lower wage rates and because a lower percentage of our income is devoted to

and derived from service industries and to those other aspects of the economy which provide, and consume, the material amenities of present-day life. Most of our major manufacturing industries are relatively new to the region, and oftentimes new to the entire industrial scene. As a result, they are not usually among the worst polluters, for they have come upon the scene at a time when willful violations of pollution control standards can no longer be completely ignored.

This comparative position is not cause for satisfaction, however. Even though we have escaped the dubious blessings of some of the heavy industries which are major contributors to pollution in the established manufacturing centers of the East and Midwest, we have our fair share of pollution. We are meeting here on the banks of the Mississippi, the great artery of life and commerce not only for the Mid-South, but for all of Mid-America. The Mississippi has abused us many times in the past, it is true, but we have also been abusing it for many years. It has been and still is the main garbage and sewage disposal unit for Mid-America, and each year it also carries hundreds of acres of topsoil into the Gulf, washed out from the alluvial plains which surround Memphis. In addition to these long-standing pollutants, in recent years it has picked up the burden of the petro-chemical industry, concentrated from Baton Rouge south, and the agri-chemical industry, which

stretches throughout the Mississippi Valley from Wisconsin and Minnesota to Louisiana. There is no way to measure accurately either the total of these several pollutants, or the resulting compounds, carried each day into the Gulf of Mexico.

Competent students say that the Gulf is showing visible evidence of the impact of this vast tonnage of pollutants, more destructive than mere topsoil. Dr. James M. Sharp, president of Gulf Universities Research Corporation, has been quoted as saying that the Gulf "could become a dead sea," pointing to the fact that "several of our estuaries and sounds are already losing their recreational value and biological productivity."

Dr. Sharp told a group of congressmen that studies costing $150 million are needed merely to pinpoint necessary pollution controls for the Gulf. I do not doubt that the studies are needed. But they must not be accepted as a substitute for action. We know already that the Mississippi must be vastly improved, to say nothing of putting an end to oil spills in the Gulf itself.

One of the problems we face in the South in dealing with pollution is that we have struggled so long and so hard for industrial development that it is easier to look the other way at industrial abuses, whether they be low wages or the abetment (NOT abatement) of pollution. New

industries, like old ones, have learned to employ politically effective law firms and have not been hesitant to use them. I recall that ten or twelve years ago, while fighting on the floor of the House of Representatives against an amendment designed to weaken the Federal antipollution law, I naively mentioned the fact that paper companies were among the chief polluters of our streams as well as being among the leading opponents of a strong antipollution law. There were no paper companies in my then district, but within a few days I had had letters and phone calls from a dozen or so of the most prominent law firms in Mississippi, all wanting to know what I had against the paper industry.

The same hunger for industrial jobs may condition us to accept too readily the easy rationalization of dubious practices instead of demanding a confrontation with the facts.

Nearly twenty years ago I asked the Public Health Service to look into the possible damage to human health caused by the widespread use of pesticides and defoliants in my Delta district. I am ashamed to say that I accepted too readily the PHS response that no serious threat was involved. A case that there is no serious threat can still be made, but today we have a more inclusive definition of what "threat" means.

Since this paper will point up the fact that I have serious reservations about some of the current prophets of doom about the ecology,

let me point out that I, too, have several times been branded as such an irresponsible doomsday man on this subject. This began when I attempted unsuccessfully, back in 1954, to have recreation added to the benefits considered in evaluating Corps of Engineers water projects, and includes ridicule when I said just three years ago that the nation would have to spend at least $100 billion before the year 2000 in improving the quality of its water and maintaining an adequate supply. Today I think we can agree that $100 billion is a very conservative estimate, even without reading between the lines of the President's recent modest proposals.

Today we are told that the nation's entire life style must change if we are to avoid a disastrous upset in the ecological balance, assuming we accept as fact the premise that the upset has not already occurred. I agree that we must reevaluate many priorities, and some of our long accepted standards about economic progress. But I do not accept for one minute the concept that we can turn our backs on economic expansion and development. We cannot achieve a satisfactory quality of life for all Americans, let alone the South, from our present inadequate economic base. To expand that base, we are going to have to continue to develop our natural resources. That, in turn, requires a completely candid appraisal of our environmental condition.

First, as much as I deplore it, we must recognize the fact that there is no pristine wilderness left, and that we will sacrifice even more quality of life if we let our existing resources waste into a pseudo-wilderness.

Some of us must wake up to the fact that there was more pollution in a Cherokee or Choctaw wigwam than there is on the streets of Knoxville or Los Angeles, and that some of the Cherokee and Choctaw villages were as befouled with waste and water pollution as bad as some of the worst alleys in Memphis or Greenwood.

Some of the worst pollution, for me, is visual pollution, and I count as part of that the dirt and misery of rural and urban slums which still abound over the South. In my trips over southern Appalachia I see some of the most disheartening signs of rural poverty, degraded housing, and diseased water supply against a backdrop of beautiful rustic mountain greenery that, without the close-up, delights the soul of us environmentalists.

There is no possibility of providing the economic base for full opportunity for our black citizens without continued economic expansion. Whether they realize it or not, some of our best intentioned people would maintain our black people in the bleakest of environments in the name of protecting the quality of our environment. Perhaps unconsciously they buy the "big house" premise that the Negro is better off in a blessed

primitive state, dreaming from the cabin stoop of Saturday night in the by-and-by.

But continued economic expansion and development need not mean a continuing decline in the quality of our environment. Achieving the necessary environmental controls to bring about the quality will not be cheap, however. They are already costing large sums, but they will have to cost truly vast sums if they are to be effective. So far it has been easier to talk about the need to protect the environment than about the cost of that action, and we are losing valuable time every day because the talk is an excuse for further delay in putting up the money on a realistic scale.

Make no mistake about it--the added costs are going to be borne by the individual citizens of the country, both as taxpayers and as consumers. Much of the cost will come in the form of additional taxes, if the various levels of government undertake to meet their responsibilities in achieving environmental quality. If tax incentives are used on a large scale to encourage industry to adopt proper antipollution devices and processes, the result will not immediately appear in the consumer's bill, but it will appear in additional taxes to replace those which are, by this device, foregone. I think the tax incentive system has many inherent weaknesses, not the least of which is that the government may be lax in enforcement if severity means a loss of tax revenue. Pollution abatement

should be a part of the basic cost of doing business--which is already deductible--not an added tax benefit.

If rigid pollution control is accepted as a part of the cost of doing business, naturally the cost will be borne by the consumer who buys the products or services produced. The added costs of living which result from this are already noticeable, and they will become more so in a relatively short period of time. The real test of the public's willingness to pay for a quality environment will come within the next few years, in the form of items like the added costs for automobiles and the fuels which propel them. We cannot afford selective non-pollution, however, and all automobiles and all fuels should have to meet the same standards.

I am personally involved in an on-going program to provide adequate environmental controls for the TVA power generating facilities. The capital costs here will total several hundred million dollars, and they will represent a substantial item which will have to be reflected in increased costs to the users of the electricity being generated. Fuel costs have been stepped up at an annual rate of several million dollars, as a result of environmental considerations. Low sulphur content coal is an example of added control, at added cost, that TVA and other utilities are attempting to obtain, with little success. There is a limited supply at best, and most of it is being sold at negotiated prices well above the

current market to foreign metallurgical buyers, notably Japan. Another possible solution is low sulphur oil. Here we are victims of the artificial price restraints of import quotas--if there were no import quotas, low sulphur oil from the Carribbean could serve this area of the country at a price competitive with other fuels.

TVA was delinquent in not establishing, until 1965, a reclamation provision in its contracts with the suppliers of strip mine coal. Such a provision is part of our standard form now, however, even though no private utility has adopted one. We are carefully following up the reclamation procedure required, and if it proves to have any defects or loopholes, they will be corrected. I have checked a number of the areas where reclamation procedures have been followed, and in some cases after only two or three years the land is actually in better shape than the scarred hillsides that existed before mining, from both the aesthetic and the economic viewpoints.

Speaking of TVA's fuel problems, one evidence is almost within sight of this hotel, a few miles down the river--the Allen steam generating plant built by the City of Memphis after the Dixon-Yates fiasco fifteen years ago, and presently in the process of being purchased by TVA as part of the re-entry of Memphis into the TVA power system. The Allen plant was built with inadequate provisions for control of the dust particles

which sometimes make the horribly dirty smoke plumes pouring from the plant. TVA installed electrostatic precipitators which proved inadequate for the task. We have now virtually designed our own precipitators, and we hope the manufacturer can deliver according to our specifications.

However, at the Allen plant, as at all other coal burning generating stations, even with the dust removed, there is still the problem of sulphur in the fumes. We are conducting extensive research into processes for either recapturing the sulphur or eliminating it from the discharge, but progress is not very encouraging. This is one of the reasons why nuclear power plants are likely, in the long run, to be the cleanest. TVA hopes to begin next year the initial operation of the largest nuclear plant in the country, near Athens, Alabama. Although TVA will operate the plant always with great care and caution, there is no way to completely pinpoint potential environmental problems from nuclear plants except through detailed monitoring of actual operating conditions. TVA will carry on intensive monitoring and expects that the result will be a major contribution to the problem of supplying clean energy for a cleaner environment.

The chief emphasis of this paper is that we must continue to develop our natural resources and otherwise expand our economy to provide the jobs and the economic security necessary to give all of our people a

share of our national abundance. At the same time, however, we must do whatever is necessary to make sure that every aspect of this development not only protects the quality of our environment but that it improves that environment.

Improvement can be made, even if we achieve few millennia. The smog expelled from London is the now oft-repeated example, but I want to cite an example of what has been done in one part of the South which demonstrates what can be done all over the nation.

The Tennessee River is the cleanest major river in the country. What is more important for the purposes of this discussion, it is the one river that is cleaner today than it was thirty years ago, in spite of the investment of some two billion dollars in new industrial plants along the shorelines of its lakes. It is cleaner because the TVA, with relatively little enforcement power, has been working to make it so. The only antipollution power which TVA has is built around the requirement that an easement to cross the TVA shoreline be obtained from TVA for discharges from any type of installation on the shore. We have, however, no control over discharge abuses which existed before TVA, or over the pollution of some of the tributary streams before they reach the TVA impoundments.

As a result, the Olin Mathieson Company, which now owns the historic salt lick at Saltville, Virginia, continues to pour enough salt into

the north fork of the Holston River to the extent that special treatment of the water in the river as far southwest as Knoxville is necessary. Paper companies in western North Carolina continue to discharge both waste and discoloration into our tributaries there, so it has been generations since the once beautiful French Broad was clear. Farther south is the classic example of pollution, the Copper Basin of the Ocoee River east of Chattanooga, where the metallic water colors the entire stream bed, even though the sulphuric acid no longer escapes into the air.

Knoxville and Chattanooga, the two largest cities in east Tennessee, have secondary sewage treatment plants either in operation or under construction, but in Knoxville the effectiveness of the treatment is often wasted because of the discharges made by several industrial plants in the city. At Chattanooga we could not in good conscience provide recreational access facilities to the new shoreline of Nickajack Lake because of the sewage being dumped into the lake by the city and other nearby governmental subdivisions. In industrial areas I think it is evident that we really need tertiary sewage treatment.

Despite these drawbacks, however, the Tennessee River system as a whole is clean enough to allow millions of people to swim in it each spring, summer, and fall, and to afford millions more the opportunity to fish in it during all twelve months.

We believe we have made some positive gains in air quality, and not only in relation to our steam plant plumes. The most obvious example is the improvement in the smoke emissions for our cities generally. The air quality may be worse because of greater numbers of automobiles, but there is no longer the black overhang of coal smoke where electricity has become the source of both heat and power. We have hopes that TVA can help demonstrate central effluent disposal systems for industrial corridors, as an example of how existing industries can cut down air pollution with minimum cost.

I have dwelt at considerable length on TVA's efforts to improve the environment because they are related to a broader effort to help improve the quality of life by advancing the quantity of income, as well as the broader quality of the environment. The South is in the process of becoming industrialized, and consequently urbanized, but there is good reason to hope that it can escape some of the worst of urban blight while throwing off some of the worst of the rural blight which has been so prevalent for so long.

The dominant characteristic of the changing patterns of living has perhaps been the fading of independent living and working conditions based on the agrarian economy of a generation ago and the emergence of a far more complex pattern of urban living based on an industrialized

economy. The many streams of economic and social life, once looked upon as separate and self-sufficient, have reached an interdependence which is at once both stimulating and depressing.

As we attempt to adjust the South to this new interdependence, we accept, without question, the necessity of physically cleaning up our environment, but we still need to give first priority to the cleansing of the human environment so that Southerners can be equally free to develop the skills necessary to both earn a livelihood and pursue happiness in the kind of society where people can live and work together with decency and dignity.

What can we do to protect the Southern environment and improve its quality?

First of all, we can protect and improve the national environment. Very few environmental problems recognize state boundaries. Only national solutions and national standards will cure them. We must recognize the fact that very few conservation programs have been established, in the South or anywhere else, without the carrot of Federal money or the stick of Federal standards.

There is legitimate reason for cooperative enforcement programs, but final enforcement should not be a matter for solely local determination. If for no other reason, dedicated local officials need the mainstay of Federal

standards as a backup for their own procedures. As in many other matters, states' rights in this field is usually a cover for states' wrongs.

Thanks to many historic, geographic, and economic factors, we in the South have a better than average share of open space. We very much need, however, to improve its quality and make sure it is available for all citizens.

Among other goals, we need to protect it from visual pollution. The stretch of Interstate 40 that I drive from Knoxville to Memphis was one of the most beautiful in the entire country when first completed, but it is rapidly and thoroughly being polluted with endless roadside signs and billboards.

Billboard control and rural zoning are examples of the local effort needed for quality local environment. Noise abatement is another, and there is long precedent in towns like Memphis. Organized efforts do not have to be confined to national campaigns to be productive.

Another vital need is the addition of more open-space recreation areas. We do not have enough now, and the shortage will be acute in a few years. Beyond the need for more Federal, state, and local programs to acquire them, we need to step up local pressures to expand existing and developing Federal projects to make recreational benefits available as a by-product. An aggressive state agency, for instance, is an ideal instrument

for helping to establish open-space recreation areas as an adjunct to virtually every Corps of Engineers project.

The national trend toward decentralization of industry is a good one. We in the South have been trying to achieve this for a long time as part of our economic development, and for the first time there is today a general acceptance of the validity of our goals.

For a long time we were willing to accept any sort of industrial development or expansion, because it was better than nothing. We are becoming more selective, and we can become even more choosy if we selectively develop our resources on a more carefully planned basis. For instance, there is plenty of room for a Tennessee-Tombigbee project, just as there is for more industrial site-harbor development on the Mississippi. But before we bring industries into any of these sites, developed wholly or partially at public expense, the design of their plants and operations should be rigidly examined to bar any pollution. Even the plant itself should meet requirements about harmonious blending with the landscape or the general environment. The participation of some type of public program in most of the major industrial locations in the South today provides basis enough for improved environmental standards.

Before we allow ourselves to be overcome by nostalgic recollections of the real or imagined qualities of small town life in the South, let

us remember some of the very real defects. Most obviously, small town slums and small town poverty have been equaled only by rural poverty, generating a situation that made even ghetto slums more inviting. The dirtiest big city street of half-abandoned houses, stores, and factories can be no more dismal and depressing than the streets of some of our small Southern towns.

Elimination of visual pollution can be as important in keeping young people off the migrant trail as any other factor, assuming the all-important job opportunity is available. The people influenced by the small aesthetic qualities are likely to be the ones who contribute the most to achieving other environmental qualities.

There are other important goals to which we in the South can work to achieve environmental quality without sacrificing the imperative need for continued but more intelligent overall economic development.

One of our most urgent problems in the field of human conservation is the necessity of reducing the birthrate. In much of the South we have, in the past decade, achieved for the first time a balance of in-migration. This has been primarily the result of increased job opportunities in the region. Even though migration has been greatly reduced, it is still a major influence on population trends, especially in parts of Appalachia and from the old plantation country of the Mississippi Valley.

There is no pat formula for reducing the birthrate. Some reduction is occurring naturally as people with higher economic and educational levels voluntarily reduce the size of their families. Essential success, however, will come only with an aggressive program of making birth control and family planning information a basic requirement, not only for welfare clients but for all young people as they reach the age level where they might become parents. In most areas of the South there is less organized resistance by religious groups to population control procedures. There is no real reason why there should not be widespread liberalization of abortion laws, primarily to benefit low income groups. There could also be large-scale information programs about sterilization procedures.

To sum it all up, let us in the South be in the forefront of every realistic move to protect the quality of environment. But let us not forget that a lot of our environment needs its quality vastly improved before it is worth protecting. Our human resource still needs the benefit of much natural resource development before it will be in a position to use and enjoy the quality environment we all want. Because we have a better physical environment to start with, there is no reason why we should not seek the highest quality of life in our goals for the South.

As a public service—

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION

is pleased to send you this

Teacher's Copy of

The Pentagon vs Free Enterprise

by Senator William Proxmire

(With Teacher's Guide Attached)

(For further information and order form for up to 100 copies for classroom use—which will be sent without charge—please turn page.)

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
15 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

Return Requested

NON PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
NEW YORK, N. Y.
PERMIT NO. 5956

Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Bar Lenard

ORDER FORM

The sample copy of our latest Sidney Hillman Reprint, with Teacher's Guide attached (see inside back cover), is sent to you as a public service for classroom use. If you would like additional copies of this reprint or of earlier reprints listed below, fill out this order form and return to us. Up to 100 copies of each reprint are available to you without charge for classroom use. For further information about the Sidney Hillman Foundation and the reprint series, see inside front cover of the Reprint itself.

If you have any comments on the usefulness of these reprints in the classroom situation, we would be happy to hear from you.

Quantity	*Title*
.....	"The Pentagon vs. Free Enterprise," by Sen. William Proxmire. (If additional teacher's guide desired please check ☐) No. 34.
.....	"China Policy for the '70's," by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. No. 33.
.....	"The Dynamics of Misery," by Michael Harrington. No. 32.
.....	"Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?" by Martin Luther King, Jr. No. 31.

If your name and/or address are *not* the same as the name and/or address on the reverse side of this sheet, please fill in below.

NAME .....
(Please print)

INSTITUTION .....
(Please print)

ADDRESS .....
(Please print)

CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP CODE .....
(Please print)

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
15 Union Square, New York, N. Y. 10003

THE PENTAGON
VS.
FREE ENTERPRISE

by SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE

Number Thirty-Four in the
Sidney Hillman Reprint Series
published by the
SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
as a public service

"We want a better America, an America that will give its citizens, first of all, a higher and higher standard of living so that no child will cry for food in the midst of plenty. We want to have an America where the inventions of science will be at the disposal of every American family, not merely for the few who can afford them. An America that will have no sense of insecurity and which will make it possible for all groups, regardless of race, creed or color to live in friendship, to be real neighbors; an America that will carry its great mission of helping other countries to help themselves."

SIDNEY HILLMAN, 1946

The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.

The words above perhaps best sum up the ideals for which Sidney Hillman lived and died, and serve as the guiding spirit for the Foundation which bears his name. Through its program of lectureship and scholarship grants, its awards and its reprint series, the Sidney Hillman Foundation seeks to promote the ideals of service to the community cherished by Sidney Hillman and all labor, and bring them closer to realization.

SIDNEY HILLMAN REPRINT SERIES

From time to time the Sidney Hillman Foundation reprints and distributes outstanding speeches, articles and broadcasts as a public service to teachers for classroom use. These reprints deal with a variety of subjects of pressing concern, such as the protection of civil liberties, improved race relations, the advancement of social welfare and economic security and greater world understanding. Requests for quantities of up to 100 copies of each reprint will be filled without charge. For quantities of over 100 and up to 1000 copies, a mailing and handling charge of $1 per hundred has been established; remuneration should accompany each order. Orders for quantities of more than 1000 wil be filled at cost.

Sample copies of other reprints available will be sent to teachers on request.

SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
REPRINT DEPARTMENT
15 Union Square, New York, N. Y. 10003

THE PENTAGON
VS.
FREE ENTERPRISE

by SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE

The military-industrial complex has a great and pervasive influence on the life of the United States. Everyone agrees on that. But whether its influence is unwarranted or unhealthy is, of course, the question that has provoked heated national debate. The size and influence of the complex have given rise to legitimate concern, because of the military's tendency to identify national security with ever-larger arsenals, and because of its growing and heretofore unchallenged claim on the natural and human resources needed to combat the country's domestic ills. Compounding this concern is the documented evidence that the military and defense industries are guilty of inefficient and otherwise questionable business practices—particularly in the area of procurement—that not only are wasteful but stifle the principle of open competition that is basic to our free enterprise system.

Military and military-related spending now totals more than $80-billion annually and consumes a tenth of the Gross National Product. Because the defense budget has not been as thoroughly scrutinized and debated as budgets for civilian programs, and because of past experience with national security costs greatly exceeding initial estimates, the allocation of these funds is of primary importance. The defense budget should not be allowed to just "grow," but should be subject to the same control as the rest of the budget.

In the past only one-tenth of the total staff of the Bureau of the Budget has been assigned to review the military budget. In all fairness, Robert Mayo, the present director of the bureau, has testified that in the future military expenditures will be subject to the same scrutiny as are civilian programs. This review is absolutely essen-

---

This reprint was adapted from an article by Senator William Proxmire which appeared in the *Saturday Review*.

Copyright 1970 *Saturday Review*, Inc.

tial, and I hope that it will be accomplished. My own investigations and those of Congress's Joint Economic Committee reveal that approximately $10-billion could be cut without diminishing national security in the least, and the Subcommittee on Economy in Government in its report *The Military Budget and National Economic Priorities* has formally recommended that such a cut be made.

In fiscal year 1969, $42-billion was awarded in contracts for defense procurement, making it the largest single item in the military budget (about 25 per cent of the total federal budget), and most important, therefore, to those concerned with rising military costs. Procurement includes defense contracts and all purchases or rentals of supplies, equipment, and services. Procurement is often referred to as the lifeblood of defense contractors.

The most efficient and economical way to approach procurement is through competitive bidding; the Congress has repeatedly and consistently directed the Department of Defense to buy competitively. The Pentagon, however, increasingly resorts to practices that reduce competition, and relies more and more heavily on negotiated procurement. Formally advertised competitive military contract dollar awards dropped from 13.4 per cent in fiscal year 1967 to 11 percent in fiscal year 1969. Single source procurement increased to 57.9 per cent. Last year, about 90 per cent of the Pentagon's and 98 per cent of NASA's contract awards were negotiated under "exceptions"—too often broad and vague exceptions.

The Defense Department, of course, defends negotiated procurement as being comparable to competitive bidding, but only competitive procurement can really give the desired emphasis to dollar cost. Negotiation on nonprice elements cannot completely or successfully substitute for price competition. Experts who have appeared before the Subcommittee on Economy in Government have indicated that procurement costs in the absence of competition can be from 25 per cent to 50 per cent higher than they would have

been had competition been present.

Negotiated arrangements can also lend themselves to repeated dealings with certain favored and trusted suppliers. If desired, there are practically effortless ways to get around the regulations requiring competitive bidding. As a part of these regulations, the 1962 Truth-in-Negotiations Act was designed to protect the taxpayer in the absence of true competition, but if a procurement officer determines that competition is adequate or that a standard catalogue price is in effect, the act does not apply. It is also possible to waive the requirements (again under the Truth-in-Negotiations Act) for a contractor to supply cost data. Defense firms, fully aware of the existence of these loopholes, may refuse to supply the cost data even at the risk of loss of a sale. This amounts to a gamble that the government needs their product enough to waive the requirements eventually and proceed with the purchase.

"Locked Into"

When a firm has actually won a contract to do the research on a major weapons system, it occupies a favored position and is more likely to be chosen to do the work on actual production of the system. In the jargon of defense spending, this is known as being "locked into" a contract. The knowledge gained during the research phase undoubtedly provides a competitive advantage in subsequent negotiations—an advantage that usually means the production contract.

Another way for the firm to improve its position over the life of the contract is commonly referred to as "buy in, get well later." Once a contractor has won the contract, if his costs increase or he cannot meet the agreed delivery date, the government will "get him well" by meeting the higher price or accepting later delivery.

Gordon W. Rule, a civilian procurement officer with responsibility for the F-111, the attack

plane whose production has been cut back drastically because of mechanical problems and soaring costs, has told the subcommittee, "No matter how poor the quality, how late the product, and how high the cost, they [the defense contractors] know nothing will happen to them." Thus, the contractors attach the greatest importance to submitting low estimates in order to win the contract even if they suspect at the time that costs will have to be raised later.

Prices and costs can be easily increased during production through the numerous change orders issued (which can potentially number in the thousands on a major system). Referred to as "contract nourishment," these change orders can be initiated by either the government or the supplier, and are not adequately controlled or audited—a point I will elaborate on in my discussion of defense firm accounting practices.

The Subcommittee on Economy in Government has again recommended (in its report of last May) that the Defense Department make greater use of competitive bidding in order to eliminate these problems. If necessary, further legislation should be enacted to make the submission of cost and pricing data mandatory under the Truth-in-Negotiations Act for all contracts awarded other than through formally advertised price competition procedures, and in all sole-source procurements whether or not formally advertised.

Under the conditions just outlined, it does not take much imagination to see how defense suppliers might come to occupy a secure position. Indeed, some companies do almost all of their business with the Department of Defense. In fiscal year 1968, the 100 largest defense contractors were awarded 67.4 per cent of total defense contracts, the highest percentage since 1965. The largest firms hold "entrenched" positions: eighty-four of the firms on the list of 100 largest firms in 1968 had also been on the list in 1967; eighteen of those on the list of the largest twenty-five were on this list in both 1967 and 1968. The five firms doing over $1-billion worth of business with the government in 1967 maintained this volume in the subsequent year.

In spite of their key positions with respect to defense procurement, some of these large firms, such as Lockheed, Boeing, General Dynamics, North American Rockwell, and Litton Industries, refused to appear when invited to testify at recent hearings of the Subcommittee on Economy in Government. To say the least, it appears curious that they would not want to present their views, unless of course they have nothing to add.

Interchanging Personnel

In addition to repeated dealings with these same firms, the involvement or relationship between the Pentagon and its suppliers is reinforced by the common practice of interchanging personnel. Many retired officers leave their procurement responsibilities to take positions with the very firms with which they have been negotiating. At present, more than 2,100 retired officers of the rank of colonel or higher are holding jobs with firms doing defense work. The ten companies employing the largest number of them had 1,065 on their payrolls, an average of 106, three times the average number employed in 1959.

The Subcommittee on Economy in Government, recognizing this conflict-of-interest potential, recommended that the Government Accounting Office compile a defense-industrial personnel exchange directory—a kind of catalogue of the officials who have moved from the Pentagon to defense industries or vice versa. My amendment to the military authorization act calls for yearly Pentagon disclosure of the names of all retired military procurement officers, all those of the rank of major or higher, and all former civilian personnel who occupied high positions (GS-13 or above) in the Department of Defense who go to work for the big contractors. It also calls for annual disclosures of the names of former defense contractor employees who now occupy high positions in the Department of Defense.

What this lack of competitive procedure and

poor business practices means to the government and taxpayers is higher bills to pay for inefficiencies and waste. The higher costs simply do not buy more security. The extensive and pervasive economic inefficiency and waste in military procurement have been well documented by the investigations of the Subcommittee on Economy in Government, by other committees of the House and Senate and by the General Accounting Office.

Assistant Secretary of the Air Force Robert H. Charles testified that "the procurement of our major weapons systems has in the past been characterized by enormous cost overruns—several hundred per cent—and by technical performance that did not come up to promise." He attributed a substantial portion of the waste to cost reimbursement type contracts, and to the absence of price competition.

Richard A. Stubbing, a defense analyst at the Bureau of the Budget, in a study of the performance of complex weapons systems, concluded: "The low overall performance of electronics in major weapons systems developed and produced in the last decade should give pause to even the most outspoken advocates of military-hardware programs."

It has been repeatedly pointed out that the greatest cost overruns occur in negotiated contracts. Even in the absence of overruns, however, evidence has been presented that prices are being negotiated at too high a level from the beginning. Further, a retired Air Force officer, Col. A. W. Buesking, a former director of management systems control in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, summarized a study he had conducted by saying that control systems essential to prevent excessive costs did not exist.

The cost overruns on the C-5A cargo plane (recently grounded with a wing crack) are the most shocking example of the defense industry's inefficiency and mismanagement. The total cost overrun in the C-5A program has been revealed to be as much as $2-billion. The program originally called for 120 C-5A planes to cost the government $3.4-billion, but because of cost overruns, mainly experienced in the performance of

the Lockheed C-5A contract, actual costs will total $5.3-billion. Last November the Air Force finally conceded that the cost increases made at least part of the program too expensive to continue, and it announced it would buy only eighty-one of the planes.

Still another example is a more than $200-million overrun on the Mark II Avionics program—the radars, computers, and inertial equipment for the F-111. The original contract price was $143-million, and former Secretary Charles has revealed that the actual costs may go as high as $360-million. On the Mark XVII program, the reentry system for the Minuteman, the original contract price was $36.4-million, but the actual costs had reached $70.2-million at the time the contract was ended.

Inefficiencies and Costs

In December 1969, the General Accounting Office reported that the costs of fifty-seven major weapons systems had increased by $21-billion. However, this figure is seriously understated, in my judgment, because of the inadequacies of the Pentagon's cost-information system. GAO found that the Pentagon still does not maintain a central inventory of the major weapons systems that would show their cost and other information.

The cost to the government and taxpayers is further increased, because the government encourages inefficiency. Let me elaborate on this incredible statement. The Department of Defense supplies both fixed and working capital to many contractors. DOD often owns the plant in which the contractor will work. Too frequently the amount of property owned by the government exceeds that of the defense company. Further, a disproportionate amount of this government equipment is held by the larger contractors.

In fiscal year 1968, the amount of industrial plant equipment costing over $1,000 that was used by the defense suppliers totaled $2.7-billion

—a $100-million increase over the $2.6-billion of 1967.

The Pentagon supplies working capital by making "progress payments" that can reimburse contractors for as much as 100 per cent of incurred costs. Incurred cost reimbursement payments might be a better name, however, since progress payments have no correlation to the amount of work actually completed. Under these circumstances money advanced as progress payments really amounts to a kind of no-interest government loan that inflates contractors' profits. Given this "free" working capital, a contractor is in a position to bid low for other government work or to finance commercial work. It is possible for a contractor to incur costs equal to 75 per cent of the original contract price while completing only 50 per cent or less of the job. Not only is the Department of Defense providing a negative incentive for a firm to use its own working capital, but at the same time it is developing a financial stake in the contractor.

In the C-5A case, Lockheed received progress payments of $1.52-billion on reported incurred costs of $1.57-billion, as of May 30, 1969. In addition, the contract is being performed in a government-owned plant. The plant and the government-owned machinery employed at the plant have an original acquisition cost of $113.8-million.

Yet another instance of these most unusual business practices is the government's policy with regard to patent rights. It permits contractors to obtain exclusive patent rights, free of charge, on inventions produced in the performance of their contracts. Admiral Rickover and Murray Weidenbaum (now Assistant Secretary of the Treasury) both contend that this practice further reduces competition because it gives the "ins" a competitive advantage over the "outs." Legislative action should be taken to establish uniform guidelines for all federal agencies on the use of patents obtained for inventions made under government contract.

Admiral Rickover also testified that $2-billion of excessive costs results from the absence of

uniform accounting standards alone. It is difficult to accurately determine costs and profits. "In one case," reported Admiral Rickover, "the Navy allowed a shipbuilder to charge salaries and other pay directly on government contracts, while similar costs on commercial contracts were charged as overhead and allocated to both government and commercial work. The government was thus paying directly for work done on commercial contracts. The Navy had accepted these costing methods because, it said, the contractor's system conformed to generally accepted accounting principles. In this particular case the GAO eventually found that the government had been overcharged by more than $5-million."

To quote Admiral Rickover further on the problems of accounting standards, "Thus, contractors can use change orders as a basis for repricing these contracts. They have almost unlimited freedom in pricing change orders, because their accounting system will never show the cost of the work. The government can never really evaluate the amounts claimed, or check up to see if it paid too much."

Keeping Records

The Subcommitttee on Economy in Government has recommended that the Department of Defense require contractors to maintain books and records on firm-fixed-price contracts showing the costs of manufacturing all components in accordance with uniform accounting standards.

Not only should there be tighter control on cost records, but something must be done in the area of profits. The Department of Defense cannot accurately state what profits are in defense procurement. First, it defines profits as a percentage of costs, and does not report profits as a return on investment. Second, the Department of Defense does not obtain complete information about profits on firm-fixed-price contracts. Third, without uniform accounting standards, it is diffi-

cult, if not impossible, to discover the costs and profits in defense production unless months are spent to reconstruct contractors' books.

Many witnesses have told the subcommittee that profits in defense are higher than nondefense profits. Murray Weidenbaum found in his study "that between 1962 and 1965 a sample of large defense contractors earned 17.5 per cent net profit (measured as a return on investment), while companies of similar size doing business in the commercial market earned 10.6 per cent."

Profits should also be considered both as a percentage of costs and as a return on investment. Since the Department of Defense supplies fixed and working capital in many cases, defense contractors would show an enormously high return on investment if it were computed.

Another recommendation of the subcommittee is that the GAO study the feasibility of incorporating into its review of contractors the should-cost method of estimating costs on the basis of industrial engineering and financial management principles. In this way, cost estimates could be freed from being based on original estimates that may be inflated.

Finally, we can point to a relation between defense spending and inflation. Both the Korean war period and the Vietnam era have been accompanied by price increases; this suggests that defense expenditures have made significant contributions to inflationary pressures. The consequent reduced value of savings and fixed income assets during periods of inflation and the 10 per cent income tax surcharge are certainly taxpayer burdens as much as the high cost of the defense budget.

High interest rates may eventually stop the inflation, but they hurt the homeowner, the aged, the consumer, and the small businessman in the process. A more intelligent way to curb the price spiral would be to cut defense costs.

The record is clear. Our priorities as a nation need to be restructured, and the place to start is with the bloated defense budget. Only when Congress is again in control of the entire budget can we make progress on the domestic front.

33

Teacher's Guide

The Pentagon vs Free Enterprise

by Senator William Proxmire

Questions

1. How large a part of our Gross National Product does military and military-related spending represent?

2. Has the Budget Bureau in the past given equal scrutiny to military as against civilian spending?

3. How much could be cut from the military budget without diminishing national security, according to the author?

4. What is the largest item in the military budget?

5. What proportion of military contracts are awarded through competitive bidding?

6. What is the practice the author described as as being "locked into" a contract?

7. Why does the author say that higher military procurement costs do not buy more security?

8. What does cost "overrun" mean, and what effect does it have on our military spending?

9. Are profits of defense contractors, measured against investment, higher or lower than non-defense companies?

Projects

1. Analyze the most recent Federal budget. What percentage of Federal spending is for defense or defense-related purposes? Break down the defense budget into its major parts.

2. Study a list of America's 50 or 100 largest corporations. Which of them largely depend on defense contracts? How many of them do some military contract work?

Outside Reading

John Kenneth Galbraith. *How to Control the Military* (Signet Paperback, June 1969).

Richard J. Barnet. *The Economy of Death* (Atheneum, 1969).

Seymour Melman. *Our Depleted Society* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1965).

Erwin Knoll & Judith Nies McFadden. *American Militarism, 1970* (Viking Press, 1969).

Clark Mollenhoff. *The Pentagon—Politics, Profits and Plunder* (Putnam, 1967).

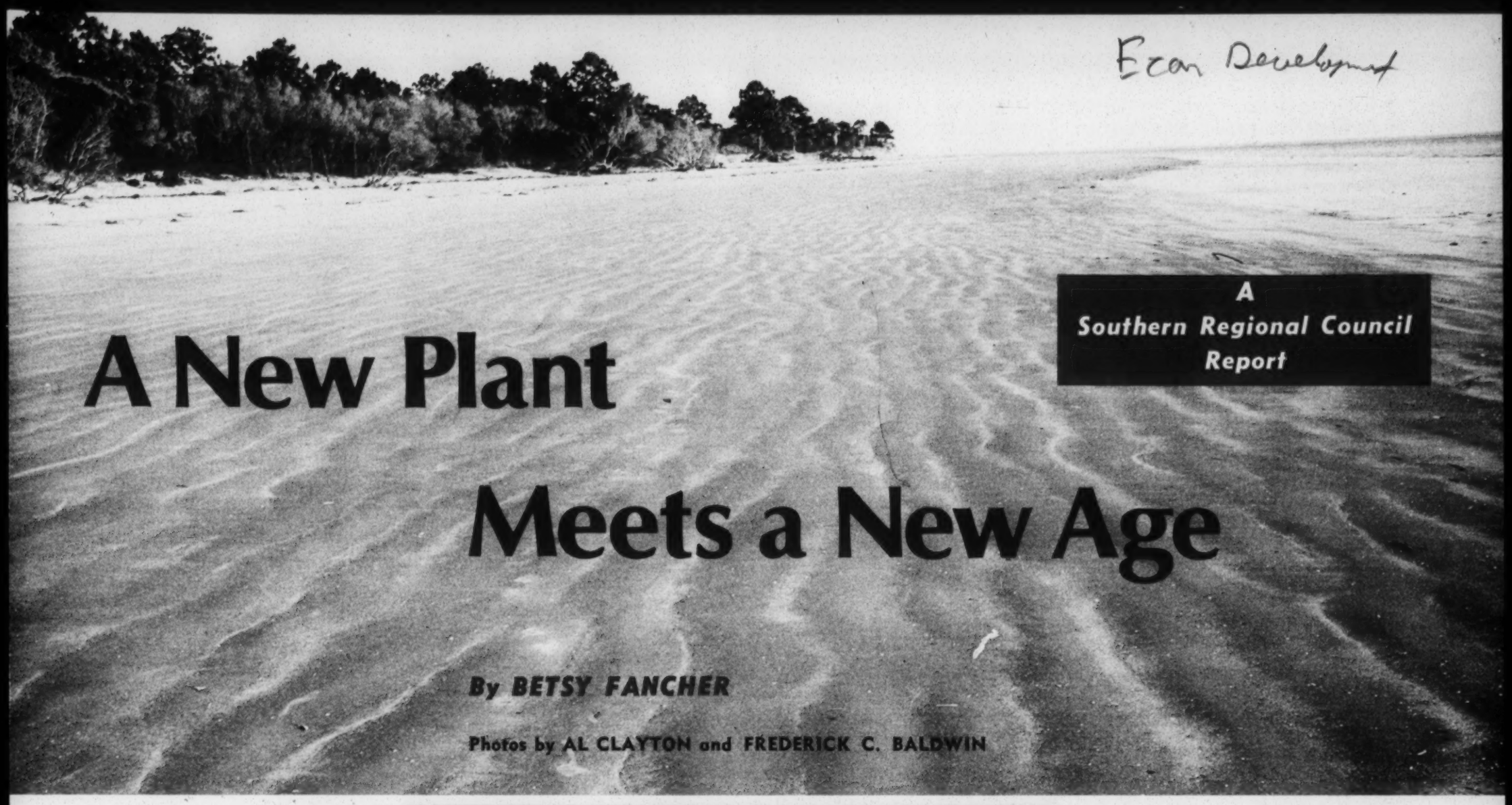
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MAIL FRAUD LAW

PROTEC

CONSUMERS
INVESTORS
BUSINESSME
MEDICAL PA
STUDENTS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Econ Development

A
Southern Regional Council
Report

A New Plant Meets a New Age

By BETSY FANCHER

Photos by AL CLAYTON and FREDERICK C. BALDWIN

Beaufort, S. C.

South Carolina's Port Royal Sound, with its sky-blue estuaries, oak-forested islands and vast, undulating marshes, has been a debatable land since it was first sighted by the Indian slave trader Pedro de Quexos on Aug. 18, 1521. The discovery ushered in the spiritual tyranny of Spanish Catholicism among the Indians. A hundred years later the island was christened Hilton Head by Capt. William Hilton, who claimed it for England and returned to Carlisle Bay in January of 1664 to report on the rich yield of fish, game, wild fruit and fowl. "The ayr is clear and sweet, the country very pleasant and delightful. And we would wish that all they that want a happy settlement of our English nation were well transported here."

The first amphibious battle in U. S. military history was fought at Hilton Head Island on Port Royal Sound in 1861, when 13,000 federal marines overran the Confederate Fort Walker. Another battle followed: a battle of the spirit. The Port Royal Experiment was undertaken when dozens of young abolitionist missionaries—Gideonites they called themselves—settled in the area to deliver the newly unshackled slaves of Hilton Head and its neighboring islands into the promised land of New England liberalism. Here a peace corps of Harvard and Andover graduates, Unitarian missionaries, noted abolitionists and Yankee school marms forged philosophies of separatism, "Heart Power," reparations and land redistribution which made Hilton Head a national showcase of radical reconstruction. But these philosophies collided violently with Northern racism when Union troops went berserk on St. Helena's Island. They slaughtered the livestock and attacked the Negro women "like marauders in an enemy's territory," wrote Laura Towne, school mistress of the little hayloft school at Frogmore which was to grow into the Penn Community Center, now a training ground for community action.

Today Port Royal is the site of yet another battle—a conflict between economic development, represented by those supporting the location of a giant German chemical plant, and an unmarred environment, represented by a group of outraged developers, fishermen, conservationists and private citizens. The conflict between industrial development in an underdeveloped and hunger-scarred region and the growing national desire to protect the environment has become a great debate of the 1970s, a bitter struggle involving human resources, natural resources and contending profit motives.

In Beaufort, the town nearest Hilton Head, the principal combatants in what has become a prototypical battle in the new age of ecology are, on one side, the American subsidiary of the West German dye and chemical giant, Badische Anilin- & Soda-Fabrick, A. G., a corporate offshoot of I. G. Farben, and, on the other side, a coalition of Hilton Head developers and three commercial fishing companies, including the all-black Hilton Head fishing co-operative, which have filed suit in federal court seeking an injunction against the plant's construction on the grounds that it would "kill or render unfit for human consumption the shrimp, crabs and oysters in the fishing waters."

But there are other conflicting elements which involve the entire community of Port Royal—a region of violent contrasts whose citizens range from those Gullah Negroes who still hold to ancient rituals of their African forebears to the wealthy retirees on Hilton Head, which boasts one of the largest concentrations of Who's Who listees in the nation.

Solidly supporting BASF is the state political hierarchy, ranging from Gov. Robert McNair, who journeyed to Germany to entice the world's largest chemical corporation, to local legislators James Waddell, who has recently exercised his option to buy property adjoining the plant site, and Brantley Harvey Jr., a lawyer who represents BASF. With them stand the local NAACP, the director of the local OEO office, the Beaufort Chamber of Commerce and a strong coalition of citizens, "The Peoples Association," including John Trask, one of the county's wealthiest businessmen, and Hazel Fraser, who heads the local branch of the National Welfare Rights Organization and who will tell you she learned about pollution as a child growing up on the edge of Beaufort's city dump.

Ranged against them is another citizens group, "Progress Without Pollution," headed by a retired vice admiral and CIA deputy chief, Rufus Taylor of Frogmore. This group is composed largely of retirees on Hilton

Betsy Fancher, until recently senior editor of ATLANTA Magazine, joins the staff of SOUTH TODAY with this issue as associate editor. She has contributed to the SATURDAY REVIEW, the SATURDAY EVENING POST, ESQUIRE, HOLIDAY and other publications. Her second book, THE LEGACY OF THE GOLDEN ISLES, will be published by Doubleday this fall.

The Standards Change

BY EMORY F. VIA

Emory F. Via is director of the Resources Development Center of the Southern Regional Council, which commissioned this report. Reprints are available for 20 cents each from the Council, 5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

For many years it has been widely accepted that a major solution to Southern problems would be found in industrial development. Gradually, an awareness has developed that in attracting industry the region could do itself a disservice if certain standards were not applied. In large measure the standards were informal. They applied primarily to the quality of the prospective industry—the quality of jobs offered and likely stability of the company in its new location. There was also concern about whether too many concessions would have to be made by state and local authorities.

With the advent of the anti-poverty and civil rights movements, new standards have been suggested. What will be the impact of the plant on low-income training opportunities? Will equality in training and job opportunities be fully practiced by the company?

The accompanying report raises some of the older questions but adds to them a pressing new standard. What will be the effect of a new plant on the environment? Today we are more aware than ever that a new industrial plant may damage wildlife, limit man's enjoyment of a "natural" place, harm other useful economic activities, and contribute to the growing threat to man's survival.

Betsy Fancher's report is about the attempts to locate one plant in an industrially undeveloped area. In large measure the arguments for and against location have been carried by contending economic interests. In this case, there has been a distressing lack of information on key issues. Further, state agencies seem to have eschewed their regulatory or fact-gathering roles in favor of a partisan stance.

It is appalling that there were no reliable predictions of the economic impact of the plant on the surrounding community and that there was no estimate of the impact of pollution on the local economy. Indeed, there was no revelation of the real nature of the proposed plants effluent and whether in fact it could be made harmless.

A large portion of Beaufort County's citizens are poor. It can be fairly said that the social and economic arrangements that affect their lives either cause that poverty or have failed to provide a way out of it. Their plight is too great to go unheeded. We cannot adequately solve their problems or protect the environment unless the proper questions are posed and unless meaningful answers are given.

Head Island. It is a small David compared to the BASF Goliath, but it is armed with the findings and recommendations of a Conservation Symposium sponsored in January by Fred Hack, president of the Hilton Head Co., and led by his brother, naturalist Orion Hack. These two developers have created at Port Royal Plantation one of the most prestigious spas on the coast, a posh development where rookeries of rare birds and an arboretum of hundreds of indigenous trees and plants bespeak their respect for the integrity of the landscape.

Still more forces are involved. Most notably there is the conflict between the State Development Board, which regards BASF as Beaufort's first major inroad into the industrial revolution, and ecologists who believe a highly automated chemical plant poses both an economic and an ecological threat to a community now supported principally by fishing and tourism. There is the conflict between "progress" and a balanced ecosystem—a particularly delicate ecosystem of estuaries and marshes which is one of the last unpolluted estuarine areas on the South Carolina coast. There is the conflict between outdated state pollution control laws and the new ecological sophistication of the seventies, between agencies such as the powerful State Ports Authority and private citizens such as retired chemist and orchid grower Dr. Amiot Hewlett, who has filed suit against the authority for mishandling of funds. And there is the swirling private controversy—"hotter than anything since the Civil War," says Port Royal writer-publicist Ralph Hilton—which has severed families, split most of the old-line power structure alignments and put articulate black leaders like Tom Barnwell, secretary-director of the Hilton Head Fishing Co-op, and James Richardson, Beaufort shoe repairman, in opposing camps.

By April the conflict had become a national issue heated enough to force Secretary of the Interior Walker Hickel, in a precedent-shattering move, to issue a statement warning BASF that the department would "strenuously oppose" degradation of the plant site's water quality or dredging that might harm fish or wildlife.

Secretary Hickel's letter to BASF's president, Dr. Hans Lautenschlager, which Gov. Robert McNair criticized as ambiguous, was variously interpreted by the news media as saying that he threatened government intervention unless environmental safeguards were guaranteed or that he warned of governmental intervention if existing water quality standards were violated. Actually, Secretary Hickel noted that "the area in question is a splendid estuary virtually free of pollution" and said "our scientists and engineers advise that it is technically feasible to construct a plant with no effluent that would completely protect the existing water quality of the area. This department would strenuously oppose any action which would result in degradation of that water quality."

And in a letter to Army Secretary Stanley Resor dated March 26, Hickel noted that BASF officials "have not as yet provided us with assurance that means and measures will be taken to prevent damage to the environment. The channelization of the rivers and sounds to serve the plant may also have a severe adverse effect on the environment of the area now in splendid natural condition. We cannot at this time support a federal project which is not consonant with the interest of this department and the Environmental Policies Act. We would strongly oppose such a project."

Both statements were strong enough to force BASF to temporarily suspend plant construction until "the responsible federal agencies have time to formulate the requirements that will be made of us," according to a letter to Secretary Hickel from BASF officials. On April 14, word leaked out that the plant had abandoned its plans to build in Beaufort County, but the following day the rumor was squelched after a breakfast meeting between Gov. McNair and Dr. Hans Lautenschlager, who said the company would maintain "a holding action" until

"problems can be worked out by the federal and state governments." Later, Bernard Timms, chairman of the board of BASF, said the firm was prepared to wait until the end of the year before making a decision to shift sites. With the firm's purchase last year of the Wyandotte Chemical Corp. in Wyandotte, Mich. "we luckily obtained sufficient grounds to allow us to switch quickly from South Carolina," he said, provoking a howl of protest from legislators who feared that other industries which have shown an interest in locating in South Carolina would look elsewhere because of the controversy generated by BASF's proposed plant.

Clearly the battle was not over and might not be for a long time. If it should terminate abruptly with BASF's withdrawal from South Carolina, it would only have set the stage for similar environmental skirmishes in other areas of the nation. In the lull, Sen. Edmund Muskie announced that he would take his environmental subcommittee on air and water pollution to Hilton Head to hold public hearings on the proposed chemical plant, tying that trip in with a similar one to Machiesport, Maine, where large oil refineries are being proposed. "The dilemma that faces us in Maine and in South Carolina is the conflict between needed economic development and our commitment to protect the environment," said Muskie. His subcommittee expects to query concerned citizens, ecologists, pollution specialists and other technical experts on such issues as the environmental risks associated with huge supertankers; the ecologocial implications of industrial waste discharges on estuarine environments; application of "maximum feasibility control

techniques" for abating pollution in new industrial facilities; and the possibility of requiring closed-cycle environmental systems, where treatment could be done within the plant without harmful discharges into the ocean.

The moratorium, however brief and troubled, also gave South Carolina an opportunity to launch an Estuarine Environmental Study, directed by Clair P. Guess, executive director of the Water Resources Commission, to "establish base-line environmental conditions" in and around Port Royal Sound, the Colleton River, Calibogue Sound and Victoria Bluff, site of BASF's proposed chemical complex. Hopefully the study would provide a sound basis for establishing guidelines for the management, protection and development of the state's tidelands; reveal basic data for new policy development; and enable South Carolina to participate more fully in two ongoing federal programs aimed at establishing a national policy and a national program for the management, protection and development of the land and water resources of all the nation's estuarine areas.

The Need for Jobs

In October of 1969, when BASF-US and Gov. McNair first announced plans for the $200 million dollar petro-chemical plant at Victoria Bluff on the Colleton River, it seemed a boon to poverty-ridden Beaufort and Jasper Counties, which had become national symbols of hunger and human deprivation.

Only a year earlier, Dr. Donald Gatch of Bluffton had testified before a House investigating committee that 73 per cent of the children of Beaufort County were infected with worms. Responding to persistent accounts of hunger along the South Carolina coast, Sen. Fritz Hollings of South Carolina had launched a much-publicized investigation of malnutrition. It produced a great outpouring of food and clothing from all over the country, conscience money for the tragic fact that next to such bastions of affluence as the Sea Pines Plantation and Fripp Island resorts, 125 black Americans on Daufuskie Island were drawing their water from a single contaminated well, suffering from parasites and living out their days in desolate shacks without privies on the meager benevolence of a monthly welfare check.

Charles Fraser, developer of Sea Pines Plantation, and Fred Hack, of Port Royal Plantation, launched a hookworm study on Hilton Head Island. Medical students from as far away as Costa Rica came to the tiny, storied hamlet of Bluffton to help with the work of Dr. Gatch. Foodstuffs kept pouring in to be stored in the barns of Jasper and Beaufort Counties and the poor for the first time found voices in the emergent black leadership—women like Hazel Fraser, the mother of 10 children, who is a militant spokesman for welfare recipients, and men like Charles Simmons of OEO, both of whom are now staunch defenders of BASF. To them and to others interested in economic development, the long-term solution lies in the paycheck, in enticing industry into an area which for the most part has been bypassed by the 20th century.

Probably no one—not Gov. McNair, not State Sen. James Waddell or Reps. Graves and Harvey, and most certainly not the Beaufort Chamber of Commerce—could have predicted the furor that the company's arrival at isolated Victoria Bluff would provoke. The state's political leadership had scored a triumph of industry seeking—but as one critic put it, it was on a 1940s level. Few states ever offered more lucrative inducement to industry. Among these were the sale by the Ports Authority of over 1,800 acres of land at about one-fifth the real value; the promise to build at state expense a 14-mile railroad into the site; the promise to build dock facilities and watersheds at the site and sponsor-extensive dredging of approximately 10 miles of channel; and a moratorium on county taxes except school taxes for five years (a favor customarily given to all new industries). While these concessions were legally binding, a report released by Fraser's Sea Pines Corp. said that the state also had promised BASF to provide the final-stage treatment of the effluent from the plant prior to discharging it into the Colleton River (an allegation denied by Clair Guess) and to provide the necessary water canals for millions of gallons of water a day through the Beaufort-Jasper Water Authority.

Resistance Grows

There had been little unfavorable reaction to BASF's original announcement on Oct. 2 that it planned to construct a $25 million dyestuffs and plastics plant on the Colleton River. But resistance mounted when, on Nov. 26, the firm announced its plans for an additional $100 million dollar petrochemical plant in the same area if the Nixon administration would grant the firm an "oil import quota," that is, an exemption from taxes on imported naphtha. Soon after this it was disclosed that BASF had filed a request with the Department of the Interior for a permit to import 40,000 barrels of petro-chemical per day free of tariffs. Meanwhile, the South Carolina State Ports Authority was petitioning the U.S. Department of Commerce for a duty-free trade zone for Charleston, with "Port Victoria" as a subzone.

Critics of BASF estimated that the state's concessions amounted to approximately $7 million in tax money, while the oil import quota requested would be worth some $20 million dollars a year in tariff exemptions. They also estimated that it would be "late in the eighties" before any return could be realized on the heavy investment in additional county costs, police protection, schools, roads, railroads and docks and the federal government's dredging operations—an investment which would soon become the burden of the taxpayer.

But, unquestionably, BASF was bringing jobs to the area. In early April, the plant director, a razor-sharp physicist, Dr. Herbert Ende, told the Southern Regional Council that BASF expected to hire 1,800 construction workers on the site at a payroll of $15 to $20 million. (The question of unionized labor was adroitly ducked, although it was known that plant officials had been getting estimates from Daniels Construction Co., one of the largest non-union construction employers in the South.) The initial dyestuffs plant, due to open at the end of 1972, would, according to Dr. Ende, hire some 600 employees, a work force composed of 25 per cent unskilled labor, who would, he said, have to be able to read scales and tables; 25 per cent semi-skilled labor; 25 per cent skilled; and 25 per cent supervisory. The work force would be drawn from the area, and unskilled workers could expect to draw a salary of $4,000 to $5,000 a year, in contrast to the "$800

average yearly pay" which he says they now earn. "And these are secure jobs, not seasonal," he emphasized. He also estimated that the plant's satellite industries would create another 7,500 jobs a year, a figure which BASF's critics term outrageously exaggerated. BASF's training program would be closely linked to the Technical Education Center in Beaufort, said Dr. Ende, adding that plans had been drawn for an $8 to $10 million additional facility to be financed by the State of South Carolina, plans which are now languishing on the drawing boards.

Developers Fred Hack and Charles Fraser countered BASF's promise of jobs by offering to purchase the company's Victoria Bluff site for an industrial park for non-polluting industry and for a Disneyland-type amusement center, "Seven Flags Over Port Royal," modeled on Atlanta's "Six Flags Over Georgia" and Texas' "Six Flags Over Texas," but admittedly not as large. According to a joint statement issued March 30, "Seven Flags Over Port Royal will be a public corporation with shares of stock selling low enough so nearly everyone can buy a piece of the action—those who will work there and those who will not."

The county's poor were skeptical of both Ende's claims for job opportunities and the developers' proposed park. While Ende had said at a public meeting at the Robert Small School that jobs at BASF would be offered on a first-come first-served basis, the company never answered the public challenge of Tom Barnwell, secretary-director of the Hilton Head Corp., to "spell out exactly what kinds of jobs they will offer and what kind of education and training these jobs will require." And Charles Simmons, after reading a newspaper account of the proposed "Seven Flags over Beaufort," said cynically: "There're a few questions I'd like to ask Mr. Fraser—like what's the pay scale going to be? How many months of the year will people be employed? Will they be college students or blacks? And just what is their feeling toward any industry coming in, say another plant equal in size to BASF? Isn't it true the tourist industry would resist any plants? They keep getting away from that. Here we are, no smoke, no smog. And they say we have no welfare recipients. Right now there're 1,055 and 122 pending this month."

Tourism and Fishing

Both Fred Hack and Charles Fraser point out that Hilton Head Island has already provided 2,000 jobs in resort and construction activities, producing 26 per cent of the county's total taxes. Fraser supports the economic stability of tourism by taking visitors to the site of Harbour Town, now rising like some improbable Mediterranean Village at the northern end of Hilton Head Island. At 4 p.m. on an average day one finds a large crew of black workmen—four to every one white, claims Fraser—laying concrete block in a mini-city of villas and town houses, shops, studios, galleries and bistros set around a circular harbor gashed by sleek yacht slips and dominated by a candy striped light house.

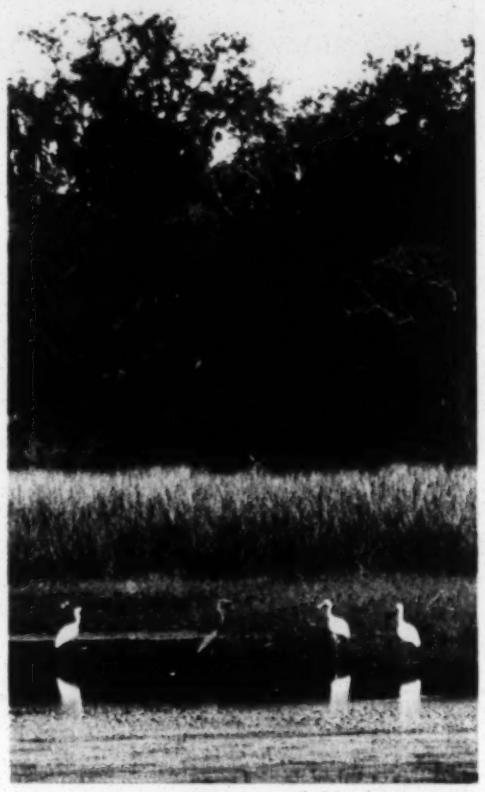
Fraser says his block masons make about $4 an hour and the construction payroll is expected to rise swiftly with the accelerated construction of Harbour Town. But this innovation in high-density living has been dismissed by some conservationists as "cosmetics for rape."

What type of industry is best suited to Beaufort County? A study of the entire coastal plains area, commissioned by the Coastal Plains Regional Commission, has been made by the Battelle Memorial Institute, Columbus, Ohio, and was published in January, 1969, under the title, "The Potential for High Technology Industries in the Coastal Plains Region." Its recommendations: non-electrical machinery, printing and publishing, chemical industries and other candidates in the paper, stone, clay and glass products. But quite specifically, it mentioned oceanographic research as an appropriate enterprise for unspoiled estuarine areas.

Both BASF and its opponents seized on one recommendation of the report—the need for "labor-intensive" industry. While BASF argued that it was bringing to Beaufort a labor-intensive industry, developers argued that the report did not list dyestuffs, chemicals or petroleum as "labor intensive" but defined them as companies paying high wages and using professional and skilled people only.

Actually the report went on to say that petroleum refining did account for a significant number of related jobs and estimated that for every 100 new refinery jobs in the coastal plains region, the multipliers would lead to a total new employment of between 260 and 280 jobs. But the report did not deal in depth with the complicated factors of environment and pollution, the possibility

'There must be ways Beaufort and industry can live together...'



that one new industry could damage or even destroy existing industries and the fact that industrial site selection should be based not only on the economic needs and the labor and natural resources of an area but also on its total ecology, the vast network of natural elements whose interrelationship is so delicate and vital that "to pull one thread is to unravel the whole tapestry," as one ecologist puts it.

BASF staunchly maintained that it would not damage Port Royal's unique ecology of marshes, estuaries, beaches and fishing waters. Yet Dr. Ende also maintained that recycling of the plant's effluent—whose heavy metal content was never officially revealed—was impractical. "Yes, it is possible to recycle. It's possible to go to Mars or to put a city on the North Pole, but it's not economically feasible," he said in an interview for this report. BASF did consistently state, however, that it would abide by state and federal air and water pollution control regulations. "We do *not* pollute," said Dr. Ende, strenuously denying charges that the BASF plant in Ludwigshaven was creating severe pollution in the Rhine. He dismissed the whole pollution controversy as a red herring. "Pollution is simply *not* an issue," he insisted.

But pollution was *the* issue according to the developers, the fishermen, private citizens and militant conservationists who opposed BASF. While neither BASF nor the State Pollution Control Authority gave out any specifics about the plant's effluent other than to say it would be a "mild saline solution," the Beaufort Citizens Association obtained from what it termed an unimpeachable source the information that once BASF had, in accordance with South Carolina law, removed 85 per cent of the heavy metal content of the effluent, it would still contain 22 pounds of copper and nine pounds of zinc a day.

This estimate, according to Guess, was contained in what he termed an "earlier, hypothetical report" on the effluent of the proposed BASF plant drawn up two years ago by a Georgia engineering firm and submitted to the State Development Board. "We never had any approximation of the effluent," Mr. Guess said, "no formal statement. They (BASF) hadn't finished that part of the design. It's on the drawing boards right now."

It was on this original description of the effluent that BASF's foes took their stand. The heavy metal concentrate of zinc and copper was "a concentration approximately 1,000 times that of the waters in which it will be dumped," Dr. Herbert L. Windom of the Sidaway Oceanographic Institute told a public hearing before the South Carolina House of Representatives in Columbia on March 3.

Noting that this in itself would be a serious problem to the ecosystem of the area, he stated that the zinc and copper injected into the water would be deposited in the bottom sediments of the Colleton River, where "the burrowing organisms" which depend on sediments for food would acquire dangerous concentrations of the heavy metals. These concentrations would pass on through the food chain to higher organisms such as shrimp, oysters and fish which would prove "not only harmful but even fatal to man."

Certainly the Hilton Head fishermen felt that BASF's effluent would be dangerous enough to soon place the estuarine waters off limits to commercial fishermen. Henry Driessen of the Hilton Head Fishing Co-op told the hearing that BASF's pollution potential threatened not only his livelihood but his whole way of life. "A fisherman losing his boat is like losing his life. And to be able to adjust to a new type of job is like taking a fish out of the water—he would not last long."

BASF's opponents found little comfort in the corporation's promises to abide by state laws. The laws, some of which have since been amended, were at the outset of the controversy "outdated and totally inadequate," according to Orion Hack, who led the Conservation Symposium that brought the controversy into the national spotlight and give birth to South Carolina's first two conservancy groups, one a political action group which he heads. Both he and Sea Pines developer Charles Fraser were especially critical of what they called "the grandfather clause" of the South Carolina Pollution Control law of July, 1969, which could exempt an industry from any pollution control regulations for five years if "no practical method of disposal or treatment is known" and could exempt it for still another five years if officials could show any evidence of having tried to control pollution. Another objection they saw to the law as it then stood: the individual who suffered financial injury as as result of industrial pollution had no redress for his loss, except, according to Clair Guess, through the state's "riparian act," which affected only those who might have polluted waters flowing past their property.

BASF's opponents also objected to the administration of pollution control laws. Administration is vested in the State Pollution Control Authority, operating now under the State Board of Health. The authority is made up of two members each from the State Board of Health and the ranks of labor and one member each from the Cotton Manufacturers' Association, the pulp and paper industry, the South Carolina Wildlife Federation, the Municipal Association and the farmers of the state, with the state health officer as chairman. "Not a scientist in the bunch," commented Orion Hack, not without bitterness. Said Charles Fraser: "The majority of the board has an economic interest in setting standards sufficiently low so no money has to be spent on pollution control. Every five years they grant extensions to polluters and the private citizen has no right to sue." And Bill Marsher, who wrote a status report entitled "Efforts to Save the Port Royal Sound and Coastal Area," points out that federal authorities have stated that the existing authority, to be effective, should increase its staff from the present authorized level of 37 to a minimum of 110. Early in the battle these developers were plugging a new bill which would make the South Carolina Pollution Control Authority an autonomous agency, set up local authorities for control at the local level, eliminate the "grandfather clause" and provide the individual the right to sue for any damages suffered through violation of an anti-pollution law or ordinance. The bill was passed in the last hours of the closing session of the legislature April 24.

Questions and Answers

While Adm. Taylor maintained that BASF could pollute Port Royal Sound without violating any existing laws, jeopardizing a fishing industry which provided some 3,000 jobs in the Beaufort area, Orion Hack also was concerned about aesthetic contamination and destruction of the naural beauty, clear waters and dazzling white beaches which are the basis for a recreation industry providing another 3,000 jobs. Even if the earlier stages of BASF's development left the beaches of Hilton Head intact and its waters uncontaminated, there might be the prospect of oil spills once the naphtha cracking plant was in operation.

The January Conservation Symposium, was underwritten by Fred Hack, who has also underwritten half of all the legal fees in the fight against BASF. Participants included scientists, naturalists, journalists, conservationists, engineers and oceangraphers from all over the country. They posed some hard questions for BASF—questions which have yet to be answered. Among them: What will be the content and volume of the proposed effluent? What are the specific characteristics of the adjacent ecosystem, including biotic, chemical and physical factors? Who will process the effluent from the plant? What will be the feasibility and impact of the dredging and maintenance of the proposed 50-foot shipping channel? What will be the effect on the shallow aquifier? What will be the effect of the channel and maintenance structures on beach erosion and water circulation patterns? What will be the influence on other industries in the area, specifically tourism, sports and commercial fisheries?

The symposium strongly recommended that a moratorium be immediately imposed on the location and construction of new industries and dredging and filling activities for the new development in the region covered in the South Carolina Water Resources Tidelands Report—a report whose recommendations they urged be reinforced by legislative action.

In a little-publicized tidelands report, issued late in 1969, the foes of BASF had a strong weapon. Though commissioned by Gov. McNair in 1968, it included findings which obviously had not influenced the

state's choice of a plant site for BASF. But the report, the work of 13 state agencies and six federal agencies, contained an exhaustive study of the tidelands of South Carolina, the estuarine systems, fish and wildlife resources, surface and ground water resources, mineral resources, beach erosion, water pollution and agriculture. It also studied in detail such 20th century inroads into the ecosystem as recreation and tourism, navigation, port facilities, water-oriented industrial development, highways and roads. Its recommendations, if translated into legislative action, could well make South Carolina one of the nation's most advanced states in the field of estuarine concern.

Specifically, the report calls for an Interdisciplinary Tidelands Unit to plan, preserve and manage South Carolina's 450,000 acres of tidelands resources. This unit would have legislative authority to zone the tidelands area "according to the most desirable priority use for given portions," and would have final say in all permits for construction, "use and/or alteration of the tidelands environment."

In Beaufort, both the poor blacks and the well-to-do merchants, in a new and uneasy coalition, felt that the plant offered the first viable alternative to the poverty that has plagued the area since its golden era as a capital of the sea island cotton kingdom.

Many BASF opponents soft-pedaled the poverty issue. But an OEO profile of the county, drawn up from the last available data (1966), documented the facts and figures of deprivations.

Fact: 30.7 per cent of the families in Beaufort County, which includes affluent Hilton Head and Fripp Island, received incomes of below the social security administration poverty cutoff in 1966, compared to 22.6 per cent of families in the typical U. S. county.

Fact: $517 in retail sales were transacted for each person living in Beaufort County in 1966, contrasted to $1,204 at the national norm.

Fact: 20.5 per cent of the population of Beaufort County had failed to complete more than four years of school in 1960, contrasted to a national norm of 7.8 per cent.

Fact: 2,857 infant deaths per 100,000 live births occurred in Beaufort County in 1964, compared to a national norm of 1,700.

Fact: 60.1 per cent of all poor families in Beaufort County are non-white residents of rural areas.

The Promise of Jobs

Dean J. Poucher, executive vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, who as the "Sea Island Sportsman" gives twice-daily radio reports on local sports fishing catches, estimates that BASF's presence in the Beaufort community would result in 650 new industrial jobs, in addition to the ones the chemical company would supply. And he predicts that about 30 retail operations would be established in the area to satisfy the larger market. He was among the civic leaders who presented the BASF president a petition containing 7,418 signatures of BASF supporters saying they were concerned about the "vocal minority" which opposes the plant's location at Victoria Bluff.

"I'm for it (BASF) 100 per cent," Charles E. Simmons Jr. of the Beaufort-Jasper OEO told a reporter. He noted that BASF had promised better jobs, promotional opportunities, a recreation center, swimming pools and a medical center for its employees. "They've also said they will guarantee loans to enable people to get better housing," he said.

Other blacks were skeptical of these promises. Three members of the Hilton Head Corp., had accompanied Orion Hack to Freeport, Tex., to view BASF's styrene plant there. They had found the employees living in rented trailers, had been told high school was a minimum requirement for employment and had noted that the much-vaunted training program was housed in a small, under-equipped metal building. Accustomed to the beauty of the Carolina coast they were stunned by the bleak squalor of the Freeport area. If industry did indeed bring affluence, they saw little evidence of it at BASF's Texas site.

Aesthetics held little interest for black matriarchs like Hazel Fraser, who supports 10 children on food stamps and a welfare check. As head of the local National Welfare Rights Organization, she is widely known for her militant protests against job discrimination. "You talk about pollution. When I was a young girl coming up I lived in front of the city dump. It had been there for years. The city dump right in my front yard. If that isn't pollution, what is? Garbage—all that garbage—but it didn't matter because there were nothing but blacks." Standing in front of her little brick home, barefooted, a gargantuan woman in a tattered blue dress, she folded her arms stolidly over her chest. "Nobody would want the water polluted. But a lot of men need work. You see them on the street corners, just waiting. For years every time you hear about a large factory, something would

happen, something to stop it from coming. They say anybody who'd want BASF to come here is crazy. Probably I'm in that crazy group. Charles Fraser, he's got something going for him. But he's got a fight coming."

'This Ecology Bit'

From his little office in Bluffton, Dr. Donald Gatch surveyed the controversy with some bitterness. "Creative energy is being used to fight things that don't exist. I'm mad at America for being on this ecology bit. These people who fight BASF have made their money polluting. Now they expect the poor to clean up their mess. Instead of improving people's lives, they're dealing with external things."

John Gadson, director of the Penn Community Center, noted: "There's been a history of some kind of opposition to any industry that tried to come in here, not just BASF. We've got to make up our mind whether we will be industrialized or whether we will just be a beautiful resort. BASF will attract others. A lot of people are inclined to let the jobs come. There just aren't enough jobs on the bottom level, and people need jobs, they need them more than just a part of the year. Hilton Head and Fripp are low and seasonal. For waitresses, the hotel rate is $1.30 an hour, not $1.60. They say they're paying the minimum wage, but we have our doubts," he said. He had his doubts too about BASF, doubts about the real potential for pollution, doubts about their employment practices.

Dr. Gatch was suggesting a "health unit" manufacturing plant, entirely controlled by blacks, to manufacture the health unit which he designed several years ago as the answer to Beaufort County's housing problem, a unit that would include a kitchen, sewerage and running water, a prefabricated unit that could be put into place in one day, and that could be purchased for $750. He also was hoping to step up plans, already in motion, for paramedical schools in the area under the sponsorship of Harlem Hospital, an arm of Columbia University.

While the Battelle report had recommended labor-intensive industry for the coastal plains area, and the tidelands report had recommended higher state water quality standards, most observers hoped to solve Beaufort County's dilemma by attracting light non-polluting industry to the area. By mid-April some of BASF's most powerful foes, who had drawn on Sen. Strom Thurmond to enlist Secretary Hickel in the controversy, were turning to Congressman L. Mendel Rivers of Charleston, hoping to enlist his support in attracting an aircraft assembly plant, similar to Savannah's Grumman, into beleagured Beaufort County.

To the Capital Cities

BASF, concerned about its international image, slipped quietly into the background, leaving the State Development Board to represent its interests. This was one more state concession, according to the company's foes. Sen. Ernest F. Hollings entered the fray, stating in a letter to a Beaufort newspaper that "the state was on the sell. It was promising railheads, dredging, docking facilities and everything else to attract BASF and no emphasis was placed on anti-pollution requirements." By the end of the month, the battle had shifted to Columbia to erupt on the floor of the General Assembly. In a rare closing day speech, Gov. McNair accused BASF's foes of threatening the state's industrial development in the name of pollution. "While we welcome the new and growing public concern with regard to control of this earth's environment," he said, "we deplore the activities of the few citizens of this state who would attempt to use this legitimate issue as a means of tarnishing the image and reputation not only of BASF corporation, but of the entire state as well."

The General Assembly supported his stance by passing two resolutions, one urging Secretary Hickel to assure that pollution pronouncements made for South Carolina should be applied uniformly and another pledging cooperation to the BASF corporation. But in those last few hours of the closing session the legislators also greatly strengthened the state's pollution control laws, making the Pollution Control Authority an autonomous agency by July 1, 1971, and expanding it to 13 members. Special interest groups such as the textile manufacturers and labor were eliminated from specified representation on the authority. The House and Senate compromised to include a provision that pollution shall be unlawful when it interferes with the enjoyment of life or use of property, and an individual was given the right to sue for damages when his property is polluted. The final bill also provided penalties for accidental pollution of the air or water. The controversial "grandfather clause" had been eliminated in an earlier bill.

Three days later, two members of the Hilton Head co-op and three members of the resort development community who had embarked on a shrimp boat excursion up the inland waterway, to promote new industry for Port Royal and present Secretary Hickel with an anti-BASF petition bearing a reported 45,000 names, arrived at their destination. Secretary Hickel met them at the dock and told Orion Hack before a battery of newsmen: "Your cause is right and it will prevail. The waters of the bay belong to the people. Existing industries must be protected. We cannot prevent the plant from being built but we can and will insist that any water returned to the bay be in exactly the same condition it was when taken out."

Back in Beaufort, James Richardson, president of the Beaufort County Voters League, was rallying the county's poor for a bus trip to Washington to lay their case before the Department of the Interior. "The majority of people want BASF to locate here," he said. "Last year everyone was talking about people starving here. Now they've ruined our chance to help the overall economy."

And a mass rally was held on Hilton Head Island by the "United Citizens for the Poor" under the leadership of the Rev. Cornelius Hayes, pastor of Beaufort's Grace AME Church. He told newsmen: "We would have our friends across the nation to know that we are still poor, we're still infected with worms, and because of the basic food diet, the awful statistics stated by our distinguished senator (Hollings) are still with us."

But was BASF the answer? The firm could promise no more than 150 jobs for unskilled workers and Dr. Ende indicated these would go to the most qualified applicants, not necessarily residents of Beaufort County. While he was still denying that pollution was an issue, BASF's petrochemical plant in Wyandotte, Mich., was closed by order of that state's attorney general for the deadly mercury contamination of Lake St. Clair. Its waters are now off limits to commercial fishermen and the sale of fresh-water fish is prohibited. Pollution suits have been filed against Wyandotte in Ohio and Michigan.

'Clear and Sweet'

In Beaufort this spring, the air was "clear and sweet, the country very pleasant and delightful," as it was when Capt. William Hilton first claimed it for England. April alleviated some of the harsher scars of poverty. A fine skein of dogwood veiled the sad little shanties on streets paced by young people who would soon graduate from high school to face a bleakly uncertain future.

But the atmosphere was tense as a bitterly divided community awaited the outcome of a major struggle of the seventies. The BASF controversy had come to be regarded as a survival issue by both the county's poor and those who regard industrial development as the most effective cure for poverty. It was a "gut" issue, too, for the ecologists, the new Jeremiahs of the 20th century, who are convinced the seventies will be the decisive decade in man's struggle to preserve his environment.

But men like Orion Hack refused to see the controversy as an either-or dilemma. He engaged Skidmore, Owens and Merrill, a nationwide firm of industrial and community planners, to do a study of the Port Royal area and come up with recommendations for new industries that would be compatible with the unique Port Royal ecology on which tourism and fishing now thrive. "From the beginning, even though we were opposing BASF, we made it clear that we were well aware of the dire need for jobs in Beaufort County," said Hack, speaking as naturalist as well as developer. "We understand the plight of the poor in Beaufort County and we've never lost sight of the fact that these people need help. But we don't think BASF is the answer. If the same resources and talent had been used to solicit more industries rather than concentrating on just one we'd have $10-million industries which could offer a lot more jobs than BASF and would not have a death grip on the economy of the county. This is the approach we intend to take in order to secure industry for Beaufort County.'"

At Penn Community Center, John Gadson also was searching for answers to Beaufort County's dilemma. "This is a beautiful place," he said in April, walking beneath the moss-bearded oaks at the center, whose first mistress was dedicated to bringing the Northern primer to the abandoned Port Royal slaves, forbidden by law to read or write.

"I can't say I want it ruined. There must be ways industry and Beaufort can live together, a way we can have jobs without pollution. It hurts to see the high school graduates each year, hurts to see them just get on a bus and go. Beaufort keeps a large number who just couldn't cut it in the city. These are realities. I taught school. Those that can't go on to college just go to get a train ticket. I don't want that either. I say let's get down to the really nitty gritty. Let's see what can be done to have clean water and clean air and at the same time provide jobs."

April 27, 1966

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
(A Non-Profit Federally Supported Anti-Poverty Agency)
St. Clair County, Illinois

ALREADY APPROVED

1. Economic Opportunity Commission Office Headquarters

   For planning, directing and coordinating War On Poverty Community Action Programs in St. Clair County. May 1965 thru December 1966.

2. Headstart (Summer 1965)

   600 pre-school low income children given medical examinations and training. School District 189. Many parents involved.

3. Teacher Training Course (Summer 1965)

   Twenty East Saint Louis teachers given special Remedial Reading training so as to assist poor readers in Target Area elementary schools.

4. Pre-School Readiness Centers

   Funded by E.O.C. and operated by S.I.U. Three-Hundred children from Target Area to be given year round pre-school training in six Pre-School Centers.

5. Reading Clinic

   E.O.C. funds to School District 189 Reading Clinic to help 300 disadvantaged Target Area children to read. In-Service training for teachers.

6. Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC)

   Approximately one-million dollars will have been allocated by June 30, 1966 to help 1,800 disadvantaged boys and girls 16 thru 21 in a comprehensive work-training experience.

   This includes work for needy children while attending school and those who are not in school.

   Over 90 different community groups cooperating. Federal officials have repeatedly highlighted our NYC as an outstanding national model.

   NYC spearheaded a massive eight weeks - long "Operation Assist" on a Clean-Up Fix-Up, Paint-Up Project throughout the South End. Done in cooperation with City of East Saint Louis and many other groups.

   NYC is now conducting city-wide neighborhood Beautification Project in joint sponsorship with the City of East Saint Louis.

7. Medicare Alert (February and March)

   Designed to locate and encourage older persons to apply for the new Federal health insurance before its deadline. Thrity-five elderly, low income persons employed as community field workers. Sponsored jointly with Madison County (27 workers there).

8. E.O.C. Neighborhood Opportunity Centers

Six new community centers will bring directly into poverty areas such services as family counselling, homemaking, health services, job counselling, legal aid services, recreation and neighborhood improvement programs. New advisory councils will be formed and select representatives who will serve directly on the E.O.C. Board of Directors.

9. Family To Family Project (Family Service Agency of Southwestern Illinois)

A special family life improvement program to assist up to 400 needy and disadvantaged families. Expert case work counselling will also be utilized.

10 Utilization of low income and disadvantaged persons in E.O.C. Operations.

A. The E.O.C. is deeply committed to the use of the poor both in policy making roles and as paid participants in operations. Target Area residents serve on its Board and Executive Committee and help in setting policies.

B. 20 serve as sub-professionals at the EOC Headquarters.

C. 20 are employed with the Pre-school Readiness Centers.

D. 5 low income, elderly residents work with Medicare Alert.

E. Nine full time community aides perform a variety of important tasks with Youth Opportunity Centers, at EOC and in other assignments including recreation aides.

11 Upward Bound (University of Illinois)

A program designed to motivate disadvantaged high school youths to enter college.

UNDER FEDERAL REVIEW

12 Day Care Centers

Five centers and one Nursery to provide expert child care for disadvantaged children whose parents are at work, adult education school, etc.

13 On The Job Training Project (OJT)

An overall program to place 500 youths and adults who are the victims of unemployment and underemployment on a job where they will get special training while getting some financial aid if eligible. (Jointly with Madison County)

ON THE PLANNING BOARD

14. Legal Aid

Free legal aid services will be available to eligible low-income families... To be located at EOC Neighborhood Centers.

15 Small Business Project

Federal louns and business advice to aid small neighborhood business operations.

16. Housing Proposal

A proposal submitted by S.I.U. for an educational campaign to help tenants better care for housing.

17. T. B. Control Project

An Anti-T.B. and health project designed to help locate and eradicate tiberculosis in our community.

18. Nelson Amendment

A plan to put hard-core unemployed men to work on community beautification projects.

19. Comprehensive Dental Program

It is designed to provide both preventive and corrective dental services to the disadvantaged

J. Harris

ST. LOUIS Globe DEMOCRAT

EAST SIDE NEWS

SECTION E THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1966

EAST SIDE POVERTY PROGRAM A NATIONAL MODEL

St. Clair Economic Opportunity Commission Celebrating Its First Birthday This Month

BY LARRY WEIS
Globe-Democrat Staff Writer

The St. Clair County Economic Opportunity Commission is celebrating its first birthday this month.

In one year the East Side poverty program has emerged as a national model. Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz made a special visit here in January to praise it.

Mayor Alvin G. Fields gives the commission credit for creating a new civic spirit in East St. Louis. Wesley Cobb, regional director of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, describes the East Side effort as a "national prototype," a model program.

Commission director, J. Philip Waring accepts the political praise, but he draws the line. "We've managed to stay out of politics," he points out. The non-political approach, he believes, is one reason for the East Side program's success.

The E.O.C. has enlisted the support of more than 100 public and private organizations. Its programs are closely coordinated with such agencies as the Illinois State Employment Service, the East St. Louis Human Relations Commission and Southern Illinois University.

Project results are numerous. Many officials say E.O.C. programs prevented racial disorders during the summer of 1965. For 1966, the commission has launched Project Long-Hot Summer. Community service programs will be publicized throughout the area. A team of more than 40 Vista volunteers, domestic peace corps workers, will be stationed on the East Side.

Juvenile delinquency has dropped substantially since the Neighborhood Youth Corps was formed. East St. Louis police report a dip of more than 18 per cent, as a result of N.Y.C. efforts.

St. Clair County has an estimated population of 315,000. Mr. Waring points out that 30 per cent of the county's population is "disadvantaged," either economically, educationally or culturally.

Despite a successful first year, Mr. Waring admits that only a small percentage of the county's poor have been reached. He says, "We need more money to serve more people."

Most E.O.C. programs have long waiting lists. He explains that although 600 pre-school children were admitted to a summer Headstart program in 1965, more than 600 were turned away because of a lack of funds.

Funds approved for E.O.C. projects in 1965-66 total more than $2,000,000. Two additional projects now awaiting approval will bring the total to $2,700,000. The commission is also considering seven proposals which would cost more than $1,500,000. Of the sene, renewal of the NYC program is the most certain to gain approval.

Following is a list of projects which are being operated or which are awaiting federal approval:

PROJECTS FUNDED

ITEM	AMOUNT
Pre-School Readiness Centers	$ 129,000
Reading Clinics	54,000
Neighborhood Youth Corps	1,000,000
Family to Family Project (Family Service Agency)	96,000
Neighborhood Opportunity Centers	529,000
College-Upward Bound (S.I.U.)	105,000
EOC, Administrative Headquarters	152,000
TOTAL	$2,065,000

PROJECTS AWAITING FUNDS

Day Care Centers	$425,000
On Job Training	280,000
TOTAL	$705,000

PROJECTS IN PLANNING

Legal Aid Service	$150,000
Small Business Assistance	$ 100,000
NYC (renewal 1965-66 program)	1,100,000
Summer Headstart	140,000
Housing Improvement*	.....
T.B. Control*	.....
Dental Service*	.....
Nelson Act, Beautification Project*	.....
TOTAL	$1,490,000

*Project needs not yet determined

PROJECTS COMPLETED

Summer Headstart (1965)	$106,000
Teacher Training (1965)	16,000
Medicare Alert	21,000
TOTAL	$143,000

ONE: Six pre-school readiness centers, operated year-round, to provide training for 300 children. The program is operated by Southern Illinois University and funded by the E.O.C.

TWO. A reading clinic serving 300 students classed as potential dropouts.

THREE. The Neighborhood Youth Corps, providing work-training experience for 1800 boys and girls, ages 16 through 21. The NYC operates programs for both in and out of school youngsters.

FOUR. Six Neighborhood Opportunity Centers to offer poverty areas with legal, counseling, health and recreational services. The project was funded in April and is now being staffed.

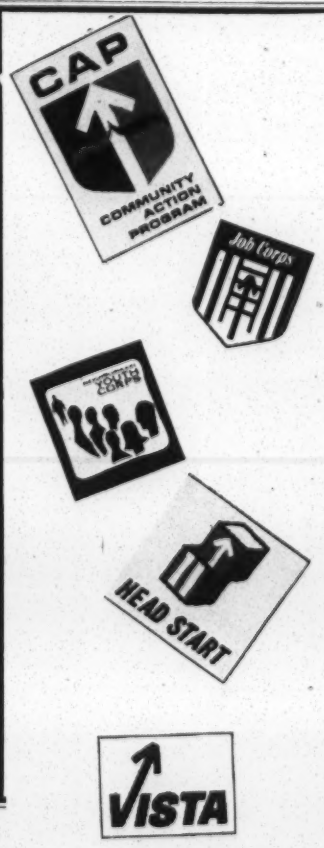
FIVE. Family-to-Family, operated through the Family Service Agency of Southwestern Illinois and approved in April. The project will serve more than 600 disadvantaged families by bringing them into contact with middleclass families in the area.

SIX. Upward Bound, a program geared to motivate lower income high school students to attend college. The program is directed by Southern Illinois University and is being offered to 60 area students.

SEVEN. Five day care centers for more than 200 children whose parents are at work. The $425,000 program is awaiting federal approval and has not yet been funded.

EIGHT. O.J.T., On Job Training, a project to provide jobs for more than 500 un- or underemployed youths and adults. The program is to be handled jointly with Madison County poverty officials and is now awaiting federal approval.

In addition to the eight programs listed above, the E.O.C. has on its planning board projects to provide free legal services to low income families, to assist small businesses with federal loans and advice, to offer housing care assistance to low income tenants, to place "hard-core," unemployed persons on community beautification projects through the Nelson Amendment, a health campaign to locate and eliminate tuberculosis and a dental health program.



ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
(ST. CLAIR COUNTY)
219 E. 26th ST. P. O. BOX 619
EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL. 62207

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506
382-5216

QUICK FACTS ABOUT THE WAR ON POVERTY

THE JOB CORPS -- Provides residential centers for young men and women, 16 through 21, in a coordinated program of basic education, skill training and constructive work experience. Designed for youth lacking schooling and skills for jobs. Smaller centers will be located on public lands; larger ones will be on unused Federal facilities near cities. A voluntary program. Forty thousand will be enrolled in the first year, and 100,000 in the second.

Write: Job Corps, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS -- Provides full- or part-time work experience and training for youths, 16 through 21, enabling them to stay in or return to school, or increase employability. Can be carried out by agency of State, local government, or nonprofit organization. Will place youngsters in work in hospitals, settlement houses, schools, libraries, courts, parks and playgrounds.

Write: Neighborhood Youth Corps, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

THE WORK-STUDY PROGRAM -- Provides part-time employment of college, university students from low-income families. On-campus jobs to include dormitory and plant maintenance, food service, clerical work, library indexing, lab assistance, and others. Off-campus employment, conducted under agreement with public or nonprofit organizations, will place students as tutors, youth workers, recreation leaders, community service aides.

Write: Commissioner of Education, HEW, Washington, D. C.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS -- Provides financial support for local anti-poverty campaigns in urban and rural areas, on Indian reservations and among migrant workers. Possible projects in local anti-poverty programs include: remedial reading, literacy instruction, job training, employment counseling, homemaker services, job development, vocational rehabilitation, health services, among others. Will enable communities to attack the network of problems with network of positive, varied, coordinated programs. Federal assistance depends on community's determination to (1) mobilize its own public and private resources, (2) develop programs of sufficient scope and size that promise to eliminate the causes of poverty, (3) involve the poor themselves in developing and operating the anti-poverty attacks, and (4) administer and coordinate the community action programs through public or private non-profit agencies, or a combination of these. Federal government to pay up to 90 percent of cost of local programs in first two years; after that assistance on 50-50 matching basis.

Write: Community Action, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C.

(More)

PROJECT HEAD-START -- Provides financial support (90% federal funds) for communities to organize and operate pre-school programs which create an environment to develop children to their full potential. Programs should be designed to: improve the health and physical abilities of poor children, develop their self-confidence and ability to relate to others, increase their verbal and conceptual skills, involve parents in activities with their children, provide appropriate social service for the family.

Write: Project Head-Start, CAP, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington.

VISTA Volunteers (Volunteers in Service to America) -- Provides an opportunity for those, 18 and over, to join the War on Poverty. Volunteers will work with migrant laborers, on Indian reservations in urban and rural community action programs, in slum areas, hospitals, schools and in institutions for mentally ill and retarded. Period of service one year. Volunteers will receive a living allowance and $50 a month. Plans call for 5,000 VISTA Volunteers.

Write: VISTA Volunteers, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAM -- Provides assistance to States for special programs of literacy instruction. Allotments to States is based on the number of adults 18 and over with less than a 6th grade education.

Write: Commissioner of Education, HEW, Washington, D. C.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS -- Provides loans and technical assistance to help very low income farm families to increase their income from farming or in other ways. The loans also will assist other rural families develop new opportunities for earning added income. In addition, there will be loans to start or strengthen cooperatives serving these families.

Write: Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES -- Provides grants, loans, and loan guarantees to assist States and localities for special needs in housing, sanitation, education, and the day care of children.

Write: Community Action, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C.

AN EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT INCENTIVES PROGRAM -- Provides up to $25,000 for small businesses not eligible under other loan programs. These include: retail and service enterprises employing three or fewer persons, such as luncheonettes, filling stations, drug stores, barber shops, delicatessens, beauty parlors, furniture movers, cleaning shops, etc.

Write: Nearest Field Office, Small Business Administration.

A WORK-EXPERIENCE PROGRAM -- Provides funds for projects to help unemployed fathers and other needy persons to gain work experience and job training. Directed primarily toward jobless heads of families in which there are dependent children.

Write: Commissioner, Welfare Administration, HEW, Washington, D. C.

GSA DC 65-12780

J. Barnes

Economic Opportunity Commission, Inc.

CAP WAR ON POVERTY AGENCY
ST. CLAIR COUNTY

P.O. Box 619, East St. Louis, Illinois 62201
Phone UPton 5-7017
Neighborhood Youth Corps UPton 5-7034

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Judge Billy Jones
Chairman

William C. Boyne
First Vice-Chairman

The Rev. Oltman W. Goldenstein
Second Vice-Chairman

Earl Huch
Third Vice-Chairman

Larry Miller
Secretary

Louis Brown
Treasurer

MEMBERS

W. K. Allen
Raymond Appel
Ralph Brasher
Dr. Joseph Compton
Mrs. Marjorie Cross
The Rev. Ira Davis
Mrs. Wreatha Deion
Edwin Denman
Jack M. Donahue
Miss Marcheta Field
Francis Foley
Miss Leona Franklin
Dr. Ralph Gregowicz
Dr. John Gunning
Kenneth Hall
Wetzel Harness
Mrs. Helene Harris
The Rev. Garfield Hubbard
W. W. Johnston
John Kirkpatrick
Albert Komoromi
James G. Krause
Dr. Seymour Manu
Frank Manstield
Msgr. Laurence O'Connell
David Owens
Milo Pritchett
Armin A. Ripplemeyer
Wyatt Riley
Mrs. Sarah Shew
The Rev. James Sims
The Rev. Arthur B. Smith
Walter Thomas
Mrs. Mabel S. Tillman
Francis Touchette
Mrs. Verneda Tyus
Lorin Van Horn
Delmar Valine
George Washnis
Mrs. Florence Wells
The Rev. W. E. Wharton
Lafayette White
Joseph Winfrey

J. PHILIP WARING
Executive Director

ALFRED E. LUCAS
Associate Director

Sunday, November 21, 1965
METRO-EAST JOURNAL

East St. Louis 'Far Ahead' in Poverty War

"The East St. Louis area is so far out in front of the rest of downstate Illinois in the War on Poverty it's fantastic."

That's how Gerald Osborne, regional director of the Illinois Office of Economic Opportunity, Carbondale, views the area's anti-poverty efforts.

Metro-East's progress in the war is a varied picture of success, with touches of the problems that have plagued the program nationally.

The East St. Louis area's Neighborhood Youth Corps is ranked as one of the most successful in the nation. So far the entire St. Clair county effort has been free from political pressures and scandals. The corps in particular has been inventive, involving the poor in decision making.

But in Madison County the program has been beset with claims of political control and lack of representation of the poor before it even could start.

Now it looks like the Madison County program is under way.

In many ways Metro-East is a "little United States" in the poverty war. It has big cities where poverty is a major problem. It has wealthy communities. It has rural areas where the suggestion of poverty is considered an insult.

The only operating program so far is in East St. Louis area, except for "Head Start" preschool programs and a rural youth corps that touched the Livingston area in Madison County.

So far, $1,307,211 has been spent for programs, administration and teacher training in St. Clair County. Problems have been minor, such as dismissal of youths who misrepresented their ages in the youth corps, some discipline problems and one forgery case.

Backers believe hiring of well-trained professionals is one of the major reasons for minimum incidents. Leaders so far are all social welfare workers and administrators.

The political structure has cooperated by co-sponsoring clean-up programs.

A $593,042 neighborhood counseling, and rehabilitation program is the major one awaiting approval in St. Clair County. This type program nationally has had some opposition when political machine leaders believe organization of the poor is a threat to them.

Leaders of groups claiming to represent the needy in the Venice-Madison area and portions of Alton and Wood River charged the Madison County proposal was controlled by politicians and did not represent the needs of the Negro or the needy in the county. After three separate applications for funds were filed, the county learned it had to consolidate interests to get started.

Nearly 100 youths from the Metro-East have gone into the Job Corps, and the area's drop-out rate has been much less than the national rate.

Mon., Nov. 22, 1965
St. Louis Globe-Democrat

St. Clair County Gets $136,000 Poverty Grants

The St. Clair County Economic Opportunity Commission has been awarded two grants totaling $136,000, J. Philip Waring, director, said Sunday.

Notice of the grants was received from the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, the agency that administers the national anti-poverty program.

One grant of $88,000 will pay for continued operation of the commission's office and supervision of the over-all program. The other, for $48,000, will be used to establish a reading clinic for elementary school children of low income areas.

The clinic will be operated by the East St. Louis public schools, Mr. Waring said.

Mr. Waring also said the county's Neighborhood Youth Corps will serve as a model of NYC work at a six-state regional conference in Chicago the first week in January.

Several officials and student members will go to Chicago for a presentation before directors of other NYC projects in the region.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

OVER PLEASE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

'OPERATION ASSIST' CLEAN-UP PROJECT IS SUCCESSFUL VENTURE

Several blocks in the vicinity of 17th Street and Gay Avenue in East St. Louis received a face lifting Saturday, as part of a volunteer Neighborhood Youth Corps project to rejuvenate the area.

Jack White, director, called the clean-up campaign a success and said he hopes similar projects can be conducted in other neighborhoods on future Saturdays.

About 475 youngsters volunteered their labor, White estimated. Many of them came from St. Louis, including Washington University students and members of a church choir.

They painted picket fences, mowed weeds, cleaned up piles of rubble, and swept the sidewalks and curbing. Some of the volunteers did routine carpentry work, repairing fences and porches.

Girls wearing shorts and sweatshirts pushed street department brooms, occasionally wiping their brows and pushing a strand of hair out of their eyes with a single motion. Up and down the streets, the tedious job of painting fence pickets went on through the afternoon.

The city furnished brooms and tools, trucks and bulldozers, weed cutters and foremen. A few condemned shacks were pushed down by the heavy equipment and were to be hauled away. A lot on Gay Avenue was cleared and installation of donated playground equipment was under way.

Many residents of the area also went to work on their property, and some provided sandwiches and cool drinks for the thirsty volunteers.

White said he thinks the project sufficiently awakened city officials to the need to do even more for the neighborhood. He said he is hopeful that residents will continue to improve their homes.

About 75 youngsters had arrived at the new Neighborhood Youth Center at 17th and Gay by 9 a. m. At noon, lunch was sold to raise money to renovate the center, which was donated by a church. Food firms donated weiners, chickens, hams, buns and pickles. About 4 p. m., the work force disbanded.

Franklin Park equipment to be installed at the Gay Avenue playground includes a jungle gym, swings, see-saw, and whirlagig, according to Bob Connors, recreation chairman.

Some of the youngsters were sociology students who had read of the project in a newspaper and "just decided to pitch in and give them a hand."

Rev. M.R. Lemons, one of the leaders in the clean-up and paint-up campaign, climbed atop this playground equipment and the Crusader photographer "snapped him" before he made his descent. Headquarters for the project was at the Fellowship Hall at 17th & Gay avenue, owned by the Pilgrim Baptist Church, of which Rev. Lemons is pastor. Rev. Lemons worked up a real sweat last Saturday.

OLD BRICK, NEW USE

Brick believed to have been laid by slaves in the Seventh Street and Collinsville Avenue area is being used by members of the Neighborhood Youth Corps to remodel the interior of the old Pilgrim Baptist Church, 1700 Gay Avenue. The old church building is the site of a center for youth in the 17th Street and Gay Avenue area. Louis Gillespie, left, a field representative of the adult council, gives NYC workers some tuckpointing tips here. Left to right [illegible] lespie, Eddie [illegible] lie James Owens, and Johnny Radford.

OVER PLEASE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Economic Opportunity Commission, Inc.

CAP WAR ON POVERTY AGENCY

ST. CLAIR COUNTY

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Armin Ripplemeyer, Regional Director of the Illinois Dept. of Public Aid (seated left) was recently honored by the Economic Opportunity Commission for his role in helping to organize the agency during the period of June 1964 to June 1965.

L. to R: Mr. Ripplemeyer; George Washnis, meeting chairman and executive assistant to Mayor Fields who made the presentation, and Judge Billy Jones, who succeeded Ripplemeyer as EOC chairman.

Standing L to R are other members of the EOC Executive Board: Earl Huch of the Illinois Youth Commission; Larry Miller of the Health & Welfare Council of St. Clair County; David Owens, NAACP president; Louis Brown, EOC treasurer; Bill Boyne, first vice chairman and head of the new Bi-County Urban League; The Rev. O.W. Goldenstein of the East St. Louis Ministerial Alliance, and J. Philip Waring, EOC executive director.

The meeting was held at the St. Luke AME Church.

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER
International Office

A.I.D. PARTICIPANT

Journal Staff Photo

FOREIGN VISITORS

Eleven overseas educators and community leaders, in East St. Louis to study urban development and welfare services in the metropolitan area, were welcomed by Mayor Alvin G. Fields today. From left are Bernard C. Schachile, senior housing and welfare associate; Mostafa K. M. Samy, of Cairo, United Arab Republic; Issac George Munabi, of Kampala, Uganda; Mrs. Mildred Pratt, an escort; Mayor Fields; Momanus E. Masiga, of Uganda, East Africa; Joseph C. K. Benner, of Sierra Leone, West Africa; Fafel Stevenson V., of Bogota, Colombia; Ezra Owiti Gumbe, of Kenya, East Africa; Chen Hsu, of Taipei, Republic of China, and Silverio L. Chimuka, of Lusaka, Zambia. Three members of the group are not shown. The East St. Louis Economic Opportunity Commission is serving as host for the tour, which is sponsored by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Agency for International Development. Special emphasis will be on the War on Poverty. The educators are staying at the Holiday Inn Motel.

OVER PLEASE

METRO-EAST JOURNAL Sunday, May 23, 1965

Profile of Anti-poverty Chief

'I See a Wonderful Rebirth'

By Steve Tatarsky
Of the Journal

When East St. Louis' chief poverty fighter says "needy persons CAN move ahead and make something of themselves" his hand swoops upward and onward with a flourish.

His tone of voice makes you sure that many of the needy persons who have come in contact with J. Philip Waring have moved on to higher things —just as his hand moves skyward.

Monday Waring applied his hand for the first time to the anti-poverty program in East St. Louis, Stites, Canteen and Centreville townships.

The new director of the Economic Opportunity Commission wasted no time.

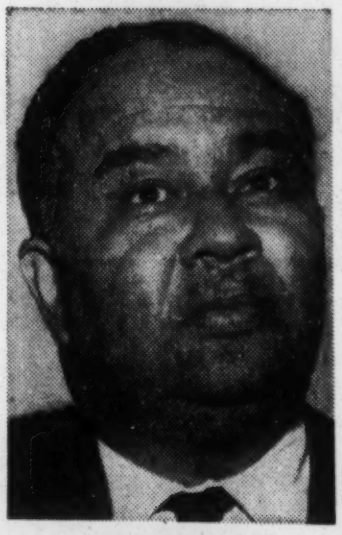
Two hours after he first picked up the telephone in the Arcade building office, he had special permission to apply for a Neighborhood Youth Corps. He had gotten a reversal of a previous decision that the city was too late to get in on the Youth Corps rush.

"I have never had such a rewarding first day in my 23-year career," Waring said of that day.

Up at 6 a. m., at work at 8 and on the phone to Chicago at 9, by 11 a. m. he had the green light to apply for the youth corps. Then it was an afternoon of arranging meetings, lining up information and starting on an application.

'Long Overdue'

He thinks the $800 million Economic Opportunity Act which makes local action possible was long overdue.



Philip Waring

"All programs will create and enhance human resources . . . and any time we lift human resources . . . we not only help people, but the community."

He sees programs for children, teenagers and adults as the first step in attracting new business and industry as well. He says all the efforts in economic development are fine . . . "but personal rehabilitation comes first."

New plants and persons will not move into areas where unemployment, despair and poverty cast a shadow, he says

Waring forsees neighborhood devlopment centers as a way to bring programs to the people. Neighborhood centers would have volunteer counselors, professional advisers and poor people themselves working to aid their peers.

Centers to improve family life, teach health, manners, legal rights and encourage neighborhood pride and improved housing all are part of personal rehabilitation.

Waring is a man with professional ability and feeling, and is a quick-minded administrator as well.

Interrupted by questions, telephone calls and visitors as he discusses the city's poverty problem, Waring shows a rare trait of being able to pick up a broken conversation and return to his original words without hesitation.

When most people say "Now where was I," when they interrupt a thought, Waring moves right ahead, anticipating every idea and question.

He's no recent college graduate out to make a name for himself and then move on. He is a 53-year-old with the sprightliness of a 25-year old. He came to East St. Louis because he sees a new spirit in the city and wants to be a part of it.

Sees 'Rebirth'

"I see a new sign of wonderful human and physical rebirth." Improved city government, the hiring of a professional city administrator, business rebuilding and hospital improvements and a long-range plan for community improvement are five signs of the new spirit in East St. Louis, Waring says.

"When the Museum of Transport becomes reality, the riverfront could bring national acclaim to East St. Louis," he said.

A man of practicality as well as dedication and hope for the impoverished, Waring made a careful study of East St. Louis before deciding to apply for the job.

He looked into the spirit of Southern Illinois University, Community Progress, Inc., city officials, citizens and the anti-poverty commission. Then he decided the city was moving ahead, not backwards and sought the job.

Another factor: "East St. Louis has had a streak of bad luck . . . I always have sort of been for the underdog anyway."

He is moving to involve the city in more activities. Through his former position as Commissioner of the Division of Community Services of the St. Louis Department of Welfare and consultant to the city's 18-month-old anti-poverty program, Waring is working to coordinate East St. Louis and St. Louis ideas and planning programs.

He will be working to cement relations with other private and public groups in the city which are also fighting poverty.

He has a bachelor's degree from West Virginia State, a master's degree in social work from Columbia University in New York, and has done other advanced study. He also is developing ties with SIU's programs in the area.

In 10 years in St. Louis, he has experience with East St Louis as Executive Secretary of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations. Other background includes Urban League work in Springfield, St. Louis, Jacksonville, Fla., and the Bronx and Harlem in New York.

He's been cited by the Episcopal Church for his work in fighting poverty and delinquency and for administrative leadership in World War II.

APPROVES FUND FOR E. ST. LOUIS YOUTH CORPS

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH

Sunday July 25, 1965

Labor Department Marks $445,000 for Antipoverty Setup

Related Article on Page 4A

The United States Department of Labor has approved a $445,000 application to finance a Neighborhood Youth Corps in an antipoverty project in East St. Louis.

The announcement was made yesterday by J. Philip Waring, director of the East St. Louis Economic Opportunity Commission. The Federal Government will provide $399,000 and the balance of the $445,000 will be contributed by participating agencies.

Waring said that the project was intended primarily to give summer pobs to youths from 16 to 21 years old in 65 public and private non-profit organizations in the East St. Louis area. The program is expected to begin next week, Waring said.

He said that the grant was the largest made by the Federal Government in the antipoverty program to an Illinois area outside of Chicago.

Representative Melvin Price (Dem.), East St. Louis, who informed Waring of the application approval, said that the jobs provided by the various participating agencies would pay $1.25 an hour, up to 30 hours a week.

Agencies taking part in the project includes the St. Clair county Board of Supervisors which will provide work on road and bridge projects, and the St. Clair county Tuberculosis Association which has a testing and X-ray program.

The four townships served by the East St. Louis Economic Opportunity Commission are East St. Louis, Stites, Canteen, and Centreville.

Waring estimated that about 850 youths would be employed. They will be supervised by a staff of 12. The East St. Louis office of the Illinois State Employment Service has been screening applicants.

OVER PLEASE

Economic Opportunity Commission, Inc.
CAP WAR ON POVERTY AGENCY

ST. CLAIR COUNTY

P.O. Box 619, East St. Louis, Illinois 62201
Phone UPton 5-7017 Neighborhood Youth Corps, UPton 5-7034

Scout, Help Centers Ideas OKd

METRO-EAST JOURNAL

Area Poverty Plans Total

Friday, September 17, 1965

$2.8 Million

War on Poverty programs in operation or on the drawing board for the East St. Louis area total $2.8 million, J. Philip Waring, Economic Opportunity Commission director, said today.

Waring said programs now in effect in East St. Louis, Stites, Canteen and Centreville Townships have received $748,319.24.

Programs which have been proposed to federal authorities and for which funds have not been released total $2,162,605.17.

Programs in effect are:

1. Program development grant — For administrative expenses to operate the programs.

2. Out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps summer program employing 850 youths — Will cease operations Oct. 12.

3. University summer course for teachers of deprived children—Was held for 18 teachers and two administrators of East St. Louis School District 189 this summer at St. Louis University.

4. Headstart program for 640 youngsters which ended last summer, in East St. Louis District 189 ($109,000) and Brooklyn District 188 ($6,820).

5. Prep-school readiness centers for deprived children from ages three to five—Will be operated by Southern Illinois University and is similar to Headstart program.

The programs now in Washington, for which funds are awaited:

1. Counseling program to extend help to deprived children in District 189.

2. Tutorial program to help deprived children maintain a level of efficiency in school subjects in District 189.

3. Reading clinic for deprived children in District 189.

4. Neighborhood Youth Corps in-school program for 500 youngsters in public and parochial schools in East St. Louis area.

5. Neighborhood Youth Corps out-of-school program for 560 youngsters in an extension of the one which will end Oct. 12.

6. Program development grant for administrative operations.

7. Neighborhood center proposal — A major program in which a network of community centers which will offer new services emphasizing self help programs.

8. Culture enrichment program through SIU—Designed to bring dance, grammar, concerts, and art to children in community where they can participate in programs.

FUNDED PROGRAMS

Item	Amount
Program Development Grant	$ 45,000.00
Out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps	442,199.24
Course for teachers of deprived children	16,300.00
Head Start	115,820.00
Pre-school readiness centers	129,000.00
Total	$ 748,319.24

PROGRAMS PENDING

Counseling program	$ 92,895.85
Tutorial program	16,518.00
Reading program	53,950.00
Youth Corps in-school plan	412,141.42
Youth Corps out-of-school plan	581,196.30
New program development grant	99,327.60
Neighborhood center plan	593,042.00
Boy Scout proposal	57,534
Culture enrichment program	256,000.00
Total	$2,162,605.17
Grand Total	$2,910,924.41

Two programs totaling $650,576 were approved by the Economic Opportunity Commission for the East St. Louis area at a meeting Thursday night.

One, totaling $593,042 would provide for establishment of six community centers in the four-township area. The other, totaling $57,534, would assist in establishing a Boy Scout program for disadvantaged youngsters.

Both require approval by the federal Office of Economic Opportunity. Federal funds sought for the community center program total $519,485, and for the Boy Scout program $49,703. The remainder will be made up of local contributions in facilities and services.

In other business, the Commission honored Armin A. Rippelmeyer, retiring chairman of the commission, and voted to expand the area served by the commission.

Rippelmeyer, regional director of the Illinois Department of Public Aid, resigned as chairman of the commission last spring. He was given a framed, hand-lettered certificate citing him for leadership in getting the program under way.

Acting at the suggestion of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the commission voted to expand its service area to cover all of St. Clair County. It now serves Stites, Centreville, Canteen and East St. Louis Townships.

J. Philip Waring, commission director, said the action is not expected to have much practical effect, since the commission now covers more than 95 per cent of the impoverished areas of the county. However, the action will permit the commission to serve "small pockets of poverty" in the county without setting new administrative machinery.

In his monthly report, Waring said commission programs totoling $748,000 have been approved by the federal government and others totaling $2,162,605 are waiting approval.

He said the commission's Neighborhood Youth Corps projects has been selected as the subject of a nine-state seminar to be held at the University of Chicago in October. It will be used as a model for other programs in the nine-state area. Jack White is director of the Youth Corps.

Judge Billy Jones served as chairman of the meeting. The meeting was held in St. Luke's AME Church, 414 N. 14th St., East St. Louis.

OVER PLEASE

CAP

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Youth Corps 'Troops' on the Job East St. Louis

Youth Corps workers Vernon Allen and Geore Smith trim baseball diamond under direc of Park Employe John Haywood

Application for the second East St. Louis area Neighborhood Youth Corps is expected to total "close to one million dollars" for a 42-week job program serving 1,200 needy youths.

Jack White, Youth Corps director, said the application is expected to be sent to Washington, D. C., by the end of next week.

The proposed new youth corps would be for 16-to-21-year-olds in nine public and parochial junior and senior high schools.

The application is to expand the present $455,291 corps, particularly to provide part-time jobs to needy youths who would be in school.

All 850 jobs in the first corps were to be filled by noon today, with a surplus of more than 250 youths.

The summer jobs will be extended until Oct. 2 so a full 11-week program can be offered. Youths who plan to return to school in September will do so, and their jobs can be filled from the surplus pool.

The purpose of the Youth Corps is to give work experience to many youngsters who have never had jobs. It also will help them support themselves and their families. Classroom programs to teach good grooming, job behavior and good working habits all are designed to improve chances for future permanent employment.

The youths are paid $1.25 an your and the normal work week is 30 hours.

Some programs provide new or accelerated community activities. One is for the St. Clair County Tuberculosis Assn. so it can step-up TB testing.

About 23 workers are working at St. Paul's Church to set up recreation and playground activity programs in five different playground areas.

Some of the other agencies and types of jobs provided are:

St. Mary's and Christian Welfare Hospitals, maintenance aides.

Cities of Cahokia, Alorton, Centreville, Brooklyn, Venice, East St. Louis—maintenance and some clerical work, dog wardens and inspectors.

East Side Levee and Sanitary District telephone operator to grounds maintenance.

East St. Louis Housing Authority—recreation, mainenance aid and some clerical.

New Hope Church — clerical.

High schools — clerical and some maintenance.

Illinois Youth Commission—recreation aides.

Salvation Army—maintenance and clerical.

Cahokia Mounds State Park—archeological aides.

METRO-EAST JOURNAL

Friday, July 30, 1965

Habit Encouraged

Metro-East Journal

Youth Corps Savings Accounts Grow

Work in the Neighborhood Youth Corps will mean money in the savings account for many East St. Louis youngsters.

Youth Corps workers were encouraged to open accounts Friday in banks and savings and loan firms.

The youths are paid $37.50 for a 30-hour work week. In addition to working for governmental and private nonprofit organizations, they are given orientation sessions in citizenship, job performance, and personal habits. In addition, they are encouraged to save part of their pay for future use.

The youth corps, operated under the anti-poverty program, is serving about 800 youths in the East St. Louis area.

The jobs are ones that would not normally have been filled by the 64 public and private nonprofit agencies involved. The local share of the project is counted as the supervision the agencies give the youths. The federal grant was $399,154.

Randolph Iby, 423 S. 55th St., opens an account at First National Bank. Mrs. Dorothy Maxwell is the teller

OVER PLEASE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Economic Opportunity Commission, Inc.

CAP WAR ON POVERTY AGENCY

ST. CLAIR COUNTY

Highly Efficient Staff Seen As Key To Success Of Local "War On Poverty"

AUGUST 4 - 10, 1965
THE MONITOR

Many of these workers resigned teaching and civil service protected jobs to serve with the War on Poverty. Inserts: Left is Jerry Findley and Miss Elsa Haupt and Robert L. Perkins in center.

The astounishing swift pace by which various programs under the "War On Poverty" Act has been initiated in the East St. Louis area is, in the opinions of most observers, due to the highly efficient staff in the office of the Greater East St. Louis Economic Opportunity Commission.

Staff workers include professional social workers, teachers and an attorney who have lent their talents and efforts to the fight against poverty.

Pictured above are members of the staff. From left to right, first row; J. Phillip Waring, executive director, Economic Opportunity Comm. (standing); Charles D. Steele, accountant-Neighborhood Youth Corp; Jack W. White, director, NWC; Jerome Lacy, field representative of the Economic Opportunity Office for the State of Illinois, and Alfred Lucas, assistant director, EOC (standing).

Left to right, second row seated; Wyvetta Young, unit supervisor; Patricia D. Kelley, deputy director, and Cecilia Millard, clerk typist, all of the Neighborhood Youth Corp.

Left to right, third row seated; James C. Leonard and Charles M. Roma, work advisors, NYC.

Left to right, fourth row seated; Richard Bonner and Donald Franklin, work advisors, NYC.

Left to right, fifth row, seated; Brenda Brooks, Bobby Joe Connors, work advisors, NYC, and Nalda McCain, records clerk, NYC.

Left to right, top row, seated; Tonietta Sargent NYC, Candy Warden, clerk typist, EOC, and Wilma Gaston, secretary, EOC.

OVER PLEASE

Economic Opportunity Commission, Inc.

CAP WAR ON POVERTY AGENCY

ST. CLAIR COUNTY

Alfred Earle Lucas, Associate Director, E.O.C. (standing second from right) is shown viewing a special map prepared by agency Sub-Professional workers which highlight areas to be served by the new Neighborhood Opportunity Centers. George Washnis, Personnel Committee Chairman, is seated, second from right.

OVER PLEASE

St. [illegible]

EOC to Hire 20 Workers

The St. Clair County Economic Opportunity Commission is hiring 20 area residents to help operate the War on Poverty in the county.

Most of the workers are needy adults from Stites, Canteen, East St. Louis and Centreville Townships. Now that the commission has expanded operations to cover the entire county, some will come from the other areas, according to J. Philip Waring, commission director.

About 10 of the 20 were trained this summer at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, to be community workers in anti-poverty programs in Illinois and Missouri.

SIU found out later that Missouri had no job classification for "community workers" under the State Employment Service Civil Service rules. So the Missouri persons had no jobs.

The 20 workers will be paid under the $88,437 grant made Tuesday to the commission to continue operation for another year. The commission was the first in Metro-East to get started, having received a program development grant of $39,000 last April to start the War on Poverty.

Waring said the community workers would do survey work in the needy areas of the county, clerical, and other administrative work.

It is the first large-scale hiring of non-professionals by the commission. The staff is composed of professional persons trained in working with the poor.

The community workers will be paid $1.50 an hour and work 20 hours a week. Some already are at work.

If the EOC receives approval of a $593,042 neighborhood service center proposal, the workers also would work in six neighborhood areas helping in family counseling, homemaking and other training and recreation programs.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

Youths were urged to join the Neighborhood Youth Corps during 'Operations Assist' clean-up project in the 17th and Gay Ave. area last Saturday. A special application and information center was operated at the site.

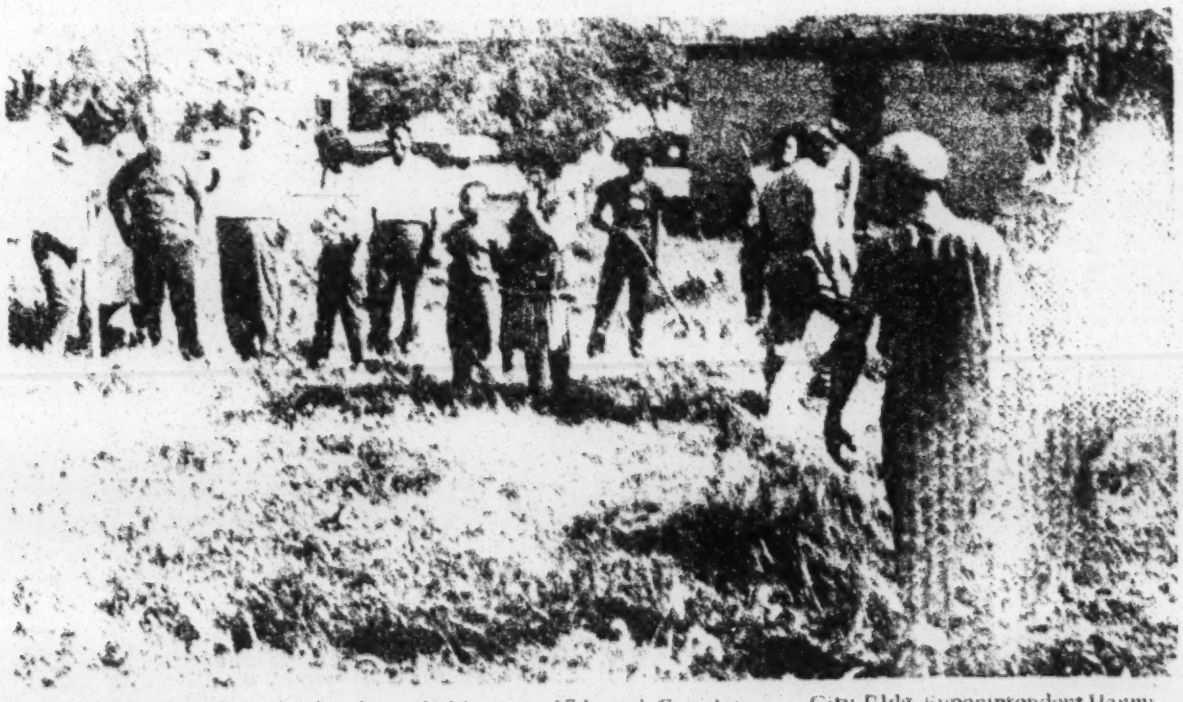
Pictured above, left to right seated: Eric Corbett, an interviewer with the Ill. State Employment Service; Mrs. Goldie F. Orr, supervisor employment counselor with the Ill. State Employment Service and Jerry Finley, an official of the NYC.

Standing, left to right: Elmo J. Bush, administrator of Adult Education School, School District 189; Francis J. Foley, chief supervisor, East St. Louis Township, and Fred L. Teer, principal of the Adult Education School and a CPI official.

Applications for the Youth Corps are screened by the state employment service.

Some of the 450 youngsters who volunteered their labor in a clean-up campaign in the vicinity of 17th and Gay Avenue last Saturday are pictured above painting a fence. The project to rejuvenate the area was sponsored by the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Interested observers watching the youths are, left to right: J. Phillip Waring, director of the East St. Louis ECO nomic Opportunity Commission; City Commissioner Ester Saverson and the Rev. O. W. Goldstein.



Jack White, Neighborhood Youth Corps director, is pictured above fifth from left as he observes volunteer youths and adults cleaning up a vacant field near 17th and Gay Avenue as part of last Saturday's clean-up project.

Commissioner Ester Saverson is at left raking weeds, while City Bldg. Superintendent Harry Tharp and City Relief Works Program Supt. Theodore Gaten looks on.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Sunday, December 19, 1965

METRO-EAST JOURNAL

Enrollment Starts Monday

Pre-school Centers Ready to Go

Enrollment begins Monday for war on poverty pre-school readiness centers to be operated in East St. Louis.

The $129,736 project will provide basic cultural training and education to try to improve the chances of the needy child to do well in school.

Parents living in the vicinity of the Orr-Weathers Housing Project, 1400 Missouri Ave., and the Pilgrim Baptist Church, 17th and Gay Ave. are asked to bring their children to the centers Monday.

Robert E. Rockwell, project director for Southern Illinois University, said the centers will start their programs after the first of the year when all equipment is available. Needy children age 2½ to six can be enrolled.

The St. Clair County Economic Opportunity Commission is subcontracting the program to the SIU Delinquency Study Project.

All parents are to bring birth certificats and clinic cards on their children to the enrollment centers.

Enrollment for children living near Orr-Weathers is in the community room of the D-1 building from 9:30 a.m. to noon and from 1 to 2:30 p.m. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

Enrollment in the church basement will be the same times and dates.

The first two centers will enroll from 45 to 60 children, depending on the age range of the applicants, Rockwell said.

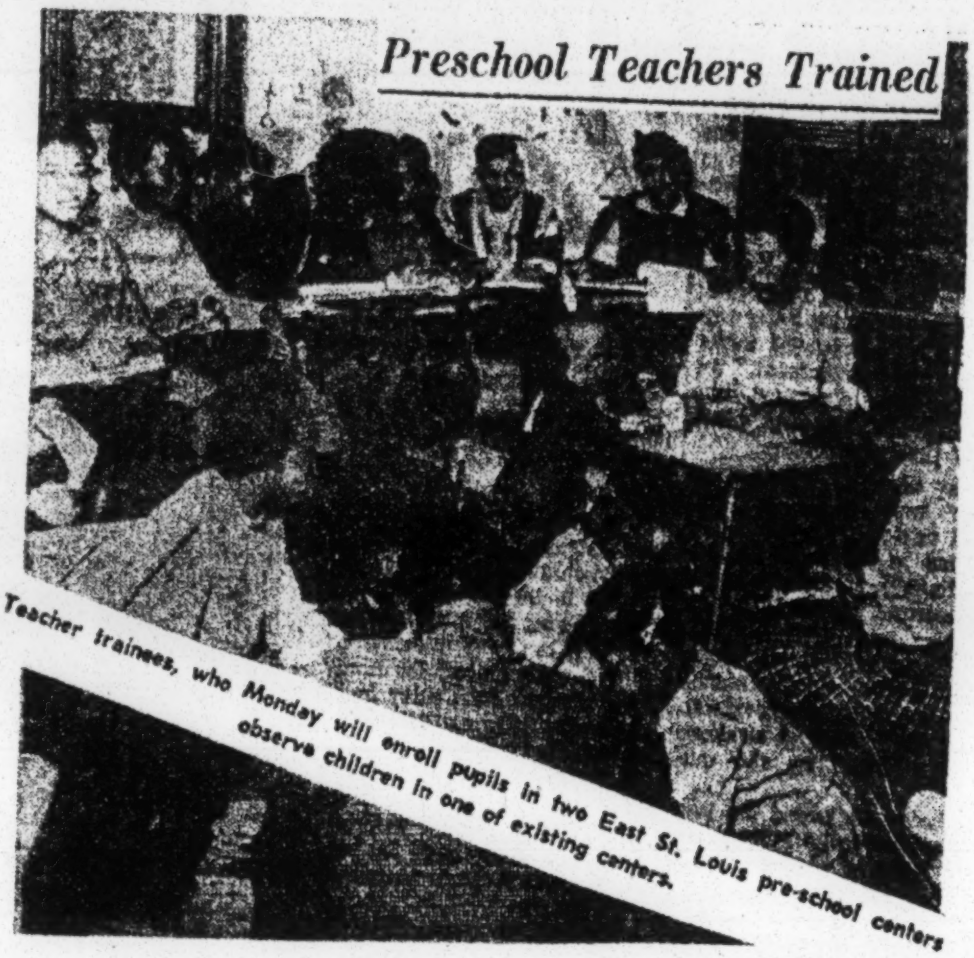
Eventually five centers will be opened. Teachers and teacher aides now are being trained and research methods for classes and evaluation are being developed under a separate $75,000 project.

The youngest children will be taught colors, numbers, shapes, words and other basic nursery-school programs. The purpose would be to uplift their overall interest level. Many needy pupils are far behind others in schools because they do not pick up basics at home, Rockwell said.

The youngest child would be in the center for only one to 1½ hours, two or three times aweek, depending on how many are enrolled. It is possible these children can be served by the program for several years, if it is extended past the present Sept. 30, 1966 expiration date.

The older children will be taught basics and prepared for the public schools. East St. Louis District 189 now has no kindergarten.

Preschool Teachers Trained



Teacher trainees, who Monday will enroll pupils in two East St. Louis pre-school centers observe children in one of existing centers.

The project was supposed to have started in November, but there was a delay in getting funds. Leases for the other three centers now are being completed and their locations will be announced. Rockwell said the program will work with the parents and the pupils in many cases, and parents are urged to enroll their children in centers nearest their home.

Criteria for selection of children are: The 2½-year-olds must be toilet trained and the parents must stay with them in the center until the teachers are sure the child is content with the new situation. This may be one day or one week, for an hour each day.

The older children also must come from needy families and the parents must spend the first morning or afternoon in the center to see what the children will be doing.

All parents must attend a minimum of one parent meeting each month. Rockwell said teachers, aides and the staff social worker will be making visits in the home.

Part of the idea behind the program is that a child's home environment determines to a great extent how the child will react to learning. The idea is to work with the child as part of his family and help the entire unit, he said.

Director Appointed

Robert E. Rockwell

OVER PLEASE

Gay Avenue: New Face

The area near 17th and Gay Avenue, long considered one of East St. Louis' worst eyesores, is beginning to take a new look thanks to the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

In recent weeks, some 150 Youth Corps members have been:

1. Remodeling the old building of the Pilgrim Baptist Church, 1700 Gay Ave., and converting it into a youth center.

2. Repairing and building fences and, with help from city's street department, demolishing several dilapidated homes.

3. Converting empty lots into playgrounds, including one area which is to be made into a football field.

Jack White, NYC director, explains that most of the work has been done under a program called, "Project Assist." This means the youths donate their time and do the work without pay.

One example is the Pilgrim Church building. Fifteen youths, ages 16 to 21, have been assigned to the church remodeling on a paid basis. NYC members are paid $1.25 an hour. However some 25 youths plus many other adul are helping at the center wit out pay during their spa time.

A dozen activities are ta ing place at the center cu rently, including arts ar crafts, tutoring, home econ mics, and classes in eleme tary electronics. The remode ing is to be completed withi the next two months.

OVER PLEASE

Sunday,

METRO-EAS

Youth
Impre
To Ins

A regional
U. S. Departm
been "very
the Neighborh
gram in the
area.

Miss Julia A
force coordina
of the Neigh
Corps, said E
the second la
the state "an
are it's procee
Miss Spenney
St. Louis Frida
inspection of th

On Friday a
ited an NYC p
Street and G
where a youth
developed and
hood is underg
ing with the
workers

ECONOMIC OPPORT
17 NORTH M
EAST ST. LOUIS,

THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

Sunday, October 17, 1965

METRO-EAST JOURNAL

Youth Corps Impressive To Inspector

A regional inspector for the U. S. Department of Labor has been "very impressed" with the Neighborhood Youth Program in the East St. Louis area.

Miss Julia A. Spenney, a task force coordinator for Region IV of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, said East St. Louis has the second largest program in the state "and all indications are it's proceeding very nicely." Miss Spenney arrived in East St. Louis Friday for a three-day inspection of the area.

On Friday afternoon, she visited an NYC project in the 17th Street and Gay Avenue area, where a youth center is being developed and the neighborhood is undergoing a face lifting with the help of volunteer workers.

TOP LEVEL DISCUSSION

Miss Julia Ann Spenney, task force coordinator for Region IV of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, discusses the East St. Louis NYC program with Jack White, East St. Louis, and Charles Roma, right, his assistant. Miss Spenney inspected the East St. Louis NYC program.

Region 4 encompasses six states and has some 30,000 youths enrolled in NYC programs, Miss Spenney said. "The NYC has taken hold and it is here to stay," she added, emphasizing the program is an integral part of the Administration's War on Poverty.

Miss Spenney said the NYC is part of the U. S. Department of Labor Manpower Administration and is designed to make it possible for youths 16 to 21 to:

1. Stay in school.
2. Return to school if they have already left the classroom.
3. Obtain work experience and develop work habits if they are out of school and out of work.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
17 NORTH MAIN STREET
EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS 62201

Economic Opportunity Commission, Inc.
CAP WAR ON POVERTY AGENCY
ST. CLAIR COUNTY

P.O. Box 819, East St. Louis, Illinois 62201
Phone UPton 5-7017 Neighborhood Youth Corps, UPton 5-7044

'East St. Louis City With Critical Need' METRO-EAST JOURNAL
Tuesday, October 26, 1965

Officials Tour Youth Corps Work

The East St. Louis Neighborhood Youth Corps is getting a close look from the rest of the nation.

Government officials from Chicago Detroit, Mich., Cleveland, Ohio, Minneapolis, Minn. and Washington, D. C. toured the youth work experience program Monday and today.

The staff meeting of the regional youth corps office of the Department of Labor was held in East St. Louis, the first time a regional meeting was held in the field.

The regional office in Chicago administers 80 projects in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Regional director Wesley Ted Cobb Monday called the War on Poverty program "a hand up, not a hand out."

The purpose of the corps is to give needy youths age 16 to through 21 work experience and some counseling and training. They work in public and non-profit agencies.

The East St. Louis program aided as many as 1,000 different youths this summer and this fall.

Another program for 500 is beginning to help needy high school pupils make some money while they go to school.

Area Program Successful

The regional meeting was brought here because the program has been pointed out as one of the most successful in the nation. "East St. Louis is a city with a critical need for the youth corps and was given special priority by the regional office," Cobb said.

He said public understanding and acceptance of the project is important if it is to have results. He said East St. Louis is "a community with guts and drive," to do something about its problems.

About 60,000 youths are working in the Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota and Wisconsin NYC programs.

Cobb estimates some two million youths age 16 to 21 could be aided by the youth corps.

In the 6-state region, some programs had to be cut back this fiscal year, he said. This is because so many more communities in the nation applied for youth corps programs.

St. Louis' program had to be trimmed by more than two-thirds. East St. Louis' budget remained about the same, although the numbers of youths served has to be combined in both in-school and out-of-school programs.

Room for Expansion

Jack White, East St. Louis project director, has estimated 3,000 to 4,000 eligible youths still have not been served by the program.

The East St. Louis program to provide jobs for high school dropouts already has resulted in decisions by 91 of them to return to school and try to get more of an education.

Youths out of school can remain in the program only six months, unless their leaders decide they need more time in the corps.

Youths can stay in the in-school programs during two school years. "This is not a welfare program but is to inspire a youth to go ahead," said Frank Stanard, Detroit, district director.

Program leaders are being urged to develop jobs for the youths who end their tour of duty. But jobs are not necessarily the end goal. The work experience creates improved attitudes in the youths about themselves.

It also is to help show youths the need for more education and skill training to get jobs today.

Stanton said the difference between the youth corps today and the youth work programs of the depression is that in the 1930's everyone involved was poor. "Today the poor are those left behind by prosperity," he said.

Other regional and national officials present were Morris Riger, district director, Cleveland; Alfred Fisher, field consultant, Washington; Miss Rose Nathenson, deputy regional director, Chicago and Miss Lillian Anthony, district director, Minneapolis.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Local Poverty Office Cited

Twin honors came recently to the Economic Opportunity Commission War On Poverty agency. The Midwestern Regional Office of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Chicago recently selected the East St. Louis Area Youth Corps to be used as a special model at the University of Chicago before an area-wide seminar of professional youth specialists. Jack White is Director of the NYC department.

In another announcement the Chicago Regional Office of Economic Opportunity informed the local Economic Opportunity Commission that it had been listed as "one of the ten outstanding CAP operations in its area". Coupled with these two honors was an official field visit last weekend to the agency of Miss Julia A. Spenny, task force coordinator for Region IV of the NYC Chicago Regional Office, who also complimented the local NYC operation as "most impressive".

Judge Billy Jones, EOC Board chairman, announced that the agency had recently voted to expand its co. St. Clair County and its 315,000 people. It formerly served only Metropolitan East St. Louis which contains over 95% of the poverty of the county.

The new agency which opened its office for full operations last May under the directorship of J. Phillip Waring, has already secured $748,319 in Federal and local funds to operate six different programs.

The agency, which in less than five months has expanded into the second largest anti-poverty CAP operation in Illinois, has over $2,300,000 in ten different proposals which are either already in Washington for review or on the agency's drawing boards. These projects will give employment to over three hundred professional, sub-professional, clerical and maintenance workers while rendering direct service to uplift thousands of persons who live in pockets of poverty. This will mean that over three million dollars will be secured to first poverty and create new opporrunities in the St. Clair County Area.

Earl Huch, NYC Advisory Committee Chairman, said that the summer-time participation of sixty-five different public and private agencies in the NYC work-training program highlighted excellent community help and cooperation in the War On Poverty in St. Clair County.

OVER PLEASE

Economic Opportunity Commission, Inc.
CAP WAR ON POVERTY AGENCY
ST. CLAIR COUNTY

P.O. Box 618, East St. Louis, Illinois 62201
Phone UPton 5-7017
Neighborhood Youth Corps, UPton 5-7034

Monday, November 22, 1965

East St. Louis

METRO-EAST JOURNAL

Poor Readers Get Clinic to Help

As many as 400 needy East St. Louis area youngsters who are falling behind in school because they are poor readers will get a helping hand from the War on Poverty.

A $48,373 federal grand approved Friday will enable School District 189 to open its first reading clinic.

The clinic will try to uplift reading skills and prevent children from falling behind in school. The problem has been that children who read poorly often loose interest in school, drop out, and end up on unemployment and relief lists.

The school district hopes to start operation of the clinic by Jan. 24, according to Bolen Carter, assistant district superintendent. The school district will provide $5,378 in goodsand services as the area share.

The Economic Opportunity Commission, serving St. Clair County, first sought the reading clinic last April. The application was updated in September.

Site Located

The center will be in Lafayette School, 4800 Bond Ave. Mrs. Lillian Bracy, director of reading for the district, will be in charge.

Carter said the 1,710-square foot room in the school is the only available single, large clinic. Work will star to partition the room into smaller areas so individual pupils can work directly with teachers or in small classes.

The clinic will serve mostly pupils in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth grades, he said. "But it will not be restricted to those grades." It can serve pupils fromthe first to 12th. We will pick out kids who need help the most," Carter said.

He said pupils with reading problems usually come from homes in which "reading is not a habit." Books and magazines are scarce in the home. "As long as schools deal with textbooks, pupils are going to have to read," he said. When they can't, they fall behind. This leads to emotional blocks to learning in many needy children, he said. As pupils become indifferent, many drop out of school, compounding the problems of poverty in the community.

To Aid Teachers

Regular teachers in District 189 will be used in the clinic, working under teachers who have special skills in reading improvement. The in-service training for the teachers also will help them in their own

"The program will profit both pupils and teachers," Carter said. No new teachers will be hired.

It is the first such program on a district-wide scale ever tried in the city. Carter said most of the pupils are expected to come from 15 schools in the most disadvantaged areas of the district. Other youths from other schools will be served when the need is found.

Pupils will be asked to go to the clinic by principals or teachers. Tests will be given to determine the pupils reading problem.

A doctor and nurse will be employed to conduct ear and eye tests to make sure physical defects are not involved. Special testing and reading devices will be purchased under the grant.

The program will last one year, including the summer.

The clinic is the third war on poverty project for the school district. The others were the $115,820 "Head Start" project and a $16,300 program in which teachers went to St. Louis University for special training in wirking with disadvantages pupils.

Youth Corps

DEC 12/65

Beautification Goal of Project

East St. Louis City

The Neighborhood Youth Corps and the City of East St. Louis have started a cooperative beautification project.

Corps and city workers will help in clean-up programs in various St. Clair County communities in addition to their regular duties, said Bobby Joe Connors, youth corps counselor and beautification coordinator with the city.

One project has been done. It was to plant shrubbery in a small area at the Vogel Place entrance at State Street in East St. Louis. Donated shrubbery was used to help beautify the entrance.

Bobby Joe Connors

Youth Corps workers are employed by city, county and state public agencies and private nonprofit organizations. The program is to give needy youths work experience, some training and a job reference for permanent employment.

Connors said the youth corps and city will work together to beautify areas where there is a need. He said the program also is designed to help motivate homeowners to participate in beautification.

He said if projects are successful, a large-scale clean-up and beautification program might be attempted for the entire city. The youth corps and city already have cooperated to clean some of the most needy areas of the city and the city has pledged to enforce litter ordinances to help keep the areas clean.

Under the new Housing and Urban Development Act, cities are eligible to receive federal grants up to 90 per cent of the total cost of major demonstration projects. Such beautification projects must be designed to show how a city can improve its looks so it can be used as a model by other cities.

One planner has said he thinks such a demonstration project could be applied for to beautify the riverfront.

Connors said a committee of citizens to advise the corps and city on beautification will be formed.

"We feel that the citizens should be involved in the beautification of their city."

EST LOUIS DEC 23/65

HOW IT'S DONE

Neighborhood Job Corps members learn how to transplant shrubs under guidance of East St. Louis Park District employes at the greenhouse area in Jones Park. Left to right are Corpsmen James Nevels and Edgar Jones, Park employe John Babinsky, Corpsman David Davidson, head gardener Bill Roach, and Corpsman George Malone

OVER PLEASE

Six Neighborhood Centers To Open Here

A recent grant of $539,000 ($480,965 in Federal Funds for the 90% share) will provide for establishment of six multi-function Neighborhood Opportunity Centers in some of the worse poverty areas in St. Clair Co. This figure includes $480,965 as the 90 percent federal share.

J. Philip Waring, executive director of the E.O.C., which will sponsor the new centers, said this was the largest single anti-poverty grant ever made in Metro-East. The six new centers will bring job counselling, consumer education classes, family management programs, health services, family counselling, Neighborhood Youth Corps, free legal aid and group work services directly into poverty areas.

The E.O.C. Board approved the proposal for the centers last September and it was sent to the Chicago Regional Office. Later Alfred E. Lucas, associate director of E.O.C., rewrote the proposal several times to make it comply with more strict federal regulations governing the operation of neighborhood services.

Professional, supervisory and technical staff will be recruited immediately during phase one. This includes a Project Director and six coordinators to head the six centers, a registered nurse, a family service administrator, three case workers, two home economists, and a group work recreation specialist.

Selection of staff will depend on education, training and previous professional experience, including work with the disadvantaged, all of which are Federal requirements for neighborhood services workers.

The agency's personnel committee requires open advertising of all job openings. Some fifty jobs will be open for non-professional personal who live in the Target Areas adjacent to the new centers. The latter group will be recruited during phase two at the end of April and early in May.

Salaries range from $5,700 to $11,000 for professional, technical and supervisory staff who will organize program activities and conduct health, family case work, consumer education, group work services and youth guidance.

Non-professionals who are residents of the Target areas may apply for positions such as bookkeepers, interviewers, janitors, community aides, stenographers, neighborhood developers and clerk-typists. Salary ranges run from $3,390 to over $6,000 per year.

Persons interested may secure job application forms from the E.O.C., 219 South 26th St., (in the Levee Board Yards), East St. Louis. Forms must be completed and should be mailed to File N. O. C., P. O. Box 619, East St. Louis, Ill. Previous military service records, school transcripts and references, both character and business, may be requested.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH Tues., April 5, 1966

GRANT TO SET UP SIX AID CENTERS FOR EAST SIDE

St. Louis Globe-Democrat
THE CRUSADER
EAST ST. LOUIS MONITOR

The Economic Opportunity Commission has been given a federal grant of $480,965 to operate six neighborhood opportunity centers on the East Side, Philip Waring, executive director of the commission, announced yesterday. The commission is the antipoverty agency for St. Clair county.

Waring said the centers, when in full operation, would offer family counseling, job counseling, home management courses, civil legal aid, recreation and leisure time activities, health services and Neighborhood Youth Corps services.

Purpose of the centers is to bring services to the poor in their own neighborhoods and to help them organize themselves to solve their problems, Waring explained.

In addition to a professional staff, about 60 persons will be hired as community aid workers, typists, clerks and for other positions. Most of these jobs will be filled by residents of the neighborhood to be served.

The professional staff will consist of a neighborhood opportunity centers director, six neighborhood developers, a family service administrator, three social workers, two home economists, a registered nurse and a recreation director.

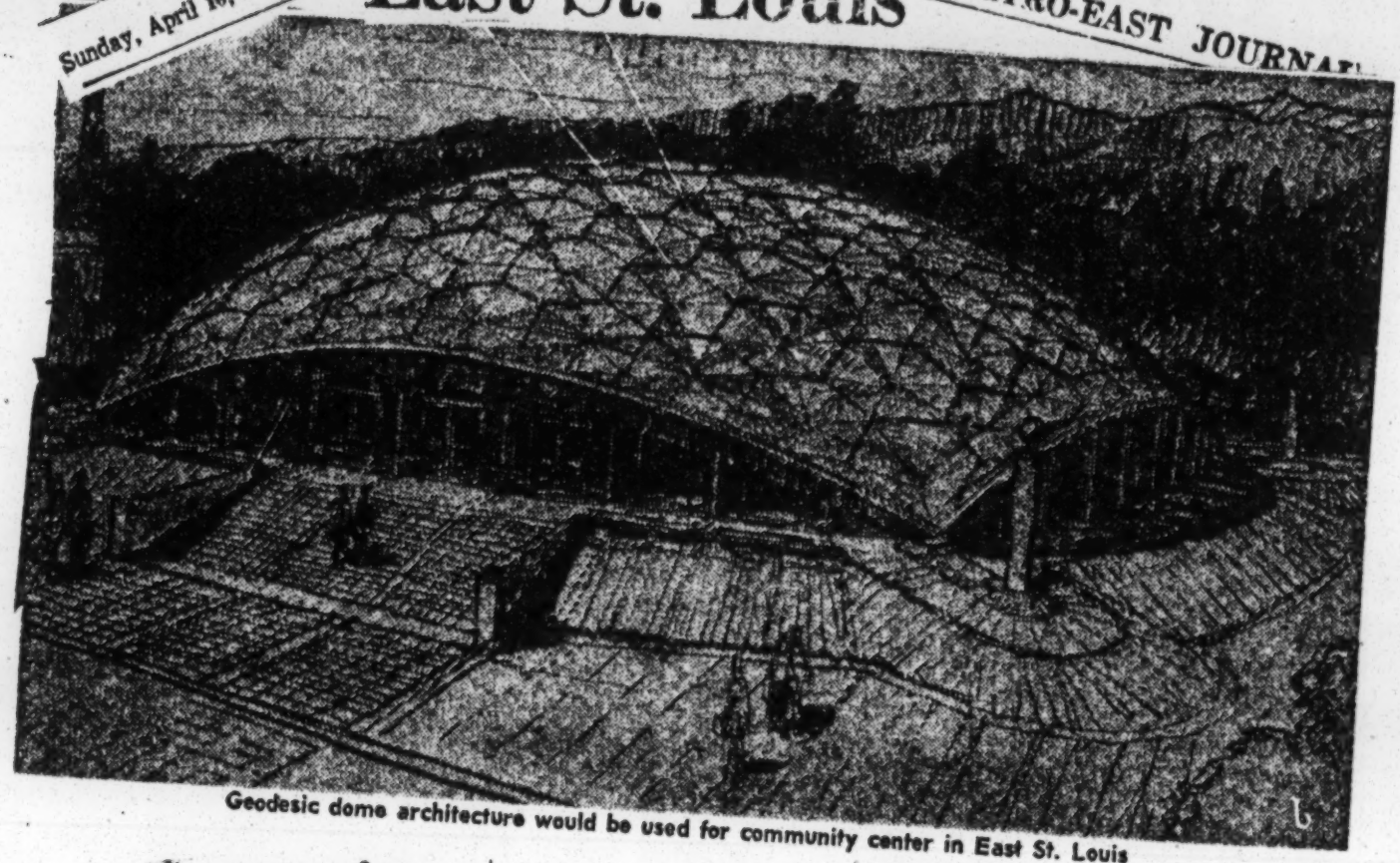
The lawyers for the legal aid program will be hired when that project is funded by the Government, Waring explained.

The neighborhood centers will be located in the south end of East St. Louis, Rush City, Centreville, Canteen Township, Brooklyn and in the northwestern part of East St. Louis.

Total cost of the program, for one year, is $539,000, Waring said. This includes the required local contribution, usually made in services and facilities rather than in cash.

Sunday, April 10, 1966

East St. Louis METRO-EAST JOURNAL



Geodesic dome architecture would be used for community center in East St. Louis

Community Center Fund Drive Slated

A fund-raising drive has been started in East St. Louis to raise $50,000 for a proposed community center.

A Neighborhood Advisory Committee has been formed to raise the funds and hire architects. The group tentatively has chosen a geodesic dome to house the proposed center.

Any such center would have to be approved by the City Council. The plan is to ask the city to apply for a federal grant to cover about $100,000 of the estimated cost. The rest would be in donations and perhaps land donated by the Park Board. There would be no city cost.

The advisory committee is trying to involve the low-income residents of the area in raising funds. A chicken-dinner sale will be held each weekend.

Another group which already has local funds also plans to ask the city to apply for a grant. The city has learned that only one application can be made by East St. Louis under the Neighborhood Faciilties Section of the Housing and Urban Development Act.

The other proposal is by the St. Clair County Health and Welfare Council to purchase and renovate the Knights of Columbus Building at 1447 State St. for an office building for private welfare agencies.

Titus Tolson is chairman of the Neighborhood Advisory Committee Fund Drive. "Many civic and social organizations in our community have indicated that they will make substantial contributions towards the costs of the proposed center," he said. Serving on the committee with Tolson are Mrs. Helen Bush, president of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Philip Beck, representing Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, and Donnell Curry, representing the Pro 8 Club.

The Rev. William Royston, pastor of Mt. Olive Baptist Church, is the chairman of the Church Division for the drive. All of the churches in East St. Louis will be asked to take up an offering on April 24.

A speakers bureau is being organized to address organizations.

The architect firm of P. A. Phillips of Canton, Ill. has donated services for preliminary plans. It was contacted because it is one of the few firms in the nation that work with geodesic domes. The domes were invented by Buckminster Fuller, design professor at Southern Illinois University.

The dome was chosen because it is not as costly and can be put up by fewer workers, backers of the project said.

Economic Base Study

Every Wis

VOLUME 7 - NUMBER 8

CITY OF

two rivers

WISCONSIN

ECONOMIC BASE STUDY

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY
BUREAU OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, 1954

CED

per
7-12
43-53

Economic Base Study

THE "LITTLE" ECONOMIES

PROBLEMS OF U.S. AREA DEVELOPMENT

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS MARCH, 1960

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

(FROM ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, 1960)

By the first quarter of 1959, the recovery that started early in 1958 had already carried production and income to levels higher than ever before attained in the American economy. A considerable further advance was scored during the remainder of 1959, despite the deep effect of the 116-day strike in the steel industry.

The Nation's output of goods and services in the fourth quarter of 1959 was at an annual rate of $482 billion. When adjusted for price changes, this rate of output was 3½ percent higher than the rate attained in the corresponding period in 1958. By December 1959 total employment had reached a record level, 66.2 million, on a seasonally adjusted basis. And personal income payments in December were at an annual rate of $391 billion, $24 billion greater than a year earlier. After adjustment for increases in prices, the rise in total personal income in 1959 represented a gain of nearly 5 percent in the real buying power of our Nation.

As we look ahead, there are good grounds for confidence that this economic advance can be extended through 1960. Furthermore, with appropriate private actions and public policies, it can carry well beyond the present year.

However, as always in periods of rapid economic expansion, we must avoid speculative excesses and actions that would compress gains into so short a period that the rate of growth could not be sustained. We must seek, through both private actions and public policies, to

minimize and contain inflationary pressures that could undermine the basis for a high, continuing rate of growth.

Three elements stand out in the Government's program for realizing the objectives of high production, employment, and income set forth in the Employment Act: first, favorable action by the Congress on the recommendations for appropriations and for measures affecting Federal revenues presented in the Budget for the fiscal year 1961; second, use of the resulting surplus, now estimated at $4.2 billion, to retire Federal debt; third, action by the Congress to remove the interest rate limitation that currently inhibits the noninflationary management of the Federal debt. Numerous additional proposals, many of which are described in Chapter 4 of the Economic Report, will be made to supplement the Federal Government's existing economic and financial programs.

Following the budget balance now in prospect for the fiscal year 1960, these three elements of the 1960 program will strengthen and be strengthened by the essential contributions to sustainable economic growth made through the policies of the independent Federal Reserve System. Fiscal and monetary policies, which are powerful instruments for preventing the development of inflationary pressures, can effectively reinforce one another.

But these Government policies must be supplemented by appropriate private actions, especially with respect to profits and wages. In our system of free competitive enterprise and shared responsibility, we do not rely on Government alone for the achievement of inflation-free economic growth. On the contrary, that achievement requires a blending of suitable private actions and public policies. Our success in realizing the opportunities that lie ahead will therefore depend in large part upon the ways in which business management, labor leaders, and consumers perform their own economic functions.

A well-informed and vigilant public opinion is essential in our free society for helping achieve the conditions necessary for price stability and vigorous economic growth. Such public opinion can be an effective safeguard against attempts arbitrarily to establish prices or wages at levels that are inconsistent with the general welfare. Informed public opinion is also necessary to support the laws and regulations that provide the framework for the conduct of our economic affairs.

Further progress is needed in establishing a broad public understanding of the relationships of productivity and rewards to costs and prices. It would be a grave mistake to believe that we can successfully substitute legislation or controls for such understanding. Indeed, the complex relationships involved cannot be fixed by law, and attempts to determine them by restrictive governmental action would jeopardize our freedoms and other conditions essential to sound economic growth.

Our system of free institutions and shared responsibility has served us well in achieving economic growth and improvement. From our past experience, we are confident that our changing and increasing needs in the future can be met within this flexible system, which gains strength from the incentive it provides for individuals, from the scope it affords for individual initiative and action, and from the assurance it gives that government remains responsive to the will of the people.

University of Wisconsin
School For Workers

March 1960

Report of the Joint Economic Committee on the 1960 Economic Report
(p 2-4 majority views)

THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET AND ECONOMIC REPORT

The programs outlined in the President's budget and Economic Report will not achieve the objectives of the Employment Act in 1960. Moreover, they do not call for the actions which, as a result of its studies, this committee believes are necessary to raise the rate of economic growth while achieving a high and steady rate of employment and a stable price level. The public responsibilities for schools, slum clearance, resource development, the elimination of depressed areas, and other functions which are among the major keys to economic growth are either starved for funds or their programs are limited in scope.

Furthermore, while this committee cannot pass on whether the specific parts of the defense budget are adequate for our military needs, there is a considerable body of expert and nonpartisan opinion which believes that much more must be done in the fields of missiles, space, and combat strength if we are not to jeopardize our security and our defense. If more needs to be done, we are confident that it can be done without endangering our economy, if the proper policies are followed.

SUMMARY OF NEEDED PROGRAMS FOR GROWTH, MAXIMUM EMPLOYMENT, AND STABLE PRICES

The conclusions arrived at as a result of the committee's recent investigation of the economy were:

(1) The slow rate of growth in the economy in the recent past has been caused in large part by public policies which created instability in the economy and brought too frequent recessions.

To meet this problem there must be both fiscal and monetary reforms. The Government must act more quickly and more promptly to offset declines,

especially through tax policy. The automatic fiscal stabilizers must be improved, especially unemployment compensation.

(2) In the interests of a higher rate of economic growth, we must place greater reliance on fiscal policy. This includes larger budget surpluses in prosperous periods than we have had, a tax structure which is both more equitable and which will promote a faster degree of growth, and a reordering of the priorities in Federal expenditure programs to promote these programs which stimulate growth and to cut back or eliminate those programs or subsidies which support inefficiency in the economy.

(3) We need a loss restrictive monetary policy within the framework of a more effective fiscal policy. Specifically, the money supply should grow in line with the growth in output. Interest rates could then be lower and would support a more adequate rate of growth and investment without inflation. With a more effective fiscal policy, monetary policy would be more effective in stabilizing the economy than it has been in recent periods.

In recent times the administration has relied heavily upon the monetary authorities to carry out stabilization policy which should properly be the concern not only of the monetary authorities but of the Government as a whole. In turn, the monetary authorities have limited their actions almost exclusively to only one aspect of the problem, i. e., stabilizing the price levels, while they have largely ignored the problems of economic growth and excessive unemployment.

(4) The problem of market power must be attacked. This is the ability of some to set prices without relationship to the demand for their goods or services because of their monopoly or semimonopoly position. Various private, and Government devices which protect the ability of these groups to exercise market power should be reduced or eliminated. Basically, there must be a more effective antitrust policy. In addition, tariffs should continue to be lowered in order to provide more competition; the continued lowering of tariffs should be accompanied by vigorous bargaining on specific

items to achieve in greater degree the objective of reciprocity. This would improve the structure of the economy.

(5) Both private and Government groups must emphasize growth producing policies and programs. This means especially improving the skills and education of our people through Federal aid to education without Federal control; the creation of greater economic opportunity for all of our people, especially the unskilled, women, the aged, and minority groups whose talents are not now used to the full and whose potential abilities and productivity are wasted; improving the health of our people through both private and public programs; placing major emphasis on research, including basic research; and better programs of unemployment compensation, retraining, and the reduction of frictional and technological unemployment through appropriate means.

THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET AND ECONOMIC REPORT AND THE NATION'S NEEDS

We do not see in the budget for fiscal 1961 and the President's Economic Report for 1960 any fundamental changes in the directions which we think are necessary. By and large they are a status quo budget and report. Comprehensive programs to promote improvements in the skills of our people— schools, health, and retraining— are not adequately emphasized.

The Economic Report does not recognize the basic changes which must be made in our antitrust program if the sources of market power are to be dealt with. We say this even though the specific recommendations for the antitrust program are good in general.

Monetary policy for the current and coming years is not discussed in any constructive way.

There is no reordering of the priorities in this budget over past ones, either for new programs which are needed or for old programs which are wasteful.

The major tax loopholes are not mentioned and there are no recommendations concerning them, although some relatively minor changes are proposed.

The public policies required for economic stability in 1960 are not adequately dealt with.

The Economic Report does contain a large number of proposals which, while appropriate subjects for consideration by the legislative committees of the Congress, are not of sufficient importance in the context of the broad purposes of the Employment Act to warrant filling the pages of the Economic Report year in and year out with their detailed enumeration.

The President's Economic Report endorses in general terms programs such as school aid or aid to depressed areas which are important for the Nation's long-run growth. But the specific legislation proposed by the President to carry out these objectives would build almost no schools or give little aid to those who need it. Each problem is broken down into a series of minute recommendations which give the appearance of support and action but which when added together provide no effective program.

The Community Economic Base Study

Economic Base Study

BY CHARLES M. TIEBOUT

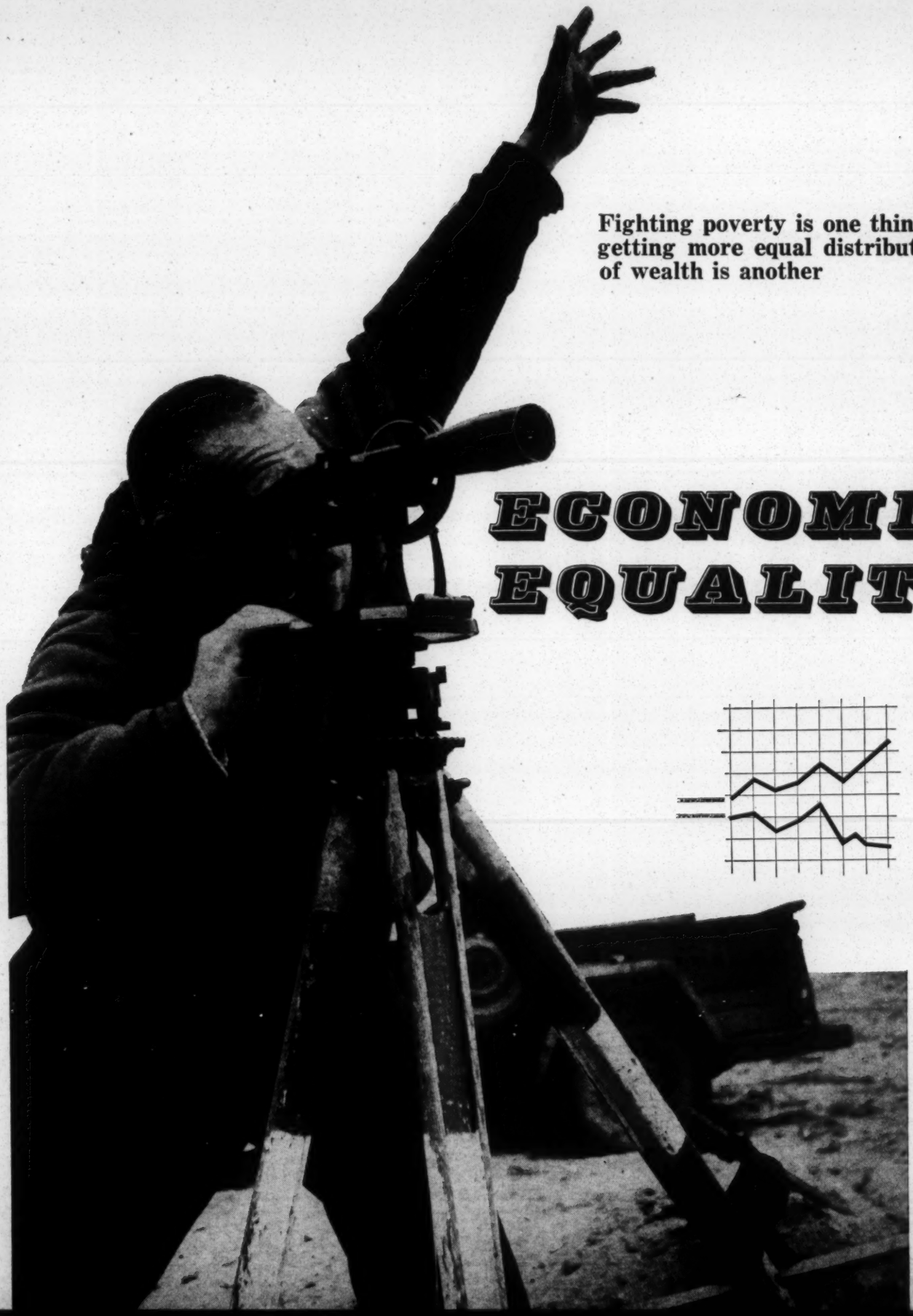
December, 1962

Supplementary Paper No. 16
Published by the
COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

SEP 1965

Res

For Tomorrow's Agenda . . . .



Fighting poverty is one thing . . . . getting more equal distribution of wealth is another

ECONOMIC EQUALITY!

Today, the elimination of poverty dominates the American agenda of national policy. But as we reduce poverty, we shall be confronted increasingly with the problem of inequality.

The "income revolution" of increasing equality, which was heralded as a major social achievement during Eisenhower years, turns out to have been both short-lived and overstated. The rate of decline in inequality has halted; indeed, in some cases it has widened. Neither economic growth nor the reduction of poverty assures us of progress towards making the Great Society a more equal society.

How does inequality differ from poverty?

Poverty refers to those who do not command sufficient income to obtain a *minimum* level of goods and services.

At one time the minimum level was a subsistence level, based on mere physical survival. We now recognize that the standard is not absolute; it shifts over time. The poor are those who are not keeping up with the rising standards of the society—in regard to food, shelter, medical care and education as well as income and wealth.

Poverty is thus relative to a standard, although we can—and do—have continuous debate about what the standard should fairly be.

Inequality poses a wholly different question: "What is the degree to which wealth, or good living conditions, or power, are concentrated in a society?" Or, how do groups fare relative to each other?

Inequality involves shares rather than standards. The question is what proportion of national income or medical services is going to the bottom 20 percent of families or to the top five percent. Inequality refers to how the economic pie is divided, rather than to the adequacy of the slice.

By definition, there will always be a bottom 20 percent, unless everyone had the same income. Consequently, increasing inequality—a declining share for the bottom—does not necessarily mean increasing poverty. On the other hand, the reduction of poverty does not automatically lead to declining inequalities.

The effort to reduce inequality does not necessarily imply the utopian and perhaps naive goal of complete equality where everyone receives the same income. Rather, the issue is whether our society desires to continue the lopsided distribution of income which exists today.

Inequality must be examined from many different perspectives, for no one measure yields an adequate understanding of its growth or decline. One common way is by ranking families in terms of the size of their incomes, then dividing them into five or ten equal groups, and comparing the share of national income of each of the groups.

- Thus: the top fifth currently receives 45 percent of national income, more than two times the share it should have received on the basis of its size.
- The lowest fifth received only five percent of national income, a quarter of its proportionate share.
- The top five percent received 20 percent, four times its population size.

This distribution clearly indicates a strong degree of income inequality.

Is the share of the lowest income groupings increasing or decreasing? Not surprisingly, the answer depends on how far back we go in making comparisons.

Gabriel Kolko, a historian who sparked much

INEQUALITIES–NATIONAL INCOME

TOP 20% GETS 45% NATIONAL INCOME

LOWEST 20% GETS 5% NATIONAL INCOME

Black Star

of the attention to inequality in present day America, shows that in 1910 the lowest tenth received 3.4 percent of national income; in 1959, it had only 1.1 percent. In 1962, it was virtually at the same level. The lowest fifth similarly suffered a decline, though less pronounced—from 8.3 percent to 4.0 percent. These sharp drops in the shares of the bottom tenth and fifth have been challenged; the data for the early years are regarded by many as unreliable.

In any event, the share of income going to the bottom fifth has been stable at about four or five percent for over 20 years. While present statistics do not show a growth in inequality, they *do* show that increasing affluence is not expanding the *share* of the have-nots.

Inequalities are also clearly to be observed in the distribution of wealth, the possession of assets. The upper *one* percent holds 28 percent of all the wealth!

The concentration of wealth declined between 1922 and 1949, to be sure, but since then it has been increasing at a faster rate than it had declined before.

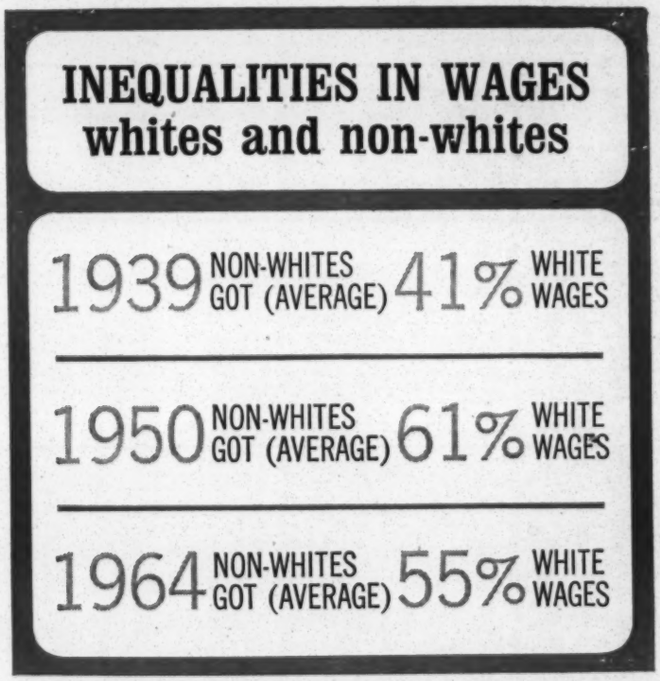
The available evidence about income and wealth suggests, however, that the reports which suggested that inequalities were succumbing to the impact of economic growth were exaggerated. As better measuring methods become available, we believe that they will show a trend toward inequality. Indeed, that trend can be seen in the evidence about Negroes and education.

Negroes today are generally much better off economically than they were 10, 20 or 30 years ago. But—and this is a big but—they are falling behind the whites. Inequalities are growing, and the income chasm between white and Negro is increasing.

In 1939, non-white male workers received 41 percent of the average white man's wages; in 1950, the non-white's position improved to 61 percent. The war years produced a real social and economic advance for Negroes and other disadvantaged groups.

Since then, the move toward equality has faltered, and non-white workers now are paid only 55 percent of the wages of white workers—a gain since 1939, but a backward step when compared with 1950.

In terms of unemployment, the gap between Negroes and whites not only has grown, but Negroes are actually worse off today than they were in earlier periods. In other aspects of their economic condition, it is not that Negroes as a group



have suffered an actual decline; rather, their situations are not improving as rapidly as in the white sectors of society.

Education demonstrates the paradoxical point that increased inequalities accompany increased improvements. The higher the level of educational achievement, *the greater the spread* between the incomes of Negroes and similarly educated whites! Thus, education appears to heighten frustration, for it increases the sense of relative deprivation.

A startling statistic spotlights the fact that 18 percent of non-white heads of college-educated families were in a poverty status in 1959; the comparable figure for whites was only seven percent. Education is not reducing the economic in-

equality of Negroes.

The economic platform of the Negro civil rights revolution is at root a struggle for equality. The aim is not only to raise income levels, but to reduce the degree of economic inequality between Negroes and whites.

In effect, what Negroes have been saying is that their conditions should improve at least as rapidly as the rest of society. This is a concern about inequality.

The increasing stress on education is producing a new economic and social divide—between the diploma elite with their college sheepskins and the rest of society. The incomes of the diploma elite are advancing much more rapidly than those of the lesser educated, and this is likely to continue. For instance:

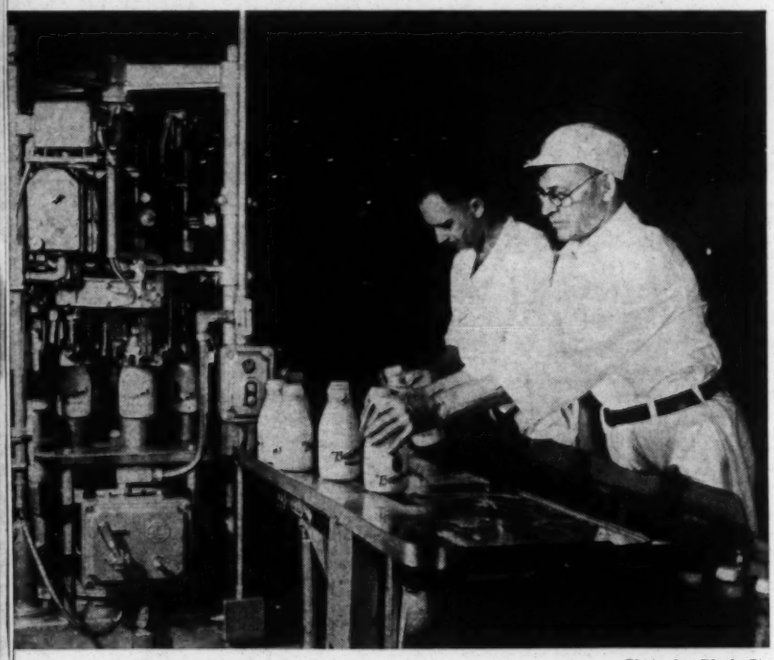


Photo by Black Star

Working with machinery. . . .

- In 1949, an elementary school graduate earned 78.9 percent of the income of a high-school graduate. By 1958, this figure had dropped to 74.8 percent.
- The earnings of a high school graduate were 66.4 percent of the college graduate's earnings in 1949, but by 1958 this had declined to 58.9 percent.

Education is increasingly becoming the route for social advance. As average educational levels move up in the United States, the point at which education makes a marked difference in occupational and income opportunities escalates. The trend is apt to continue.

Poverty and inequality are not wholly separate concepts, for the reduction of poverty will require a lessening of some inequalities.

The distinction between poverty and inequality is important for long-range policy. A public commitment to the elimination of poverty rests upon a humanitarian sense of charity and compassion, that no man should live in hunger or squalor or below a commonly accepted level of living.

The goal of eliminating inequality, by contrast, probes the more fundamental issues of the purposes of our way of life. It requires a philosophy and a vision of the great society—in short, an ideology.

The elimination of poverty as an act of charity can be regarded as an all-win game in which every group benefits, but the concern with inequality has harsher implications. The more equitable distribution of income and social services must mean that some groups get more while others get relatively less.

Thus the subject of inequality opens for public debate the searching policy issues of what kind of society we want. . . . Who should be the most rewarded? How great should be the economic and social cleavage among economic and social groups? What balance do we want between economic growth and economic justice?

As we succeed in reducing poverty and as we confront inequality, national attention will be riveted on new and competing strategies of redistribution. We are already witnessing this: the Elementary Education Act of 1965 attempts to redirect educational expenditures so that the low income groups get more benefits.

We have not yet made a similar commitment to tax reductions designed to promote economic growth and reduce economic inequalities among people. We could produce a major reform in the social security system by raising taxable earnings to, say, $20,000, while retaining the present type of benefit schedule. That would be a step to promote a more equitable distribution of resources.

Poverty is an age-old problem which we thought the concepts of the welfare state had conquered. Inequality, we assumed, had surrendered to economic growth. Neither is true.

Now we have begun to accept a commitment to eliminate poverty. Reducing inequalities will become tomorrow's responsibility.

This article was written jointly by S. M. Miller, professor of sociology at the Maxwell Graduate School of Syracuse University, and Martin Rein, associate professor of social work at Bryn Mawr.

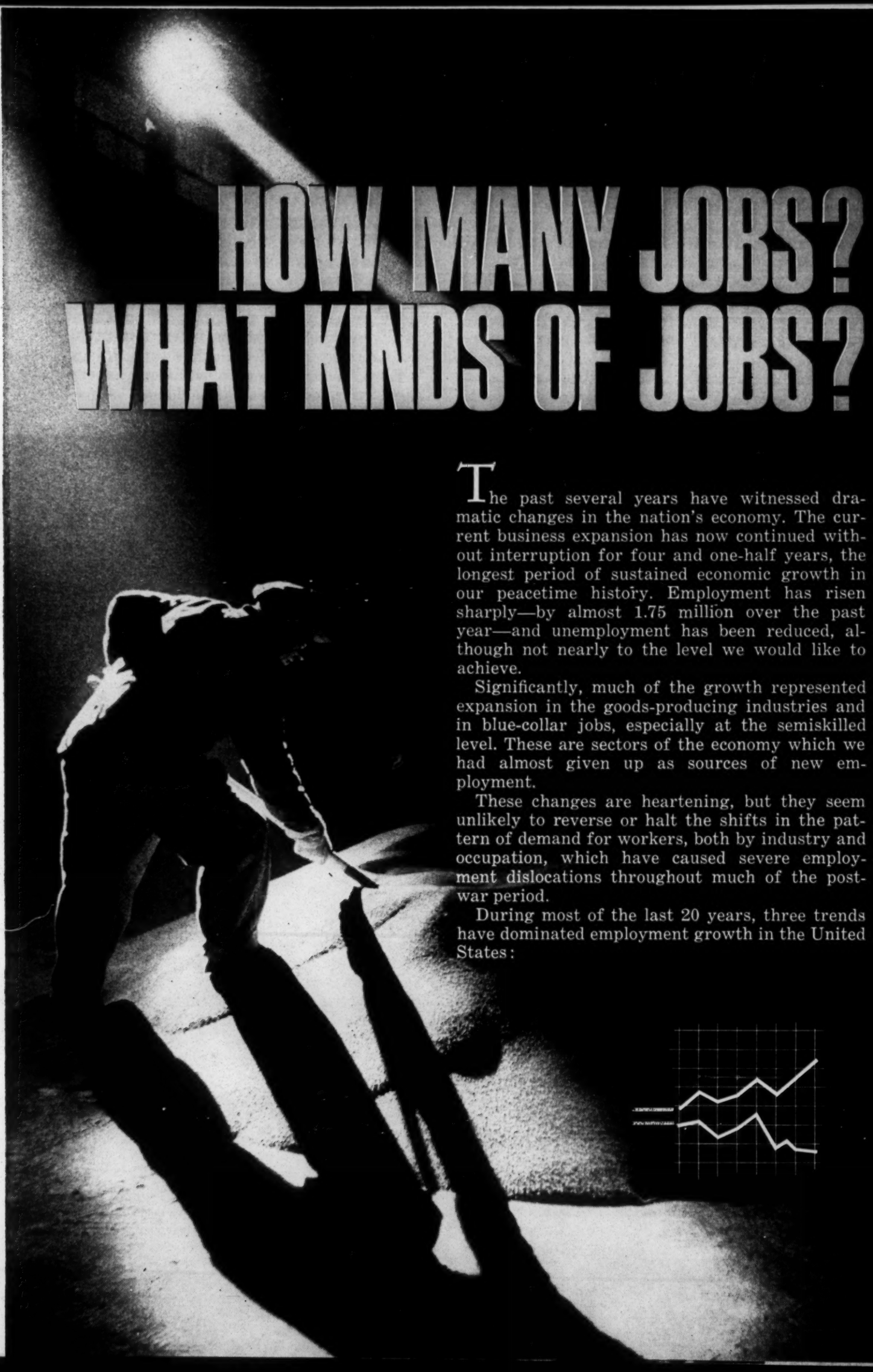
HOW MANY JOBS? WHAT KINDS OF JOBS?

The past several years have witnessed dramatic changes in the nation's economy. The current business expansion has now continued without interruption for four and one-half years, the longest period of sustained economic growth in our peacetime history. Employment has risen sharply—by almost 1.75 million over the past year—and unemployment has been reduced, although not nearly to the level we would like to achieve.

Significantly, much of the growth represented expansion in the goods-producing industries and in blue-collar jobs, especially at the semiskilled level. These are sectors of the economy which we had almost given up as sources of new employment.

These changes are heartening, but they seem unlikely to reverse or halt the shifts in the pattern of demand for workers, both by industry and occupation, which have caused severe employment dislocations throughout much of the postwar period.

During most of the last 20 years, three trends have dominated employment growth in the United States:

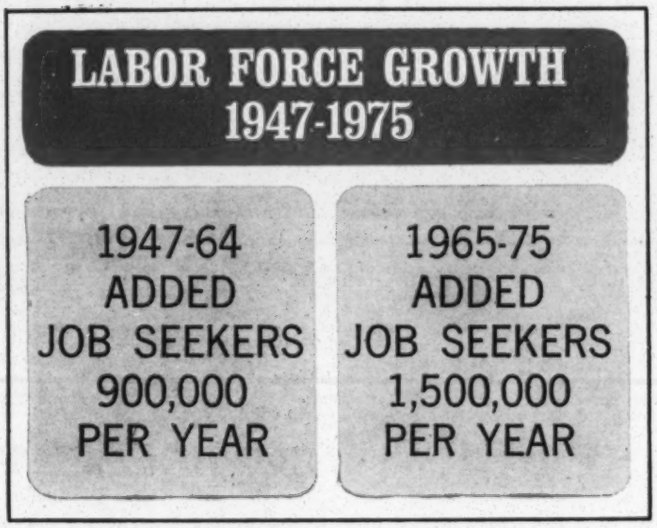


♦ A sharp rise in the service-producing industries at the expense of the goods-producing industries.

♦ An expansion of white-collar and service jobs, with relatively little or no growth in blue-collar jobs.

♦ A dramatic increase in the number and proportion of women workers.

The shift from goods to service industries has been going on for a long time, but it has been particularly dramatic since 1947. Almost four-fifths of the nonfarm employment increase during that period has occurred in service and related industries—trade, finance, services, transportation and government. Only in the last year has employment in the nonfarm goods-producing industries regained the level it had achieved in 1953. From 1957 to 1962, employment in these industries actually declined by an average of 100,000 a year.



Occupational trends have generally mirrored the industrial trends. Sharp declines in manufacturing during the three recessions following 1953 brought drastic cuts in employment opportunities for blue-collar workers.

For example: From 1957 to 1962 employment in manual occupations actually dropped by 600,000 jobs, and most of the loss was at the semiskilled level. In contrast, white-collar jobs—professional, managerial, clerical, and sales—have multiplied. These occupations accounted for two-thirds of all nonfarm employment growth between 1947 and 1957, and in the next five years they included 85 percent of the increase.

Anyone looking at the changes in America knows that one of the most dramatic has been the increasing employment of women. Women make up about two-thirds of the total increase in the civilian labor force since 1947. In part this is due to the rapid expansion of trade and service industries, which are major employers of married women.

For workers, there are some obvious implications in these trends. Men, who predominate in goods-producing industries and in blue-collar jobs, have been affected most by the relative drop in employment opportunities there. This is particularly true of the less skilled, the poorly educated, Negroes, and untrained youths. The older men's vulnerability is manifest, not only in higher unemployment rates, but in his tendency to drop out of the labor force altogether.

Even though some older workers can claim early retirement benefits, evidence is accumulating that many of them are forced to accept reduced social security benefits following an extended period of joblessness. The need to supplement these benefits has made part-year and part-time work increasingly important for them.

The employment pattern of the past decade clearly indicates that workers in goods-producing industries, blue-collar workers, and workers at the lower skill levels in general, all tend to bear the brunt of a recession, or even of a slowdown in economic growth. Furthermore, the goods-producing industries and the blue-collar occupation groups have tended to experience employment expansion only in periods of vigorous growth.

We are currently experiencing just such an expansion—and one of its outstanding characteristics has been the healthy growth both in output and jobs in the goods-producing industries.

There has also been a sharp recovery in blue-collar employment since 1961, particularly at the semiskilled level. Blue-collar jobs have increased at an annual rate of over half a million between 1961 and 1964. Similarly, employment in goods-producing industries increased 400,000 workers per year from 1961 to 1964, and by mid-1965 their employment had increased by an additional 800,000.

Moreover, these increases have not occurred at the expense of the service industries and white-collar jobs. White-collar and service occupations have continued to rise at their earlier rapid pace, and there has been actually some further pickup

in employment growth in the service industries.

The character of the recent expansion, as well as its unprecedented strength, has raised the question of whether any basic changes in the pattern of employment growth are emerging. Can we again look to the goods-producing industries and the blue-collar occupations to provide a major source of employment opportunities? The answer seems to be negative.

Recent projections of employment prepared by the Department of Labor suggest that even under

Black Star Photo

More jobs for women . . .

conditions of rapid overall growth in employment, these sectors are unlikely to grow apace. The prospects are that although employment in the goods-producing industries and in blue-collar jobs will be below average, they can be looked to as a source of moderate employment growth—but only if the economy is kept prosperous.

Moreover, during the next decade we will be facing significant changes in the size and composition of the labor supply which could further increase manpower problems:

1. The pace of growth in the labor force will accelerate sharply.

Compared to an average growth of about 900,000 per year since 1947, the total labor force is expected to increase by an average of 1.5 million each year during the next decade. *We will have to generate jobs at a considerably faster rate than in most recent years to prevent rising unemployment.*

2. Most of the additional growth will be among young workers.

The full impact of the enormous number of births after World War II is just beginning to be felt in the labor force. An average of some 600,000 persons under 25 will start looking for jobs each year between now and 1975, compared with an average increase of less than 150,000 per year from 1947 to 1964.

3. The number of Negroes in the labor force is expected to grow at a very rapid rate. Nonwhites will represent one-fifth of the total expansion of the labor force in the next five years, nearly twice their proportion in the current labor force.

4. Almost half a million women will be entering the labor force each year during the next decade, continuing the rapid increase during the entire postwar period.

Thus, the coming decade is likely to see a continuation of the major industry and occupation trends of recent years, as well as an influx into the labor force of a relatively large number of workers with special employment problems—the young, the inexperienced, and nonwhite workers.

It seems clear that a prerequisite for expansion of job opportunities in the goods-producing industries and the manual occupations—where many of these workers have traditionally found employment—is a strong rate of overall economic growth, such as we have had in the past several years.

Workers must look for new employment opportunities largely in the expanding service industries, in the more skilled blue-collar jobs, and in white-collar occupations. Unions will have to concentrate additional organizing effort in these expanding fields if they are to maintain and increase their membership.

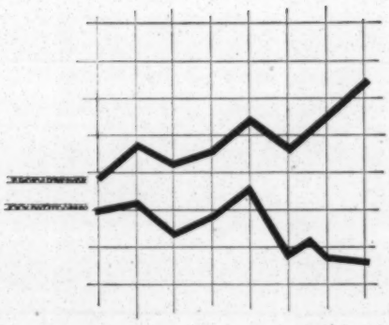
Virtually all of the projected changes in occupation and industry demand for jobs confirm the need for workers to get more education and training.

Industry and unions must continue to increase their efforts to establish and expand programs of job training for the large number of young people newly entering the labor force. Of course, these trends underline the need for expanded efforts of retraining of the unemployed and underemployed, as well as for other manpower programs to ease the inevitable manpower adjustments associated with industrial and technological change.

Only by means of cooperative efforts on a broad front by organized labor, business and government can we expect to develop and carry out programs needed to meet the tasks before us.

Curtis Aller, a recognized expert on employment trends, is director of the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training of the U.S. Department of Labor in Washington.

Jobs and prosperity are linked to government programs of taxing and spending



THE FISCAL THAT MAKES

During the past four years, the American economy has achieved significant progress.

Total output of goods and services has grown from $514 billion in the second quarter of 1961 to $658 billion four years later, a yearly growth rate of 6.4 percent. Even with adjustments for price increases, the rate works out at a respectable 4.6 percent.

Perhaps even more important, over four million new job opportunities have been created during the period, and the rate of unemployment has fallen from 6.9 percent to 4.7 percent.

These are impressive figures, indeed—doubly impressive compared with the sluggish rate of progress during the late 1950s.

What caused this improvement?

Many factors contributed to the upturn in the economic fortunes of the nation, but one was of greatest importance: The coming into office of an Administration determined to use the tools of federal fiscal and monetary policy to promote economic recovery.

To achieve this purpose, federal spending rose almost 25 percent—from $99.5 billion in the year ended June 30, 1961, to $122.4 billion four years later. In addition, from the time the federal budget for 1963 was presented early in 1962, the Administration proposed a major tax cut to bolster the economy by increasing the actual take-home pay of millions of taxpayers.

The success of these policies has been demonstrated beyond doubt. Yet we dare not remain complacent in the light of what has been achieved, because even today, after more than four years of uninterrupted economic growth, we still have 3.6 million unemployed and two million under-employed persons. These figures may even understate the true position.

Finding new job opportunities for the unemployed and under-employed will continue to rank as a problem of the greatest urgency. The task is complicated by the fact that during the next few years about one and a third million jobs will have to be found every year for newcomers to the labor force, over and above those who die or retire. In addition, over two million job opportunities are needed every year to offset gains in productivity.

How can this gigantic task best be accomplished?

In future years, as in the past, private enterprise will continue to provide the great majority of all job opportunities. However, it is unlikely that it can discharge this task entirely unaided. It will be the responsibility of the federal govern-

POLICY $ENSE

Photo by Black Star

ment to pursue policies that will encourage and assist private enterprise to provide the highest possible number of jobs.

For this purpose, policies for the maintenance of sufficient demand to absorb the nation's growing output of goods and services are most important. The business community must remain convinced that the Administration will not hesitate to employ all the measures at its disposal to achieve this objective.

Two of the most important tools available to the federal government are its monetary and fiscal policy measures.

Monetary policy can contribute to the maintenance of sufficient demand by making credit not too difficult to obtain and by preventing the cost of borrowing from rising too high.

Fiscal policy is concerned primarily with taxes and expenditures. It is the most important single tool that can be employed by the federal government to ensure the success of its policies.

During the last few years, taxes and tax reduction have received the most attention. In order to ensure a continuation of economic prosperity, federal income taxes were reduced in 1964 and again this year, and excise taxes were reduced just a few months ago.

These measures have achieved their purpose, as can be seen by the generally healthy state of the nation's economy at present. Millions of wage and salary earners throughout the nation have enjoyed an increase in their take-home pay because of lower withholding taxes. It is tempting to argue that all we need to stay prosperous may be a series of further tax reductions, judiciously timed to counter any signs of faltering in the economy!

However, quite apart from the difficulty of determining the correct timing, federal tax reduction must be judged from a wider point of view. For a complete picture, social security contributions and state and local taxes are of very great importance. Even all of these factors will be inadequate without considering government expenditures.

As a general rule, social security contributions and most state and local taxes—unlike federal income and profits taxes—impose a heavy burden on lower-income families, who are least able to bear it. This is particularly true of sales taxes, especially in those states and localities where food is a taxable item.

Because of the steadily increasing demands for services provided by state and local governments —education is only one example—tax reductions

will be out of the question on the state and local level. Indeed, the outlook is rather for a slow but steady increase in these burdens. At the same time, social security taxes are scheduled to get a number of built-in increases during the next few years.

So, any talk of further tax reductions is generally confined to federal taxes, many of them shouldered by corporations and higher-income taxpayers. Unless federal tax reductions in the future concentrate on giving most relief to lower-income taxpayers, it is doubtful whether they can achieve their stated purpose of stimulating maximum purchasing power in the most effective way possible.

The importance of expenditures by all levels of government (federal, state and local) in maintaining and expanding the demand for goods and services has perhaps not been stressed sufficiently in recent years.

Yet government plays an impressive role in sustaining our prosperity. State and local purchases of goods and services have risen from $50 billion in the second quarter of 1961 to $67 billion in the second quarter of 1965, while total federal expenditures have climbed by about $10 billion over the same period.

Today, nearly one out of every seven Americans in civilian employment works for government—federal, state or local. While federal employment hasn't increased by more than 100,000 since 1961, the number of state and local government employees has increased by 1.25 million in the same four years.

State and local governments have provided job opportunities increasing by about 300,000 year after year, and there is every reason to assume that such employment will continue to grow at least as fast during future years. This is one of the most dynamic sectors of the economy from the standpoint of creating additional jobs.

The need for higher government spending at all levels is going to continue. Federal expenditures on education, urban development, health, economic opportunity and similar welfare type programs can be expected to rise considerably in the near future.

In the past, the greater part of these expenditures has been shouldered by state and local governments. Now it is becoming increasingly obvious that if we want to improve the standards of all these services, federal financial help will be needed—even though the administration of most of these programs will remain in local hands.

INCREASE IN NET PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DEBT
(billions of dollars)

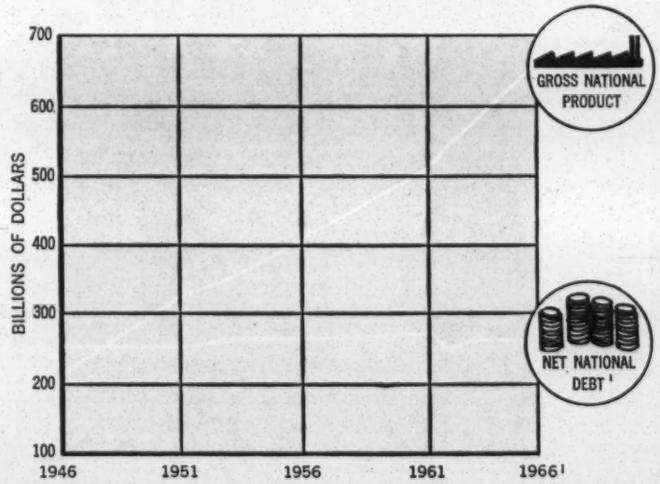
	1946	1964
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT[1]	$230	$267
STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT	$ 14	$ 86
CORPORATE	$ 93	$395
INDIVIDUAL[2]	$ 61	$416

[1] Excludes Federal debt held by government agencies (such as the Social Security system). In 1964, about $61 billion of Federal debt was thus held by the government itself.
[2] Includes debt of unincorporated business, consumer credit, personal loans, mortgages, etc.

Federal expenditures for these purposes could more than double by 1975 as a result of pressures for better schools and colleges, better health services, and a better deal for the poor and the aged. Certainly, the need for expanding government services in all these fields is clearly established.

The Administration has given convincing proof that it intends to make certain that these needs

THE NATIONAL DEBT AND GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT



[1] Net National Debt figures are for December of each year and for June 1965.

are met, although it is realized that it must take some time before they can be met fully.

However, it may be asked, what will these increasing expenditures do to the financial position of the federal government? Will such government spending not result in an unbalanced budget and steadily growing deficits?

The answer is that increased government spending can be met from rising federal revenues—providing our national economy is growing quickly enough to maintain reasonably full employment. (Of course, one should add, circumstances can change quickly; the Viet Nam situation, for instance, required unexpected increases in defense spending.)

The recent tax cut has furnished us with a good demonstration. Taxes were cut by about $8 billion in the first stage of the tax revision, ending June 30, 1965. Despite this, the economy performed so well that federal receipts actually *increased* by $4.2 billion during the year ended June 30, 1965. The deficit which had been estimated earlier was greatly reduced.

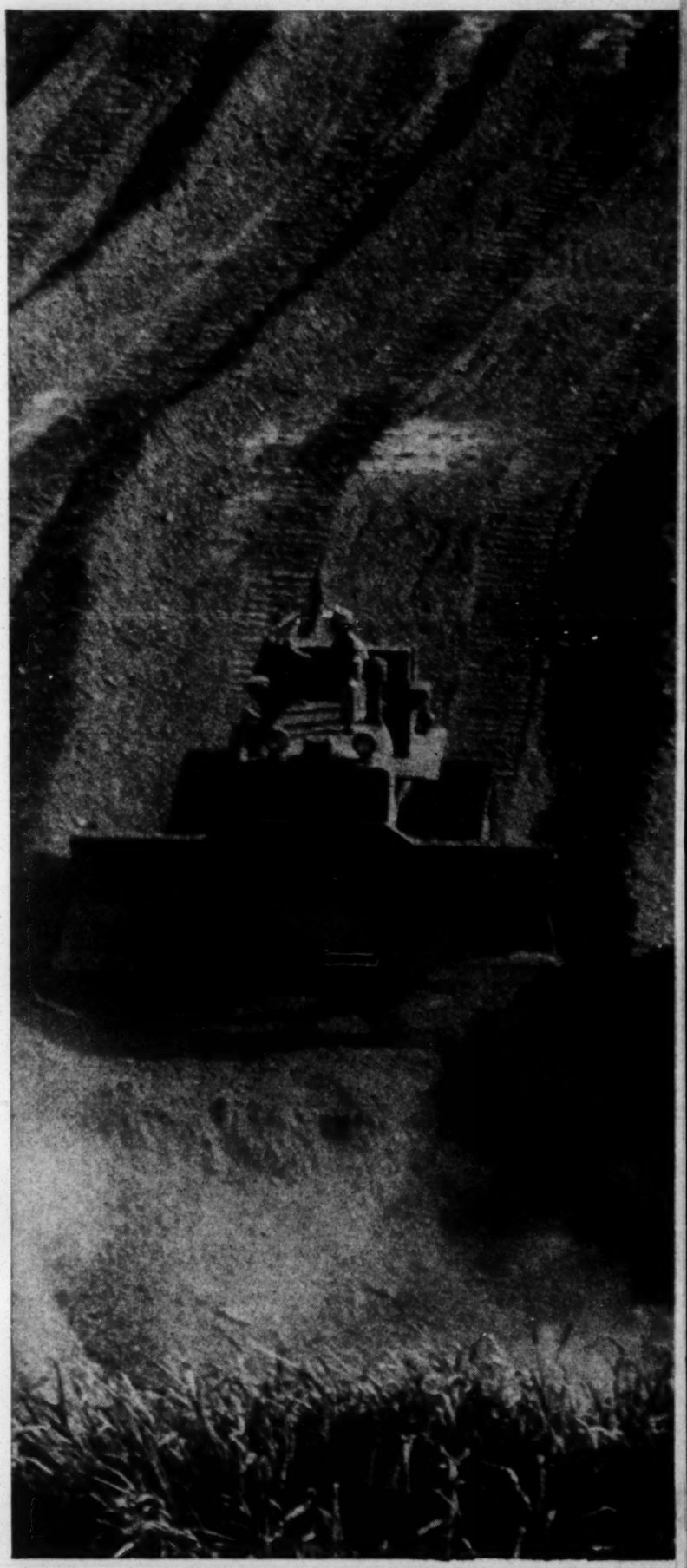
Once a level of reasonably full employment is reached and the American economy keeps on growing at a satisfactory rate, federal tax receipts will rise by about $7 or $8 billion every year. These figures assume a slight price increase, but no more than we have experienced since 1961.

This rise in federal receipts will leave ample room for tax reductions or increased expenditures—or preferably for a judicious mixture of both.

It also should be noted that increases in federal expenditure for education and many "welfare" type programs will go a long way to help the finances of state and local governments. This will reduce the necessity to increase state and local sales and property taxes which hit low-income families especially hard, and it will provide an important measure of indirect tax relief.

We have seen that fiscal policy is a very powerful tool that can help the federal government to achieve and sustain a full employment economy. Properly used, in combination with other government measures, an "expansionary" fiscal policy provides the assurance that the Administration will remain faithful to the provisions of the Employment Act of 1946, and that it will constantly strive toward the constant goal of prosperity for all Americans.

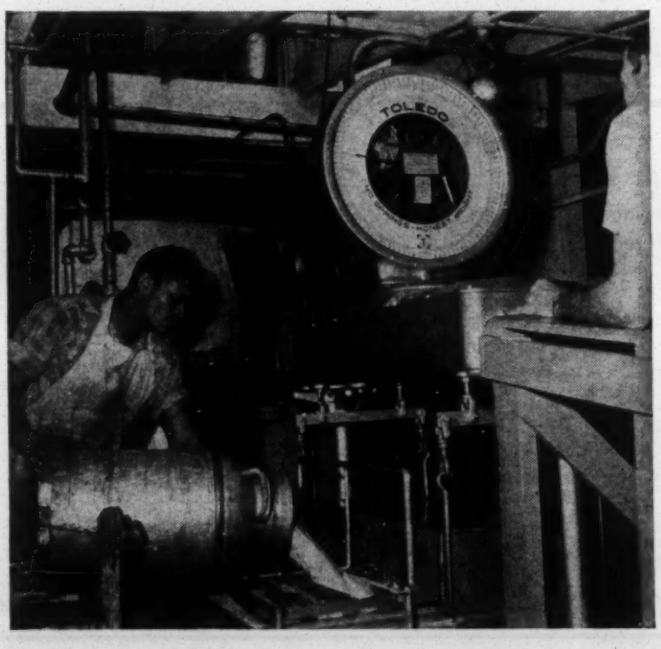
Dr. Peter Wagner, the author of this discussion of fiscal policy, is an economist with the National Planning Association, an independent organization with headquarters in Washington.



If there is going to be a successful war against poverty, then a very special campaign must be waged against the tenacious poverty which affects so many Negroes. And if the right to public accommodation and the vote which the civil rights movement is winning are to be truly an emancipation, then the nation cannot allow the

ECONOMICS FOR THE MINORITY

Michael Harrington stresses need for unity among labor, civil rights groups as a hope for future progress



economics of racial poverty to nullify the legislative and political gains.

Thus, it is extremely important to understand why the poverty of the black man is, in a sense, an even greater indignity than that of the white —and to do something about it.

There are deep historical roots to the economic misery of the American Negro, of his almost hereditary poverty.

At the end of the 1930s, however, came the greatest period of Negro economic advance (it was in this period, that the racist economy allowed the Negro to get "all the way" to 55 percent of the white wage!). There was full employment because of the war; and the industrial unions organized *all* the workers in a plant, white and black. But by a terrible irony, the Negro had journeyed from the rural South to the northern ghetto and then finally into modern, unionized industry at the very moment when mass production work became more and more problematic.

In the 1950s, as the last hired, the Negro was the first fired.

So it was, and is, that the Negro suffered so terribly from the chronic high unemployment and under-employment which have plagued America for over a decade. Throughout this period, Negro unemployment was twice that of white; and, tragically for the younger generation, Negro youth unemployment was also double the white. That meant that the young Negroes were living under depression conditions with joblessness rates going as high as 30 percent.

In the July 1965, government report on unemployment, while practically every other group was making remarkable positive gains, the Negro unemployment rate was going the other way: up.

This situation is particularly disastrous for the young Negroes.

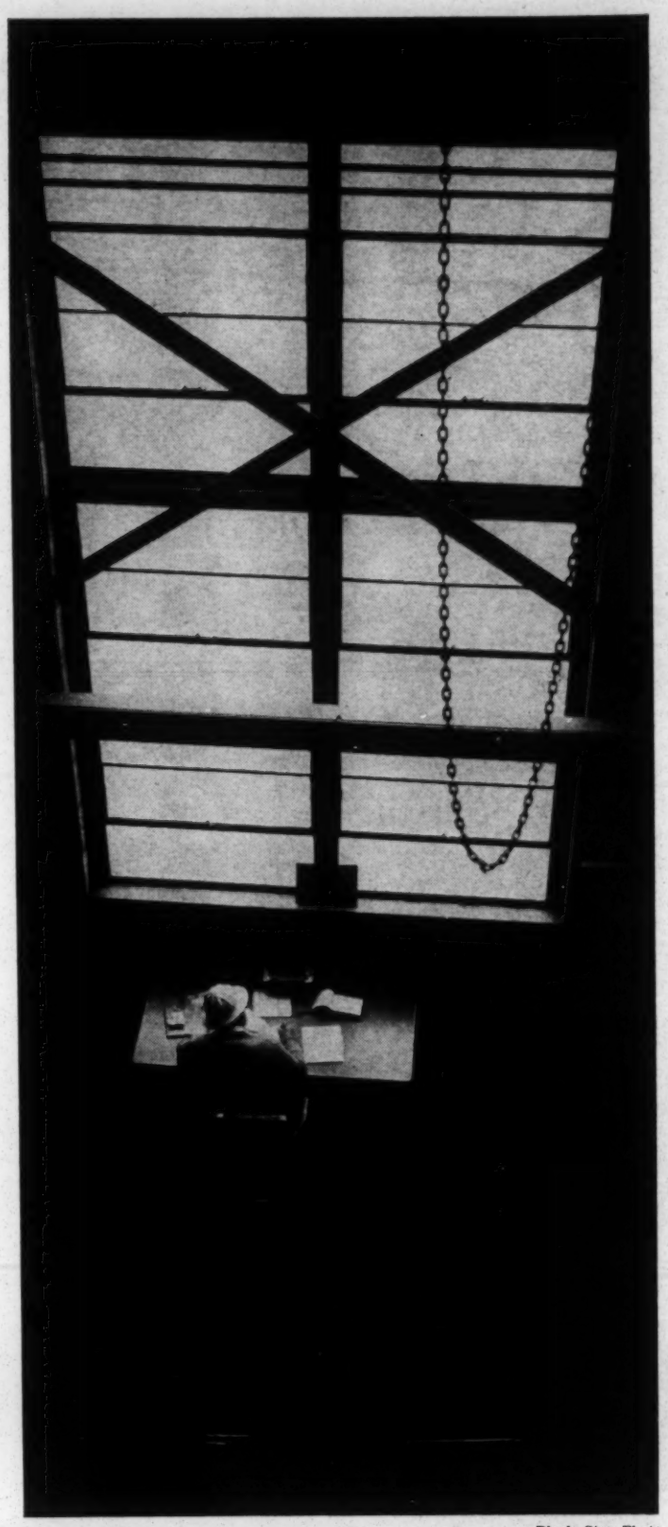
About 18 percent of the new entrants to the labor force in 1965 will be black (as against 11 percent of the population). Approximately 50 percent of these young people will lack high school educations and almost all of them will have gone to inferior schools as compared to whites.

In an economy in which, as Secretary of Labor Wirtz put it, machines are now regularly being built with high school educations, how can these youth hope to have a decent economic future? And if they do not, then there is every indication that poverty among Negroes could actually increase—and in the very midst of our official war against poverty!

The basic reasons for Negro poverty are, then, historical and economic.

As a slave, the black man was treated as an animal; as a freed man in the post-Civil War South, he was economically and socially segregated, in part to keep him from joining politically with the poor whites; in the North after the turn of the century, the Negro improved his lot but, just at the possible moment of breakthrough when World War II and the labor movement brought him into the modern sector of the economy, chronic high unemployment and automation started pushing him back. Thus, black America, for no fault of its own, has been cruelly denied the escape route out of poverty which a growing, blue-collar economy provided the European immigrant groups.

It is a tribute to the resourcefulness of the Negro that despite these incredible hardships the civil rights movement has been able to make such an impact on the society. And yet, if the



Black Star Photo

Negro learns that his emancipation from legalized, state-enforced segregation only means his entry into an economically and socially segregated America, this most dynamic, creative and moral movement in our recent history will lose its driving force.

Even now, there is a certain demoralization, a despair, which affects some in the racial ghettoes.

Well meaning people have often misunderstood this aspect of the problem and it is worth pausing over it for a moment.

Under slavery, the Negro was denied the right to a family life (this made slavery in the United States even more vicious than in Latin America where marriage at least, was allowed). More recently, brilliant Negro scholars like the late Franklin Frazier and Kenneth Clark have documented the weakness of the Negro family structure, the widespread problem of illegitimacy in the ghetto, and so on.

There are some concerned people who have concluded that the basic Negro problem is therefore one of "self help" or some kind of moral reform. The civil rights movement is told to make the people "better" within the ghetto. Then, they will be able to break down the walls of segregation.

Black Star

This attitude assumes that the demoralizing impact of poverty on the personal life and psychology of many Negroes is an individual thing. It does not understand the way in which this familiar disorder has been imposed by the economy upon the Negro. If there is no economic basis for marriage among a significant number of Negro males—if there isn't decent paying work which will let them be breadwinners for a family—all of the exhortation about self-help cannot motivate them to the impossible.

Indeed, the sermons have the effect of implying that it is a failure of will, a personal fault, that an individual's marriage is broken up when it is much more often a social and economic consequence beyond his control.

An analogy to Kenneth Clark's discussion of the "culturally deprived" child might illuminate this point.

In *Dark Ghetto,* Clark tells how some theorists have argued that the main problem with Negro (and white) poor children is that they have no contact with culture at home. First, they say, this cultural deprivation must be changed. Only then can one treat the problem of education for the poor.

These one-sided analysts, Clark holds, turn our attention from a big fact: one of the main reasons ghetto children do badly in school is that their schools are so much inferior as compared to those for whites. Change the educational environment, Clark says, and give the child from the culturally deprived home a chance for decent instruction and he will make enormous progress *even with* his problems at home.

Similarly with the ravages of poverty within the family structure of the Negro poor: give them an economic chance for stable marriage, that is, a job, and many will take it without any exhortings required. Here, as in almost every aspect of Negro poverty, the problem is to get to the underlying economic causes.

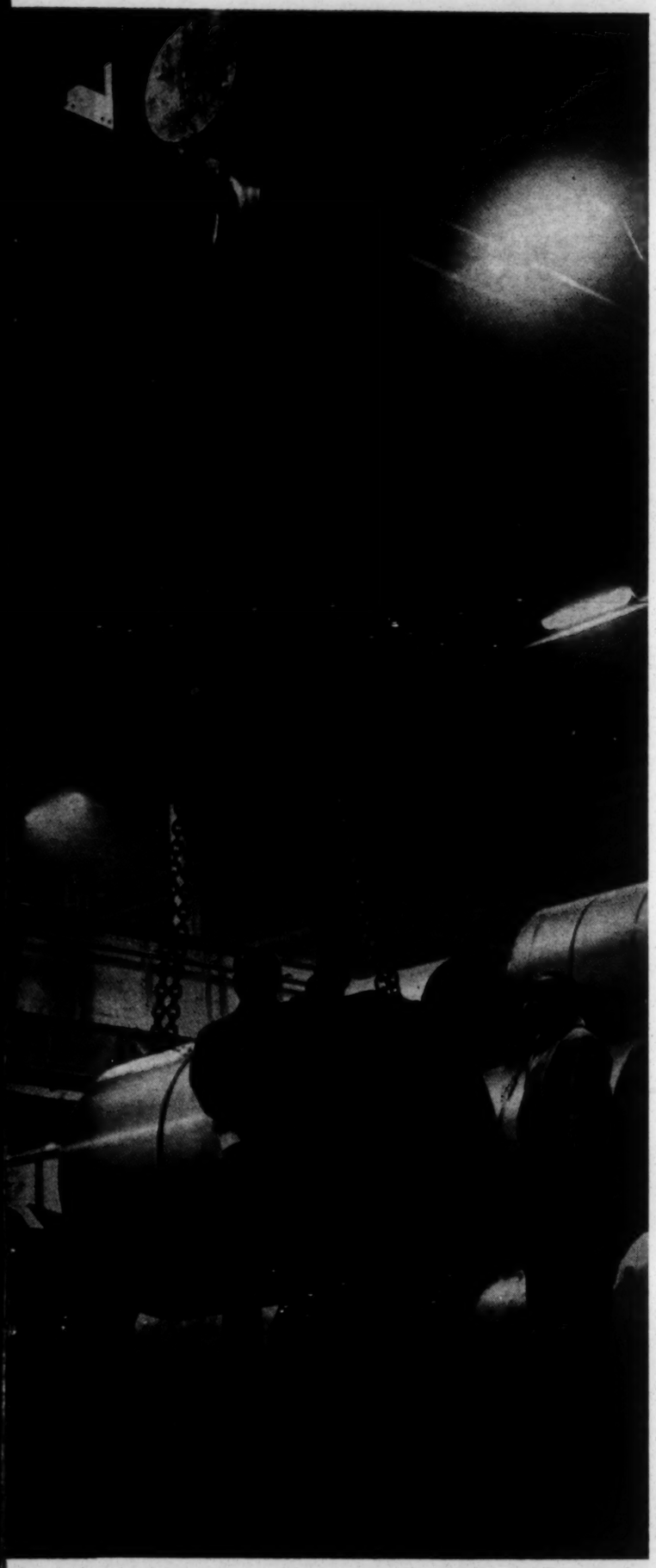
One thing that can be done is to extend minimum wage to the working poor. Many of the unprotected jobs are those held by Negroes—laundry work, migrant agricultural labor and so on.

The Administration has proposed giving coverage to 4.5 million workers; the AFL-CIO for giving it to 5.3 million. The labor movement's proposal is superior, but I would suggest two additions to it: farm work and domestic work (there are federal jurisdictional problems with the latter category, but they have been solved for social security, so why not for minimum wage?). These additions would give minimum wage an even greater effect upon poverty and particularly Negro poverty.

But providing a non-poverty wage for present workers, black and white, is still not going to get to the core of the problem of race poverty.

For there is this literal horde of young Negros coming into the labor market without enough education. They need the training programs which are already being developed under the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Manpower Development and Training program.

When they graduate, will we have decent jobs for them? According to the Department of Labor's 1965 Manpower Report, the Administration does not presently foresee an economic growth rate which will provide enough new work in an automating economy to absorb the millions of young workers who will be looking for work in the next few years.



Therefore, if we are serious about civil rights and the War on Poverty, we are going to have to create jobs for these youth (and for others as well).

Perhaps one of the best suggestions of how to do this has been made by Senator Joseph Clark's Subcommittee on Manpower and Employment. It called for a full employment budget which would add $5 billion of federal social spending (for schools, decent, integrated housing, hospitals, transportation systems) each year. The Clark proposals would also give the President and the Council of Economic Advisers the responsibility of drawing up a national budget for the entire economy, public and private, and for seeing to it (by federal action if necessary) that the result would yield work for all who need it.

In short, national economic planning and massive social investments are required if the Negro is to be given a real chance to escape poverty.

But doing this is hardly a giveaway program, for it amounts to raising the educational, health and aesthetic level of the entire society. The 75 percent of the poor who are white would benefit, and so even would the non-poor taxpayer who has to support the "custodial" programs of police, fire and medicine which are required because of the special and terrible problems of the slums. And every American would gain because the whole level of the society would rise.

In 1964, Senator Goldwater tried the trick which southern reaction had successfully used in the 1870s: he attempted to turn the white worker against the black worker. Both labor and the civil rights movement understood that it would be disastrous if such a split should occur and they united behind President Johnson. That alliance has to become a permanent, working arrangement.

Specifically, Negroes must understand that they can only find the jobs which will allow the escape from poverty if the whole economy, black and white, is put to work. And the unions have to continue to understand that Negroes have been the first to suffer from automation and unemployment . . . but that if this situation persists, they will not be the only ones. If the economy can crush the Negro worker today, it can crush the white worker tomorrow.

If the Negro and white poor, the Negro and white workers, fight against one another for scarce jobs, everybody loses. If they join together, we may be able to win the war against poverty and give social and economic meaning to civil rights.

Michael Harrington is the author of The Other America *—a book which put the spotlight on poverty—and* The Accidental Century.

Reprinted From

IUD Agenda

for September, 1965

For Additional Copies, Please Write:

INFORMATION CENTER

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

Printed in U.S.A. 7

Economics

Economics

Radicals try to rewrite the book

New Left economists seek to put a theoretical base under their attack on capitalism

In 1962, a small, relatively unknown organization named Students for a Democratic Society met in Port Huron, Mich., and issued a statement calling for a "New Left" to start "controversy across the land." That was the beginning of a campus revolt that each year seems to find new leaders and new issues, creating a tradition of radicalism among American youth that has been wholly absent since the 1930s.

For both the activists and those disturbed by their activities, there always has been a question: Would the radicalism prove of enduring significance or would it turn out to be the political equivalent of that 1950-style challenge to authority—the panty raid? The test comes when student rebels graduate and start settling into the careers for which education has prepared them.

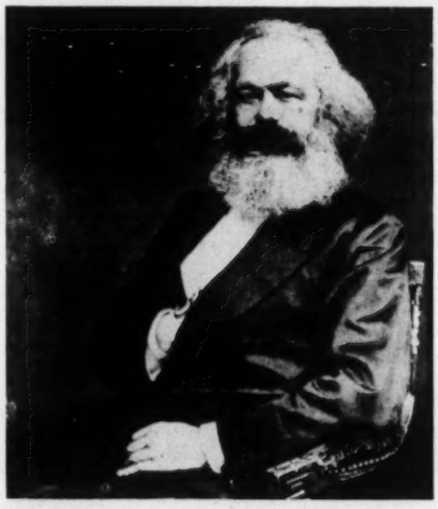
From this standpoint, the development over the past year of organized leftwing groups in virtually every academic discipline probably has been more important than the widely publicized factional squabbles of the student left. In the past month, several of these groups have made their presence felt. Radical psychologists disrupted the annual meeting of the American Psychological Assn. in Washington, D. C., with demands for "reparations" for blacks; a group calling itself the Sociology Liberation Movement staged a "counter convention" in a San Francisco church a block away from where the American Sociological Assn. was meeting; and the Caucus for a New Political Science ran several panels (and a slate of officers) at the annual convention of the American Political Science Assn.

Hurdles. For all of these organizations, getting attention is only the first stage of a program to establish an intellectual base for the new radical tradition. To accomplish this, the young members of the New Left will have to solve two problems: first, to win tolerance as political radicals within their profession; second, to develop an intellectual restatement of their discipline capable of competing with established doctrine.

Progress on both fronts varies widely among professions. Some, like sociology, have a native radical strain of long standing. Others have such a strong centrist tradition that they can not easily accommodate radicalism.

Economics—at least in the U. S.—is clearly in the second category. Partly because of philosophical bent, partly because economists play a more practical role in society than other social scientists, the profession tends to be stubbornly nonideological. Still, a movement exists toward radicalizing the profession.

The Union for Radical Political Economics was founded last year at an Ann Arbor, Mich., conference called by a group of University of Michigan graduate students, some of whom had been among the original members of SDS. It has about 500 paid-up members, half graduate students and half junior faculty. Another 500 or so are on its mailing list, kept, appropriately enough, on a computer printout run off at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The group already has had two national conventions and several regional meetings and has those indispensable academic trappings—a book of proceedings and a review.



Karl Marx is in vogue again, but the New Left is making some changes of its own.

Acceptance. A decade ago, acquiring a reputation as a radical would have been courting academic disaster. Although a number of economists admit to a left-wing past, in the 1950s only one acknowledged Marxist economist, Paul Baran, taught at a major U. S. university (Stanford). Now, although "hard-core Marxists" are still out of favor, being an active radical is apparently no bar to university employment—and in some cases may even help.

Events at American University symbolize the change. Both James Weaver, head of the Economics Dept. last year, and Charles Wilber, the present chairman, are members in good standing of the Union for Radical Political Economics. This year, they have hired two URPE members from the University of Michigan to teach urban economics. They also have brought in as visiting professors two European economists whose work is particularly popular with the New Left—Yugoslavia's Branko Horvath, one of the leading theoreticians of decentralized socialism, and E. J. Mishan of the London School of Economics. His book, The Costs of Economic Growth, attacks the liberal faith in growth as a social cure-all.

Movement. American University is perhaps an extreme example—a deliberate attempt to cultivate a reputation as a radical economics department in order to attract students to what at this point has not been considered a very exciting school. But members of URPE are on the faculties of schools all over the country: Harvard, the University of Michigan, Yale, State University of New York (SUNY), Massachusetts Institute of Technology, San Jose State College, Pennsylvania State University, and the New School of Social Research in New York City, one of the real centers of radical economics.

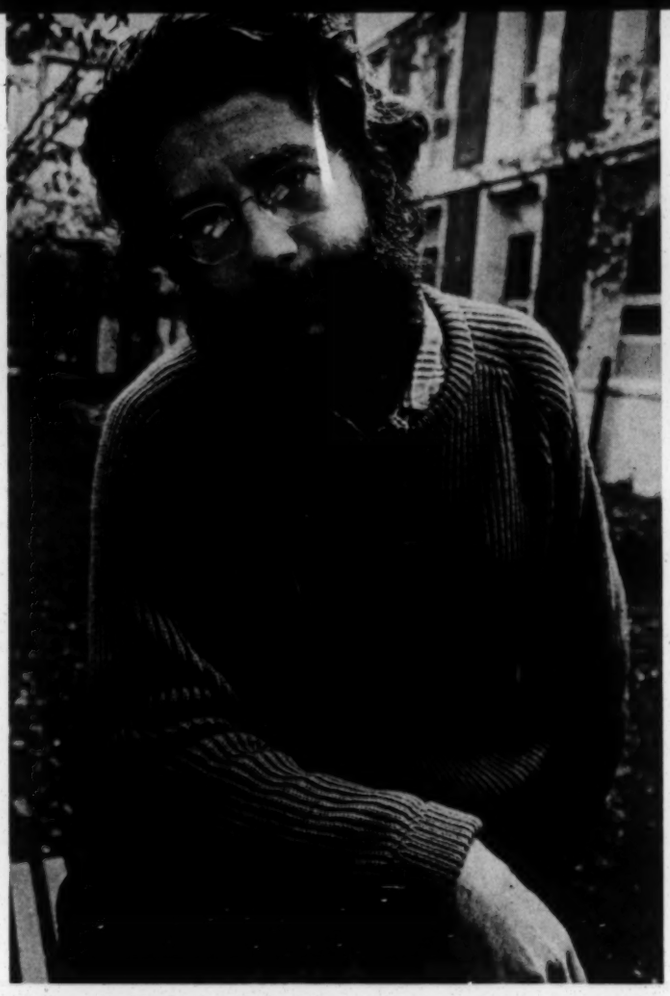
Harvard, which has the best liberal economists and, next to the University of Chicago, the best conservatives, also seems to have the best group of radicals. It includes Samuel Bowles, son of the former advertising executive and ambassador to India, who is making a reputation as a specialist in the economics of education. The Harvard group has an economics course specifically aimed at demonstrating, as one instructor explains, "that capitalism can't solve its problems."

The young Harvard group has so impressed their distinguished elder colleague, Wassily Leontief, president-elect of the American Economic Assn., that he has invited it to give a paper on the radical economics course at the December AEA meeting.

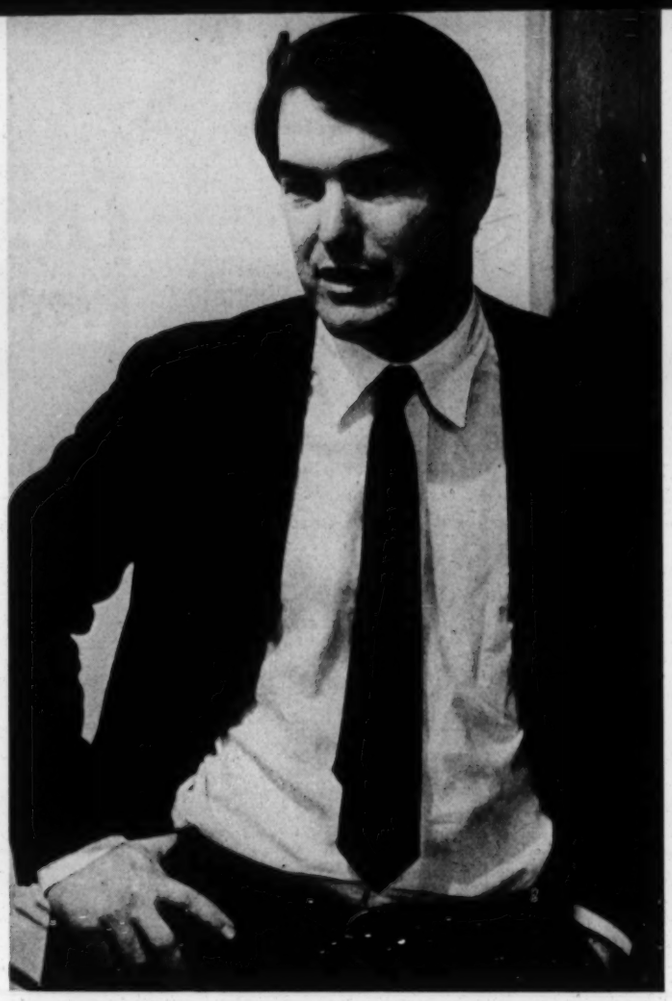
Change. The willingness to listen to—and employ—radicals is, of course, in the liberal tradition of tolerance. But it is a toleration mixed with chagrin. Much has happened in the last five years to shake the economics profession from its smug complacency with received doctrine of the early 1960s.

Some problems are technical. The Keynesian model just doesn't seem to crank out the right numbers anymore. According to everything the new economists have believed for the past generation, business should have hit the skids early this year. The fact it did not puts a key card in the hand of the Chicago School of monetary economists. But it also helps those who want the economics profession

PAGINATION INCORRECT



Michael Zweig of the Stony Brook faculty of the State University of New York calls himself a free-market anarchist.



Samuel Bowles, son of the former Ambassador to India, is in Harvard group giving a paper to American Economic Assn.

to get over its decade-old infatuation with stabilization policy.

Probably more than anything else, New Left economists are in revolt against the attitude expressed in President John F. Kennedy's 1962 Yale University speech. "What is at stake in our economic decisions," he said then, "is not some grand warfare of rival ideologies which will sweep the country with passion but the practical management of a modern economy."

Behind that was a seemingly naive faith in economic growth as a social lubricant. In theory, high-level growth should make everyone content with his lot and prevent bitter contention between different groups in society. But after more than eight years of the greatest upshooting in gross national product in history, there has rarely been so much social conflict.

Complaint. The major charge that all radicals lodge against orthodox economists is that they tend to overlook the connection between the economic system and other aspects of society. Tied to this is a contention that economists are wedded to the status quo. "Economics is so involved in the maintenance of the present economic system that it cannot conceive of alternatives," says American University's Weaver. "Economists should be critics, not celebrants."

The specifics of the complaint range from the strident Marxist contention that economists are simply servants of the ruling class to a more sophisticated view that the way neoclassical economists look at the world prevents them from even thinking about alternatives to corporate capitalism.

Orthodox economists always have prided themselves on their tight analytical thinking. Walter W. Heller, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, once said, "The economist's discipline constantly conditions him to marginal, rather than all-or-nothing, thinking, to a balancing of costs and benefits at the margins of policy."

The new left has no use for margins. Snorts Michael Zweig, a lushly bearded assistant professor at Stony Brook campus of the State University of New York: "A dedication to marginal analysis has kept economists from dealing systematically with important questions of American economic institutions and relations, not the least of which concerns their legitimacy."

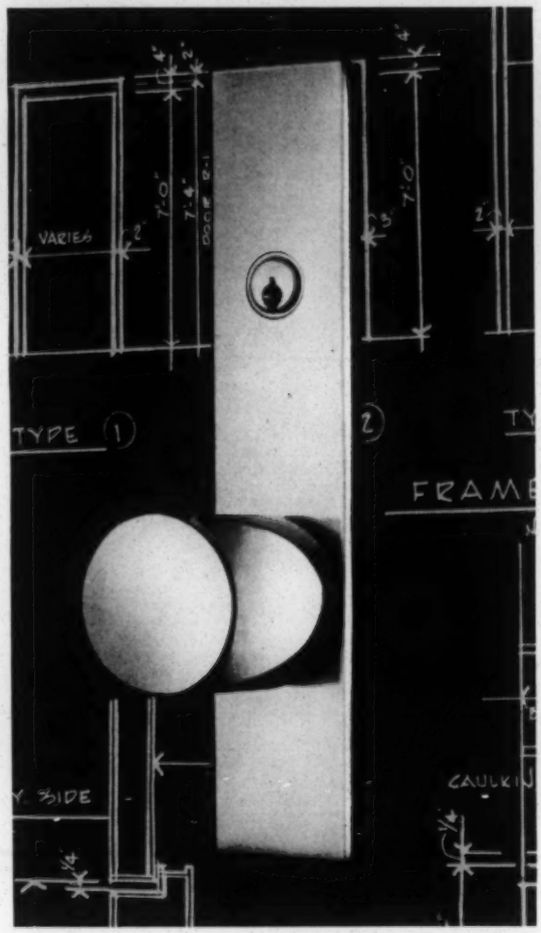
Practicality. For all of their talk about systematic thinking, however, radical economists are not very far along with the job of devising an intellectual system that can compete in the marketplace of ideas with traditional economic theory. At present, being a radical economist is more a state of mind than a body of doctrine.

That, of course, is not surprising, considering the origins of student radicalism. The SDS—at least until last year—fought "ideology" with almost as much fervor as it fought the "establishment." Its notion was that political ideas grow out of action and that theoretical niceties had traditionally been the cardinal sin of the left.

For radicals who want to make reputations as economists, however, this sort of thinking is not very fruitful, and they are rather desperately trying to develop a theory to go with their rhetoric. At URPE's convention last month attended by less than 100 members, it was clear they had not come very far. The ideological content ranged from fairly orthodox Marx to warmed-over Mao.

Old hat. Though most apologize for not having read him in the original, Karl Marx is much in vogue among the radical economists (and among the leftists in most other social sciences as well). The attraction is obvious. Accepting the view that capitalism is at the roots of most of society's problems, the radicals need some body of theory that looks at the over-all system. Western social science has tended to keep things such as economics, politics, and psychology separate. Marxist analysis purports to have an integrated view, which, moreover, addresses itself to the question of how society can undergo radical change.

Emerging from this jumble of ideas is a pattern of themes on supposed failures of corporate capitalism and the social crises that allegedly it has produced. Many on the left are convinced that they are the first generation of a "post-scarcity so-



Protect Your Investments

Let the massive strength of Russwin "Ten Strike"* mortise locksets guard your buildings and their possessions. Made with large, rugged parts throughout, these locks need no help from auxiliary locks. Elegantly styled too. Choice of many metals and color tones. Call Russwin, Division of Emhart Corporation, New Britain, Connecticut 06050. In Canada—Russwin Division of International Hardware.

Hardware for buildings

RUSSWIN

*"Ten Strike" is a trademark of Russwin, Division of Emhart Corporation, New Britain, Conn.

Your competitors are meeting at the Marriott

America's smartest businessmen are taking their company meetings to the friendly surroundings of a Marriott Hotel or resort. There, a trained staff takes over all the details. Make it a Work/Play Weekend and the wives can come along at special reduced rates. The resort-like surroundings, superb food, and trained staff make business at the Marriott a pleasure. And they make our "Escape" Weekends enticing for 24-hour getaways, too. Make your plans now, and call the Marriott nearest you.

This is living... this is Marriott HOTELS

HOTELS in Acapulco, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Houston, New York (Essex House), Philadelphia, Saddle Brook, N.J., Scottsdale, Ariz. (Camelback Inn), Washington, D.C., New Orleans ('71), Denver ('72), Los Angeles ('72)

Sales Offices in Washington (703) 525-3200; New York (212) 889-4910; Chicago (312) 693-2044
COMING SOON: Marriott Inns . . . Nationwide

Shouldn't you?

ciety" which has solved the technological problems of production but is prevented from reaping the benefits by the system of corporate capitalism.

It is a complex theme with many elements: the charge that corporations block technological change to protect their vested interests; the charge (borrowed from Harvard economist John K. Galbraith's book, The New Industrial State) that capitalism has been made to work by artificially induced waste; the charge that "human values" are subordinated to requirements of economic efficiency.

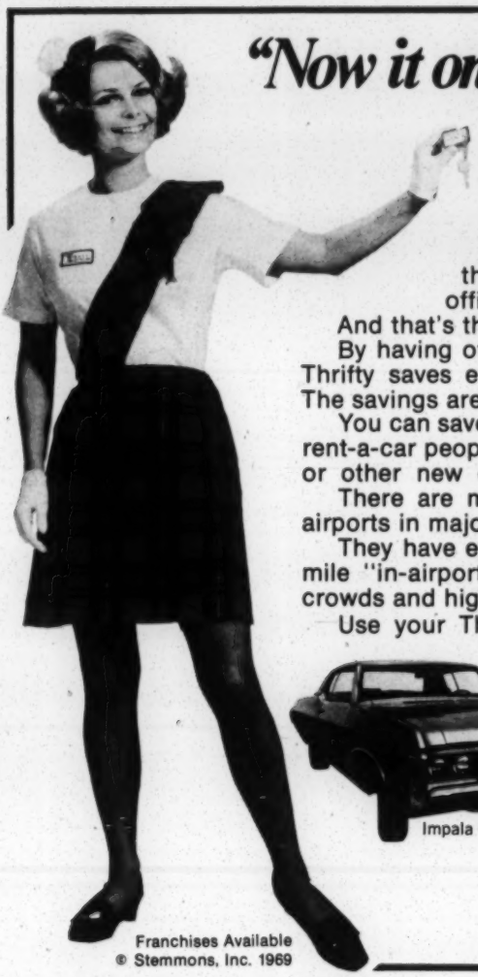
Voice. The last is a complaint about both capitalism and orthodox economics which radicals tend to see as synonymous. "Economics is unidimensional," says Herbert A. Gintis, a young instructor at Harvard. "It deals only in questions of material welfare, which become of lesser importance as society increases in abundance." His doctorial dissertation, Alienation and Power: Toward a Radical Welfare Theory, is probably the first attempt to provide a framework for New Left economics—and an economic explanation of the student power movement. Though Gintis is far from doctrinaire, his work is basically a Marxian analysis topped off with the modern sociology of Harvard's Talcott Parsons.

At the start, Gintis breaks through the traditional hangup of classical welfare theory—the refusal to make judgments about individual values and tastes. This, for one thing, prevents orthodox economists from saying anything about such obvious social questions as distribution of income.

The New Left, in Gintis' view, is in revolt among other things against the concept of "consumer sovereignty," which is the popular version of economic neutrality on personal tastes. To radicals, values and taste are not "given" but determined by social (and many say economic) forces. According to Gintis, corporate capitalism has produced a false sense of values. These values will only be changed, he concludes, when capitalism is replaced by some other social system.

Objections. According to Gintis, modern capitalism produces social alienation in much the same way as Marx saw it in the 19th Century. By "selling his labor as a commodity," the worker relinquishes control over conditions of his employment; work, therefore, is conducted solely according to the managerial criterion of economic efficiency, which is a loss of "human values" in the sense of participation or personal enjoyment.

Students are rebelling against this regime, Gintis says, and his most significant updating of Marx is to locate in the student power movement the vanguard of a "working class" that can serve as an agent for social change. Up to now, the main problem of Marxist dialetical determinism is the fact the "proletariat" has not played the role assigned to it. Rather than being



"Now it only costs 1/3 less to go first class."

Call Miss Thrifty® when your plane lands, and by the time you claim your baggage, she'll be there to drive you to the Thrifty office—near the airport.

And that's the secret.

By having offices near airports—not in them—Thrifty saves expensive airport concession fees. The savings are passed on to you.

You can save up to 34½%* over the "in-airport" rent-a-car people. And you get a Chevrolet Impala, or other new car, gas and insurance included.

There are more than 120 Thrifty offices near airports in major cities.

They have everything the $13-a-day-and-13c-a-mile "in-airport" rent-a-car people have—except crowds and high prices.

Use your Thrifty Credit Card, or other major credit card (Hertz, Avis, National included).

Go First Class.

Impala Custom Coupe

*Investigate our National Accounts Plan

THRIFTY RENT-A-CAR

Instant Hot Line Reservations

2412 North Sheridan Road, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74151

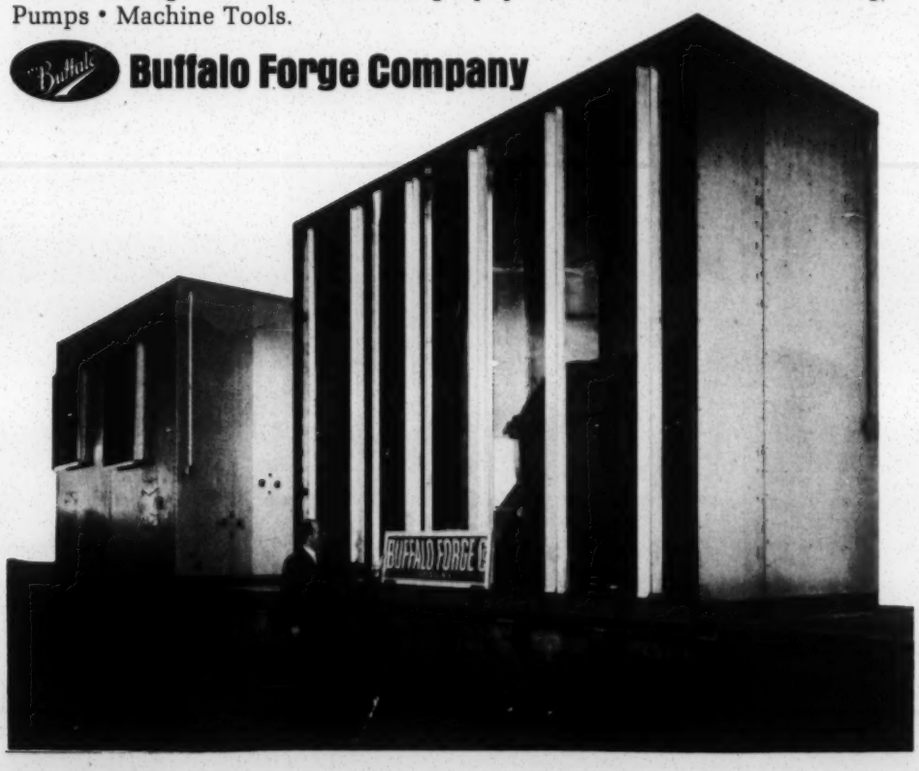
Franchises Available

© Stemmons, Inc. 1969

'Buffalo' air conditioning by the carload!

Large capacity 'Buffalo' factory fabricated air conditioning "cabinets" like this 75,000 cfm unit can reduce costs on many air conditioning jobs. Ask a Buffalo Sales Engineer to explain the advantages over other approaches. Buffalo Forge Company, Buffalo, New York 14205. In Canada: The Canadian Blower & Forge Co. Ltd. Air Handling Equipment • Finned Coils • Centrifugal Pumps • Machine Tools.

Buffalo Forge Company



rebellious, the industrial working class in the West has been generally a satisfied, conservative force.

But as Gintis sees it, "Affluence has permitted large groups of people to be concerned about other things. Naturally, those most concerned are the students. They, Gintis says, are starting to see themselves as being forced by schools into molds set by the manpower requirements of business.

Studies. Most studies of the economics of education simply try to associate various types of education with economic success or failure. The Harvard group uses a concept of "educational production function" to ask the question: What specifically does education do to make workers more productive? Its tentative answer, based on a sophisticated statistical analysis of education tests, is that education works not by broadening individuals but by narrowing the range of their thoughts. To Gintis, this means that "education becomes productive only insofar as it is repressive."

The New Left is by no means certain what they want to substitute for capitalist society. One of the things that most distinguishes today's radicals from those of the 1930s is the vision of a "participatory democracy" that eliminates any coercive authority. There has been a slow erosion of this theme as emotions generated by bitter opposition to the war in Vietnam and of clashes with the police have pushed many toward the traditional Marxist views of class conflict and violent revolution. But the model of a decentralized economy based on community ownership and control is still a good idea for most of the left. Many are studying the decentralized socialism of Yugoslavia and the Israeli kibbutz. Few show interest in the Soviet Union or Communist China (though Mao is a popular hero even for the non-Marxists).

There is, in fact, a decided strain of anarchism among the New Left that persists even when the radicalism takes more systematic intellectual form. Zweig argues for a society that begins with a revolution to redistribute property ("the existing distribution of property is the result of theft," he says) and ends with freedom from any governmental interference.

According to his analysis, modern capitalism has failed because so many of the "real costs" of economic activity are borne by the public at large. Air pollution is an obvious example. A free market that forced everyone to pay the real social costs of production would probably maximize welfare with a minimum of constraints, he contends.

To economists over thirty, such utopian thinking is a sign of intellectual confusion. But, however confused the New Left economists might seem to be, they still offer a powerful challenge to the "Establishment" of both the economics profession and the society that it serves. **End**

Economics

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1969

Technology in the Mindless Market

By ARLEN J. LARGE

WASHINGTON — President Nixon's decision to go ahead with the supersonic transport is a striking example of the pressures of technology on classical economic concepts of the marketplace.

Technology is expanding the old marketplace boundaries far beyond mere buyer and seller, involving ever more "outside" parties —people who want *right now* technological fruits that the classical market isn't ready to provide, and people who fear bad side effects of technology evolving from the narrow interaction of buyer and seller alone.

The "natural" economy isn't yet ready to produce an SST, though aeronautical engineers say they have the skill to make one. An outside party—the President—insists that for reasons of statecraft the plane be built now anyway, doctrines of Adam Smith notwithstanding. Still other parties besides the eventual buyers and sellers of the SST's services want a piece of the action; they are worried about the fallout of noise, dirt and airport congestion resulting from this latest technological leap forward.

A Basic Change

Thus the basic nature of economic decision-making is changing in ways that scientists, technocrats, government officials and businessmen are only lately beginning to recognize. Moreover, there are some significant proposals taking shape for controlling this change in ways for the better. And arguments already are starting about whether the proposals may only make things worse.

Classical theory holds that a market economy works best when everyone does his own thing. Sellers and buyers act only in their own interests. Suppliers of demanded goods and services prosper, the others simply disappear. The market's pricing system, geared to countless individual transactions between buyers and sellers, will blindly and mindlessly result in the most efficient allocation of the economy's resources.

But the post-World War II technological explosion provides an increasingly powerful motive for imposing conscious guidance upon the mindless marketplace. Classical theory may deem the SST premature, but technology has nurtured a demand for one, so an artificial concentration of Federal cash will create it. In the other direction, classical theory may dictate that inter-city passenger trains must die, but technology's awful alternative is more auto congestion and exhaust pollution, so human reason demands that the trains survive, even if artificially subsidized.

Technology widens the impact of marketplace decisions beyond what anyone may intend. A chemical company in the '50s couldn't be faulted for selling, in its own profit-making interest, DDT to a farmer needing an effective defense against bugs threatening his own crop yields and profits. But that DDT is still chemically intact today, a possible threat to the health of people who weren't parties to the original market transaction and weren't aware they would ever be involved. Belatedly, in their own interest, they are raising hell.

"Technology is always rewarding and punishing you almost simultaneously," says White House guru Daniel P. Moynihan.

The need to involve a wider group of people in the takeoff of new technology is emphasized in a recent report prepared for Congress by a special panel of the National Academy of Sciences. Headed by Harvey Brooks, Harvard's dean of Engineering and Applied Physics, the panel deals thoughtfully with problems of "technology assessment": How to push ahead with modern marvels that help society while incurring a minimum of bad side effects.

Possibly the most arresting statement in the report is that it's possible to achieve these twin goals at all. Thanks to the technology explosion of the past 20 years, the panel says, "Our visions and capacities have so broadened and deepened that we can now, for the first time in human history, realistically aspire to have it both ways: To maximize our gains while minimizing our losses. The challenge is to discipline technological progress in order to make the most of this vast new opportunity."

One innovation this effort requires is "technological forecasting," defined by the Brooks Panel as "an attempt to project the likely growth and probable impacts of specific technologies—such as weather modification, the supersonic transport, satellite communications and computer-aided instruction." Any such early warning system has been mainly lacking in corporate board rooms when executives decided on "economic" grounds how much to spend, what to make, how much to charge.

There is growing interest in a theory that these private, nobody-else's-business decisions haven't always reflected the total cost-benefit equation. The other day Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch was testifying before a Senate subcommittee studying trash disposal. Mr. Finch was lamenting the trend toward pop bottles that don't have to be returned to the store, and thus become a trash disposal problem after being used only once. The reason for the trend, he said, is that bottlers find it cheaper to switch to non-returnable containers than to collect and wash old bottles for re-use.

But the equation, seemingly efficient, is not completed, he suggested: "It may be 'efficient' for industry to use these containers *only* because the efficiency formula *excludes* the cost to society of disposing of indestructible non-returnable containers." Federal men working on the trash problem are pondering ways to complete the cost equation by levying bottle taxes (ultimately borne by pop-drinkers) to cover disposal costs at the city dump, or by providing subsidies from Washington to induce bottlers to go back to the returnable kind.

Government Pressures

Even in the 19th century the Federal Government was nudging private technology's cost equations through such acts as granting public lands to railroads. The Brooks Panel observes that by now, with Uncle Sam financing nearly 50% of industrial research and development, Government policy has become "at least as influential as the forces of the ordinary market" in setting directions for technological change.

The Government's technology choices are determined less by classical market forces than by the political clout of pressure groups competing for Federal funds. Mixed up with the SST's technical formulas on weight, payload and range are the influence of Boeing and its employes and Washington state's two Senators. Coal interests implore the Government to plow more funds into research for producing a cleaner-burning fuel, while going slow on development of nuclear reactors. Truck operators seeking the cost-cutting efficiencies of bigger vehicles must win their goal not in the marketplace but in Congress, where ordinary motorists fight for the freeway status quo.

Huge Federal bureaucracies acquire vested interests in pushing "their" technologies, without worrying much about bad side effects. As prime promoter of the SST, the Federal Aviation Administration "cannot be fully trusted to evaluate the sonic boom objectively," says the Brooks Panel. "In a similar vein, the Bureau of Public Roads has hardly been noted for its devotion to the preservation of the natural beauty of the countryside."

The panel proposes a new "technology assessment mechanism" for making sure that a wider spectrum of individuals and groups has a voice in setting Federal policy on research and development. It suggests expanding the President's Office of Science and Technology into a clearing-house for forecasting future problems and devising ways to avoid them. Also proposed is a new joint House-Senate committee to study bad side effects of technology.

In proposing its new "technology assessment mechanism," the panel insists the last thing it wants is a czar. The panel says it would "emphatically oppose any scheme that would empower an agency to decide, on behalf of something called 'society' or 'the environment,' which technological developments will be permitted and which prohibited." The proposed agency, it says, "must be able to evaluate but neither to sponsor nor to prevent."

Even with that strong disclaimer, the idea of a new Government agency looking over the shoulders of private industry researchers draws a dissent from one of the panel members. "The introduction of a new product or the entry into a new area of commerce are perhaps the greatest risk decisions that a private enterprise makes," says Morris Tenenbaum, general manager of Western Electric Co.'s engineering division. "To the degree that new assessment mechanisms create new uncertainties, this could discourage private investment in areas of technology . . . where innovation is most important and private participation most desirable."

'Assessment Mechanism' Coming?

But technology-minded businessmen had better reconcile themselves to the prospect that some kind of "assessment mechanism" is coming. On Capitol Hill, lawmakers are falling over each other in proposing splashy ways to protect the environment. Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine wants a Presidential

is coming. On Capitol Hill, lawmakers are falling over each other in proposing splashy ways to protect the environment. Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine wants a Presidential Office of Environmental Quality, which would, among other things, "assure evaluation of new and changing technologies for their potential effects on the environment prior to their implementation." Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington backs a somewhat duplicate Board of Environmental Quality Advisers. Rather than choose between the competing bills of these two powerful Democrats, the Senate has passed them both. The House hasn't yet fully concurred.

New bureaucracies like these wouldn't be suggested if there weren't any noisy SSTs to afflict the environment. President Nixon wouldn't have to command Federal funds to support the SST if the aeronautical engineers here and in Europe weren't so skillful at their craft. But such skills are the glory of 20th century Western civilization, and their impact both on individual lives and on traditional market institutions is becoming greater all the time.

Economics

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

A SIMPLIFIED APPROACH TO INCOMES POLICY

by

Daniel J. B. Mitchell

Reprint No. 205

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024
1969

EV TF-Ed Child Care

New Folder

CHILD CARE: A GROWING PROBLEM

by Jane O'Grady

By the end of this decade, the majority of American children will have working mothers. The trend of ever larger numbers of women joining the workforce has changed American society drastically from what it was just a few years ago.

With that change has come the transformation of care for the pre-school and school-age children of working mothers from an isolated, individual problem into a subject of national concern—just as the demise of the family farm a few decades ago contributed to the national willingness to provide for the aged and retired on a stable basis through Social Security.

The official government figures on working mothers are indeed dramatic. In 1950, 22 percent of all mothers worked full- or part-time; in 1970, the percentage has doubled to 42 percent. In 1950, 33 percent of mothers with school-age children (6 to 17 years) were in the labor force; in 1970, more than half (52 percent) of these mothers were working. And, while only 14 percent of the mothers with pre-school children under 6 years worked in 1950, today 32 percent are in the workforce.

Most of these women are working—and will be working in the future—out of economic necessity. They are either the sole support of their households or are supplementing the inadequate earnings of their husbands. But the changing view that women have of their role in society today will also add to the workforce many women who wish to work for the personal satisfaction of using their education, skills and creativity. And current efforts to reduce welfare rolls, particularly by requiring welfare mothers to accept job training and employment, will add further to the numbers of women with children participating in the workforce. Most families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children today consist of a mother and children, with no father present. In December 1970, 7 million children were on the AFDC rolls, 2.3 million under 6 years of age. If their mothers are to be sent out into the labor force, some provision for the care of these children will be required.

While the influx of women into the workforce has made the child care problem visible, it has not necessarily helped clarify what kind of child care the nation should be seeking. For analyzing the need for child care solely in terms of the increasing numbers of

JANE O'GRADY is legislative representative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a union which has pioneered in the development of child care centers.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

working mothers runs the risk of inadequate consideration of the range of possible solutions. It becomes all too easy to say simply that places must be found to "park" the children while the mothers are at work. Such a solution leaves out a critical ingredient—the needs of the growing child.

Many other changes taking place in American society today form a broader view of the national debate over society's obligations to young children. The urbanization of the American family is one such social change. More and more families are living in the isolating atmosphere of the big cities, which reduce opportunities for close familial and neighborly contacts for children. The heightened mobility of the American family to urban areas and between urban areas increases the extent to which families must rely on their own resources for the early nurturance of their offspring.

Another factor is the nation's attempt, exemplified in the Great Society programs of the 1960s, to eradicate the sources of poverty—ignorance, lack of skill training, poor emotional and physical health. Combined with this focus on the disadvantaged is the growing recognition of the special needs of all children, even from the most affluent families, who suffer emotional disturbance, mental retardation or physical disability and who are in desperate need of personalized care and family support services.

Perhaps most important in this broad view is the recent documentation by psychologists, psychiatrists, educators and medical professionals of the critical significance of the first five years of life. The experiences of children in their pre-school years can become crucial to their future abilities to function as productive adults, the experts tell us.

The circumstances of a rapidly changing society give the issue of child care a wider dimension than the mere need for baby-sitting services while mothers are at work. We are talking about greater and more profound changes in the American family and its pattern of living; about society's responsibilities to its citizens, even down to the youngest child; and advances in educational theory that recognize the importance of learning experiences of the early childhood years. And thus we are talking about child care as playing a significant social role in the well-being and healthly development of the nation's children.

These terms help to dictate the ingredients needed in child care services. While the home and family remain the central focus of the child's life, supplementary developmental services can contribute to the intellectual, social, emotional and physical growth needs of all the nation's children—from infants to teenagers. Such programs can have a constructive influence on children and their families, helping functioning families to lead more satisfying lives, assisting children to become productive adults. A humane concern for the full development of human potential is the reason for a national commitment to the needs of young children.

Licensed day care homes and centers in the United States today have spaces for about 700,000 children. That figure is pitifully small in a nation with 76 million children under 18—32 million of whom have mothers who work.

Whether the potential need is narrowly defined as the pre-school children of working mothers, or the broader need of young children from all walks of life who could benefit from early childhood educational experiences, the 700,000 figure speaks eloquently of the nation's lack of commitment. And more than half of these centers are proprietary ones, operated by people seeking a profit in the business of child care. Since providing quality care is an expensive undertaking, to add a profit on top of that requires that relatively high fees must be charged for the child care service. Consequently, most of the users of these centers are children from relatively affluent families.

On the other hand, for children from welfare families, there are some opportunities, though severely limited, for government subsidy of child care services. Under the Social Security Act and the Economic Opportunity Act, the federal government has set up a limited matching grant system with the states to provide day care services for welfare mothers who are working or are in training and who need day care for their children. Headstart, a comprehensive pre-school program for poor children, is perhaps the best publically financed child care program now in operation. At best, however, only 300,000 children are served in full-year (Headstart) programs; 200,000 in summer programs.

In the vast majority of cases, low- to moderate-income families make provision for their children in the best way they can, which usually consists of the free services of another family member or close relative or an outside babysitter at minimal cost. In a distressingly large number of instances, the children from such families are left on their own, or virtually under their own care. While some of these arrange-

ments may be adequate, many of them offer little opportunity to stimulate the growth and development, or even protect the safety, of a young child. For most children with working mothers, TV is the nation's provider of child care service.

Current resources in this country, both private and public, leave a large gap between the very poor who are served—inadequately—by government programs and the more affluent who can pay for costly day care and nursery school services. In between are the families who have too much income to be eligible for the government programs and too little income to afford privately operated child care, even if they could find it available.

By any standard of measurement, the nation lacks a comprehensive system of developmental child care services. However, some local efforts in the child care field have been undertaken over the years with some success. No doubt, thousands of children and their families have received beneficial services from programs developed and run by church groups, parent cooperatives, local community organizations and business and labor groups. Although no systematic survey of the wide variety of these individual child care efforts is possible, they exist in communities all over the country; many people have contributed many hours, often volunteer hours, to their creation; and they have answered a need and provided a benefit to the limited numbers of children and their families involved. Through the pooling of resources and the use of available facilities, child care reaches a fortunate few in these local community programs.

Industry involvement in child care—what little there is of it—seems to be pragmatically generated in large part by a desire to improve the working potential of the women in its workforce. A happier workforce, with less absenteeism and more production, is often cited by industry leaders as the provocation for providing child care services for the children of their women workers. Some industries, as a consequence, have begun to provide in-plant or nearby facilities, often operated through the private educational groups which have sprung up in the child care field. Most of these facilities require a payment on the part of the participating parents and most are limited to the children of the plant workers. These programs too provide a needed service for the participants.

Union involvement in the field of child care stems from a desire to be of help to their membership in as many aspects of their lives as possible—the trade union philosophy that recognizes the union member as a participant in the larger society with social needs that go beyond an adequate paycheck and good working conditions. Thus child care activities fit logically into the list of services provided to union members over the years—health insurance, pensions, low-cost banking services, low-to-moderate income housing, retiree centers, college scholarships and pre-paid legal services.

Two regional affiliates of the Clothing Workers have developed child care centers. Baltimore began its program in the mid-1960s. Today, in five local areas in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia, this union operates child care facilities for approximately 1,000 children of its members. These centers are staffed by professionals in the field of child care; offer a complete range of developmental services; and charge a minimal fee of $1 per day per child for the service rendered.

In Chicago, the Clothing Workers operates a pilot child care project adjacent to its headquarters, serving 60 children of its members. This center also offers a complete range of educational, social, medical and nutritional services, all free to the participating families. This program in Chicago is being used as a research and demonstration project by other educational institutions and government agencies in the field of child care.

These union-sponsored child care programs are financed through contributions (percent of payroll) by the employers under contract with the respective union organizations. To make this possible, it was necessary to amend the national labor relations law, which keeps a tight check on joint labor-management trust funds by spelling out specifically the fringe benefits such funds may be used to finance. Child care had to be added to the list by congressional action to amend the Taft-Hartley Act. This change in the law opens the way for all unions to make child care, like pensions and health insurance, a subject of collective bargaining with their employers.

Other unions, notably the New York City local of the Teachers, have also developed child care programs for their members as well. The United Federation of Teachers has established an early childhood program in New York under contract with the city Board of Education, designed to provide care and education to the children of teachers returning to teach in poverty areas as well as to serve the needs of the community's children.

The Communications Workers, a union which has over 50 percent women members, is participating in experimental child care centers in Washington, D.C., and in Chicago. It is hoped that these centers will serve as pilots for other CWA installations across the country and in several of CWA's 10 districts, research studies on child care are under way.

All of these efforts by private organizations, including the efforts of labor and management, fill an important need in the communities they serve. But while the creativity and resourcefulness may be commendable, even under the best of circumstances these private efforts are not and cannot be the entire answer.

The only answer to the broad problem of early childhood developmental care is a massive federal commitment to the provision of such services for all children. Individual efforts or private group efforts will always be too few, too costly, or too limited.

The national significance of quality child care has not escaped the attention of Congress, where efforts

have been made to devise a program which takes into account both the necessity from the influx of mothers into the workforce and the potential of skilled care in the development of pre-school youngsters.

For some years, such congressional leaders as Representatives John Brademas (D-Ind.) and Patsy Mink (D-Hawaii) and Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) have recognized the need for a national solution to the crisis in child care. But one of the most concentrated recent efforts ran into a roadblock in December 1971 when President Nixon vetoed the comprehensive child care bill with a rationale that included the implication that such federal action would "lead toward altering the family relationship."

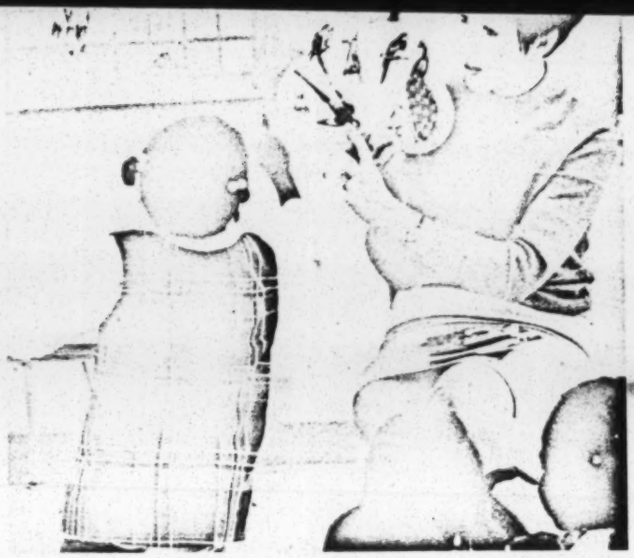
At present, Congress is working on legislation that will accomplish something while neutralizing the political considerations at work last year—in short, picking up the pieces from that veto and trying again. Part of the impetus is from a broadly-based coalition of private organizations which came into existence in early 1971 to promote the bill which Nixon vetoed.

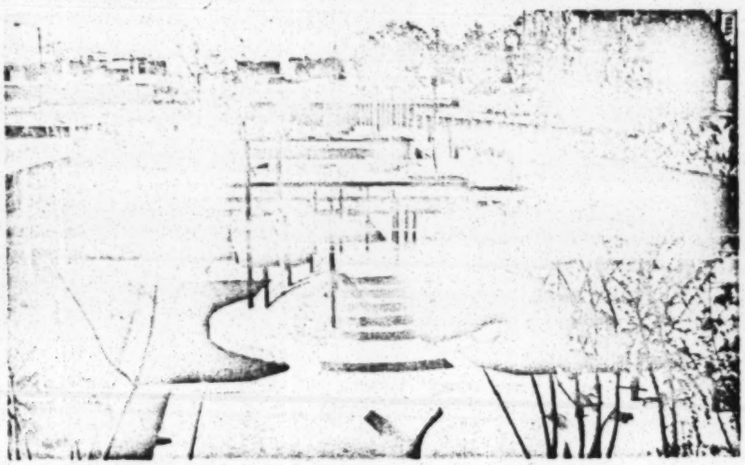
Prominent in this child care coalition were the AFL-CIO, the Ladies' Garment Workers and the Clothing Workers. Other organizations affiliated with the coalition, which numbered 26 in total, included the Auto Workers, the League of Women Voters, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the National Council of Churches, the National League of Cities-U.S. Conference of Mayors and the Washington Research Project Action Council.

These groups adopted a statement of principles for devising federal legislation, including:

- that programs must be of high quality, comprehensive and developmental, oriented to the needs of children and available to all children;
- that parents must be directly involved in decisions affecting their own children;
- that programs must be locally controlled and flexible enough to meet individual community needs;
- that programs must be designed to include children with a variety of backgrounds;
- that adequate protections must be provided to assure that the needs of minority group and economically disadvantaged children are met; and
- that substantial new public funds would be needed to begin to meet the compelling and immediate need for these services.

As the second session of the 92nd Congress got under way in 1972, the renewed effort on child care took the form of a separate piece of legislation worked out in cooperation between the Democratic and Republican sponsors of the 1971 bill. Strong efforts were made to meet the objections expressed by the President in his veto message. Additional hearings were held to accommodate some of the opponents of the legislation. This bill, the Comprehensive Headstart, Child Development and Family Services Act of 1972, emphasizes quality developmental care, with significant parental involvement and local control, as did the





The Clothing Workers' child care program in Baltimore started in the mid-1960s and now serves 1,000 children in five locations.

1971 bill. The bill seeks to build on the successful Headstart program and sets free services at an income level below the government-defined poverty level of $4,320 for a family of four.

Under the Senate bill, a state, city or county with a population of 25,000 or more could apply to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to be a sponsor of programs in their locality. This application must include an overall child care program design meeting the requirements HEW sets up. Upon approval of a program, the Secretary of HEW will designate that state, city or county as a "prime sponsor" of child care programs and will allocate funds based on the number of children to be served.

Once a unit of government has become a prime sponsor, the governor, mayor or county executive will set up a Child and Family Service Council made up of parents of eligible children and other public members with child service skills to approve an administering agency for the child care program in their areas. At that point, local community groups who wish to operate child care centers—churches, parent cooperatives, unions or business groups—would make application to the designated administering agency. Such an application would indicate the kind of facility, program, staff and operating costs of the proposed center. The child care administering agency will then approve these project applications for the actual operation of child care centers under its jurisdiction.

Federal funds will pay 90 percent of the operation of such programs; in some instances of need, the federal share can go up to 100 percent. Project applicants will make up the additional 10 percent through public or private funds in the form of cash, goods, services, or facilities, including union or employer contributions.

This bill was debated and passed by the Senate in June 1972 by a vote of 73-12. Attempts were made again by Republicans to reduce parental involvement and increase the size of local communities eligible to sponsor programs. Several modifications in the bill were made during the Senate's deliberations. The principal, and perhaps most controversial, change is the amendment offered by Sen. Peter Dominick (R-Colo.) which would allow the Secretary of HEW total discretion in choosing among competing applicants for prime sponsorship of child care programs. The fear is that political considerations would result in states being selected over local communities to run programs—with a consequent loss in direct parent control and participation by minorities in the running of centers for their children.

With the strong bipartisan effort involved in the child care bill just passed by the Senate, the House may be able to achieve a similar, bipartisan bill. If the House can be persuaded to pass a companion bill to the Senate measure, a new child care bill may be on the President's desk before the November election—perhaps an incentive to a presidential signature.

The shape of the present legislation benefited from

With Children,

The following description of the Clothing Workers' Chicago child care center is excerpted from a speech by Joyce Miller, director of social services for the ACWA's Chicago Joint Board and the administrator of the center.

Our day care center in Chicago accommodates 60 children and opened in March 1970. When we made the decision to get involved in day care, we spent about a year and a half trying to work with a local government organization. We learned that it costs as much to rehabilitate a building as it does to build a new one.

But the union owned a piece of property near our union headquarters, so we went to an architect and said, "Build us a building that will accommodate the maximum number of children."

The building cost $125,000. We spend no more money than is absolutely necessary. However, we will not stint one cent on having a quality center.

The key thing was hiring a director who was truly knowledgeable and experienced in the field of child care; then we worked together, my job being the administrator of the center and dealing with the trade union movement and our own members and hers being the field of child development.

We find that we are spending $140,000 a year. It comes out to a little over $55 a week per child in operating costs. We pay the entire cost for the center; there is no charge of any kind to the member. We feel our members are entitled to this service as part of belonging to the union and its social welfare benefits.

We pay for the center out of the Amalgamated Social Benefits Association. This is a trust negotiated by the union and the employers contribute a percentage of payroll. In the clothing industry it is 10.1 percent of payroll and in cotton garment it is 9.5 percent of payroll. This money is used for all our social welfare programs, including pensions, insurance, supplementary union insurance. The ASBA was established in 1923.

The employers have seen the value of our center in Chicago and one of our very big companies, which now is planning a new factory, is going to put a day care center right into the factory. If and when this becomes a reality, then we will really have achieved one of our major goals. We set up our center as a pilot program—to show the way.

Children of our members were being left with relatives or neighbors who were being paid anywhere from $17 to $25 per week per child. Of the 60 kids who came into the center, about a quarter of them were in some kind of group care facilities. When the children came in, it was obvious that they spent a tremendous amount of time in front of the TV set. They were not getting fine care in

's Not So Simple to Re-do a Poor Job

any way. One example was that we saw them playing vampires, which is not ordinary behavior. The children had been exposed to a TV program in the middle of the afternoon called "Dark Shadows," and they were busy acting this out in the day care center.

We do have a television set, but we use it judiciously. We wanted to break this television-watching habit and we felt that there are so many other enriching and more worthwhile things that the children could and should be doing.

Even if we did nothing else but provide a building and a babysitter and keep the kids physically safe and save our members the $17 to $25 a week that they were spending, in my judgment we would be making a contribution to their lives. Economically, they're that much ahead. But it was interesting that the parents—with this financial burden lifted from them—still said, "We want our kids to learn something; is this a school?" "Will they be better off when they start first grade?"

Employment in a garment factory, working at a sewing machine or a pressing machine, is a very painstaking, precise kind of work. Our members work from 7 a.m. to 3 or 3:30 p.m. They leave work physically and emotionally exhausted. They return home and have to clean plus carry out all the other responsibilities of running a household. Women who work are holding two full-time jobs at the same time. Now, how much does that parent have to give to her child after working all day in a garment factory and taking care of all the responsibilities she has at home? Truly, it's not very much.

This does not mean that these parents don't love their children—they love their children very much. It is that they have very little left to give at the end of the day. They're emotionally and physically depleted. Quality day care—if we were going to do any kind of meaningful job—presented itself naturally.

We have a complete pediatric and dental program as an integral part of the day care center. The children entering have a complete physical and dental examination, and follow-up work. We give them hearing and eye tests.

We have a complete dental program with a pedodentist. We found at least eight kids who had really terrible mouths. One child had completely black teeth, bottom and top; the nerves in his teeth were dying. Our dentist said he could rehabilitate the boy's entire mouth. His father, a big burly fellow, couldn't get over it and actually cried, because he never dreamed that his son's teeth could ever be fixed. He knew he and his wife couldn't afford it and thought they'd just have to let it go.

In the present recession our members are working short hours and layoffs are taking place. We found children coming to the center hungry. We quickly switched our juice and cracker snack to high protein.

Our members, 80 percent of whom are women, are working because they have to put food on the table and pay the rent. They're not working for pin money, or to provide luxuries. They're working because the high cost of living combined with low wages puts many families below the poverty level unless both parents work. At the same time, we know that our members have as much concern and love for their children as any more fortunate mother who is able to stay home.

We have three men on our staff, because young boys need male identification figures; some come from homes where there is no father present.

We had children who, when they entered the day care center, did not speak any English. Eighteen spoke only Spanish or only Polish; one spoke only Italian; two youngsters just came from Nigeria and spoke only Ibo. Not only are we teaching the children English, but the parents take great pride that the child is able to come home and help teach them English. It's very important that the staff reflect the same kind of racial and ethnic mix as the children.

One mother entered her 3-year-old child. After a few weeks she remained when she picked up her child, sort of shy. One day she anxiously asked, "Will my son learn to read; when are you going to teach him to read?" The mother was strangely concerned about a 3-year-old reading, which usually comes at age six. It developed that she herself did not know how to read. She was ashamed to say so; she, therefore, put all of these sights on her son. We arranged a tutoring program for her and she is now learning to read. We also have a paperback lending library on child care for the parents.

Enrollment in a day care center, while free, is not automatic. As in any other facility, outstanding and worthwhile though it may be, people have to be educated to use it. But the center was filled to capacity 10 months after opening and there is a waiting list of 14 children.

One of our parents, in very broken English, said at one of our parent meetings that although he was pleased that he no longer had to pay a sitter to care for his two daughters, this was the least of his satisfactions with the center. What pleased him most was the real interest and concern that the staff showed for the children. He said: "If any of the parents made a mistake and sewed something the wrong way, they could always rip it out and do it over again. But the teachers are working with much more precious material where it is not so simple to re-do a poor job."

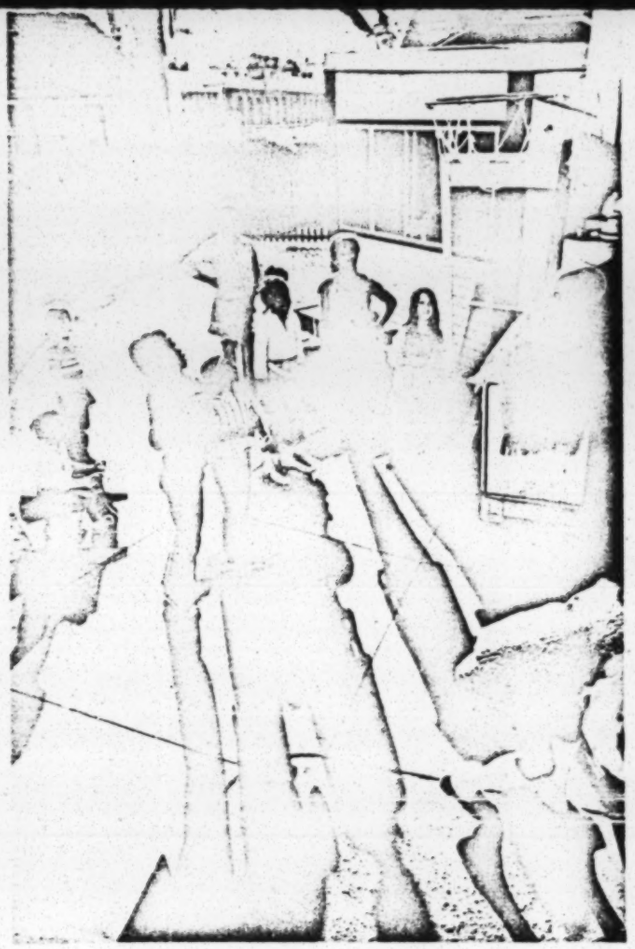
the work done in 1971 on the earlier bill, which was introduced in the Senate by Mondale. Through a series of hearings before the Mondale Subcommittee on Children and Youth, a persuasive case was made by professionals in the field of child development as well as concerned representatives of private organizations for the need for federal legislation in this field. After full deliberation in the subscommittee and the full Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, the Child Development bill was made part of a bill to extend the life of the Office of Economic Opportunity. On the committee's unanimous recommendation, the Senate adopted this measure in September last year.

In the House, a child development bill introduced by Rep. Brademas and 97 other House members was added as an amendment to the OEO extension bill on the floor of the House in September 1971.

The House and Senate bills were similar in many respects. They both established a system of federally funded comprehensive child care services, emphasizing health, educational, nutritional and social developmental components. Both bills gave priority to children from disadvantaged families—for poor families, the services were free; families above low-income levels would pay fees. Both bills included a diversity of programs which could be provided depending on the need for such services in individual localities. This range of programs included those for infants to 14-year-olds; full or part-time care, night care and after-school programs. Both bills emphasized local control of programs through a prime sponsorship mechanism which would have allowed small units of local government to become day care sponsors for their localities. And both emphasized, through participation on local program councils, the involvement of parents in the planning and monitoring of child care programs in their communities. The Senate bill cited a specific funding request of $2 billion; the House bill called for an open-ended authorization of funds.

It was clear early in the consideration of this legislation that the Nixon Administration had serious reservations about embarking on a major new social program such as envisioned in the child development bills. The Administration opposition was based in large part on an unwillingness to spend additional federal monies for a program of this magnitude. The Administration had already taken its stand on child care in their welfare reform proposals, which called for $750 million for day care services for the children of welfare mothers who would be required to accept work or training under the terms of the welfare legislation. As a consequence, the Administration made little effort to seriously involve itself in the design of the legislation as it made its way through Congress.

Republican members of both the House and Senate did do battle over some of the provisions of the child care bills. The principal battlefield was the issue of the involvement of the states in the operation of the programs. The proponents of the legislation were

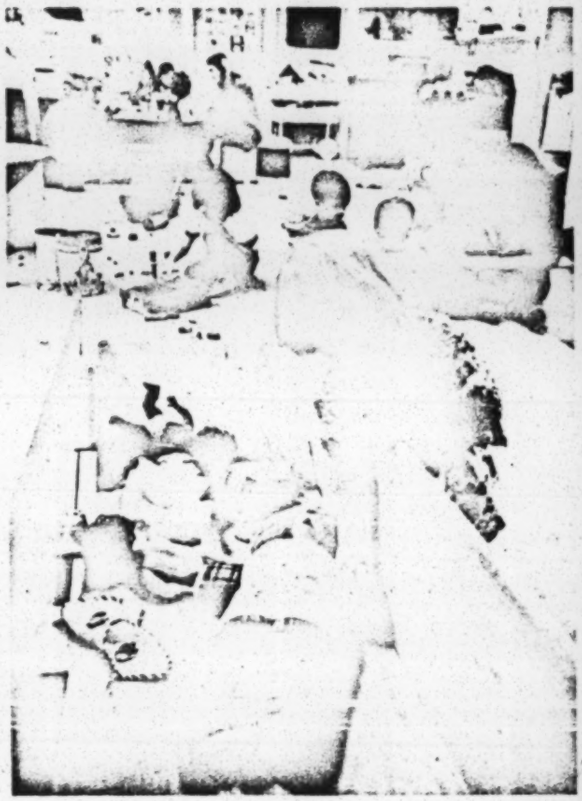


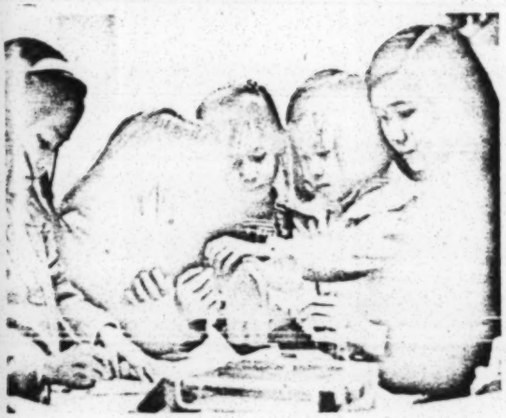
strongly opposed to funneling the child care monies into state-run child care operations. States had not shown particular interest or motivation in the child care field under existing legislation; there was no reason to think they would improve appreciably in this respect with the passage of new child care legislation.

Also, the bill's proponents felt strongly that local sponsorship of programs would permit the best kind of parental participation, another issue which created controversy. Some attempts were made to reduce the parents' role in the planning and operation of child care programs to merely advisory ones. These efforts were largely unsuccessful.

Also at issue was the level at which free services were to be provided. The proponents of the legislation argued strongly that families with incomes that were low but still above the government-defined poverty line should be given an opportunity for free services under this legislation in order to obtain a socially desirable economic mix of children in the centers.

It was at the point of the conference committee meetings to iron out the differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill that Administration displeasure became a serious obstacle. The Republican conferees warned that the bill was in for a veto on the grounds of high cost, too high an income figure for free services and too much local and parent control. The conference finally agreed on a bill, but three of five Senate Republicans and five of six House Republicans did not sign the conference report.





The conference report on the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971 retained strong parental involvement in program planning, authorized $2 billion for program operation, allowed localities with populations of 5,000 or more to be designated as prime sponsors and made services free to families of four below the $4,320 income level, with fee schedules established above that income figure. The conference report passed both houses overwhelmingly—and the child care bill went to the White House as part of the renewal of the poverty program.

A major effort was mounted by the coalition of private organizations to urge the President to sign the bill, but on Dec. 9, 1971, President Nixon vetoed the legislation and issued one of the most controversial veto messages of recent days. In it, he made several points with regard to the child care program which were hotly disputed by the proponents of the legislation. The President stated in his veto message that the child development legislation had been passed "in the absence of a great national debate upon its merits" and that "neither the immediate need nor desirability of a national child development program . . . had been demonstrated."

Critics of the President's veto were quick to point out that comprehensive child development legislation had been the No. 1 priority recommendation, after thorough discussion and debate, of the participants in the President's own White House Conference on Children, representing national organizations with broad constituencies of parents, educators, child development experts, minority groups, community groups and church groups.

The most insidious charge the President leveled was the one about altering the family relationship, claiming that the bill committed "the vast moral authority of the national government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over the family-centered approach." This was said despite the strong emphasis in the legislation on parent involvement in the day-to-day operations of programs and its wholly voluntary character—as opposed to the Administration's alternative in its welfare legislation forcing children into day-care programs while the mothers were required to seek work and training.

An attempt to override the veto by a two-thirds vote of the Senate was unsuccessful, but the vote of 51-36 did reflect majority support for this legislation in spite of the presidential objections—and guaranteed that a renewed effort would be made in the second session in 1972, as it has been.

However the new legislative efforts turn out in this session of Congress, the social pressures and growing concern for full development of the potential of the nation's children will continue to be a major prod to legislators to devise appropriate and responsive social structures. It is no longer a question of whether American families and their children should have child care services available to them, but whether the child care they do have is good—good for the child, good for the family and good for the country.

Quality Education

Quality teaching: some new thoughts on AFT's role in inservice training

A commitment to quality teaching is nowhere more evident than among the vast majority of members of the American Federation of Teachers.

By the thousands, AFT members have planned and attended conferences and workshops on Racism in Education, More Effective Schools, and labor education at which they've confronted the inadequacies of the urban curricula. These conferences have been held in virtually every major city where AFT is the bargaining agent over the past few years. In coming months, AFT will sponsor three regional meetings on decentralization and community control and others on quality education standards in teaching (QUEST).

In addition to its own union-sponsored conferences and institutes, AFT locals are insisting, more and more, that relevant inservice education programs be made a matter of collective bargaining. Teachers are demanding the right to identify weaknesses and plan the programs to correct these weaknesses.

The following survey, by AFT Research Director Robert Bhaerman, takes a look at the union's role in the continuing training of classroom teachers.

BY ROBERT D. BHAERMAN

They got no course credit, but these teachers—part of the 1,500 at the Michigan AFT conference on racism in education two years ago—were alive, involved, receptive, and sharpening their professional skills. Such experiences may be far more valuable in teacher education than the traditional course-counting drudgery, this article suggests.

Probably the most serious problem regarding inservice education has to do with the word itself. To many teachers, "inservice" brings to mind endless hours of unstimulating institutes. All too often, "Mickey Mouse courses" are accurate descriptions of what takes place. In other words, not much.

Recently, Harold Taylor, formerly president of Sarah Lawrence College, wrote that he would "like to see everyone in education . . . free themselves for more time to raise questions about what they should be doing to make education interesting and engrossing to those undergoing it." But the term "inservice education" usually makes teachers say "phooey," and worse, when it is mentioned. The continuous education of teachers must be made not only "interesting and engrossing," but more meaningful and significant than it has been in the past. This is not easy, however, because a great number of other problems are both directly and indirectly related.

One of these areas, not surprisingly, is teacher certification. According to the most recent **Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States**, 23 of the 50 states do not issue permanent certificates; that is, certificates must be renewed in some manner. Usually that is through additional education courses. In Pennsylvania, for example, 24 post-baccalaureate credits must be earned during the first six years of actual teaching. In Indiana, provisional certificates are convertible to permanent professional certificates with a master's degree and three years experience. Massachusetts also has a permanent certificate, but that state is undergoing a fascinating and troubling review of certification requirements. In addition to Massachusetts, the states of Washington, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and North Carolina currently are revising their certification regulations, and others are sure to follow.

DANGER OF HARASSMENT

In the Massachusetts review, one finds a number of suggestions which indicate an effort to set up arbitrary requirements, rigid patterns, and the machinery for widespread teacher harassment, stratification, and control. Here, in brief, is what Massachusetts is considering:

- **Four levels of licenses are suggested: internship licenses for those in training; associate-teacher licenses for beginning teachers; professional licenses for those who demonstrate ability to handle professional assignments independently of supervision; and educational specialists licenses for "high level" teachers. (p. 13-14)**
- **Provisions should be made for periodic renewals of licenses, without reference to tenure, based upon demonstrated maintenance of scholarship and professional competence. Suggested renewal points are: internship licenses—annually; associate teacher licenses—every three years; professional and educational specialists licenses—every seven years. (p. 14)**
- **Judgments of successful practice are to be made at various points in the careers of all educational personnel; during training, at the time of employment, for particular assignments, for retention in a position or school system, when tenure is awarded, for promotions, and—yes, in some school systems—as a basis for merit raises. (p. 62)**
- **Policies such as employment qualifications, staffing assignments, salaries, promotion, and tenure should be related to the new differentiated uses of teaching talents. A key objective should be to provide opportunities for appropriate professional contributions, advancement, financial reward and professional prestige within the instructional team. (p. 12) School systems should move as rapidly as possible to adapt all personnel policies to the new differentiations of teaching that qualify teachers for higher levels of certification and for the periodic renewal of licenses. (p. 18)**
- **To protect against professional obsolescence, the renewal of all certificates needs to be required at periodic intervals. Decisions to extend licenses to practice should be based upon judgments of adequate professional performance at the level of certification. (p. 60)**
- **Failure to maintain the level of performance for licensure could result in nonrenewal, thus disqualification. In some instances, however, when the failure is inability to perform at an advanced professional level, such as professional or specialists, it may be decided to reduce the level of license to that of performance capabilities. Thus, a professional teacher who fails to maintain competence to perform independently might be licensed as an associate teacher and permitted to work under supervision. (p. 72)**

At least five major issues are raised: (1) evaluation of competencies, (2) differentiated staff, (3) tenure, (4) merit pay, and (5) the related problems of certification levels, obsolescence of skills, renewal of certificates, and, hence, inservice education. In discussing these, it must be emphasized that these are my personal views, and not necessarily AFT policy.

EVALUATION: HOW?

As far as the evaluation of teaching competencies, my purpose is not to spell out the details of how this can be done. Others are doing that. However, I wish to make three points: evaluation of competencies is being done with increasing frequency; I am confident that it can be done with an increasing degree of reliability, validity, and sophistication; and I support the work of those research scholars who are working to develop such devices. While I am concerned, obviously, with **how** evaluation is done technically, I am as much concerned with **when** it is done, by **whom** it is done, and the **framework** and **spirit** in which it is done.

While it has not yet found wide adoption in practice, the concept of differentiated staff levels also is being considered by many persons in education. And while I cannot accept all of the goals of the advocates of differentiated staff (e.g., merit), I do not entirely discount the validity of the concept, particularly as it implies **differentiated activities and responsibilities** on a horizontal and not vertical level.

Task analysis must be ongoing. Some teachers are more skilled at some things than others. Hence, some should be involved with diagnosis and guidance, others with directing instruction, still others with "support centers" (to use the language of the times). It is not the concept itself I am questioning, it is the unnecessary next step which the advocates make, that is, that differentiated activities and responsibilities must lead to differentiated salary schedules and a hierarchy of certificate levels. A differentiated staff, in my mind, is one in which some teachers diagnose pupils' strengths and weaknesses, while others work with the tools of the trade to build upon these identified strengths and correct the weaknesses. This is legitimate, not divisive, differentiation.

TENURE, MERIT PAY

That the matter of tenure is still relevant may surprise some people. But apparently the principle of job security is an ideal which, like freedom, must be fought for in each generation. As the Massachusetts proposal assures us, the tenure issue is very much alive. For when it is suggested that tenure regulations should be adapted to support the proposed certification levels, we know that once more we must renew the battle for hard-earned job security.

As with tenure, merit pay periodically comes back as an issue and periodically is rejected by the vast majority of teachers, administrators, and school districts. I believed that Carl Megel, AFT director of legislation, had buried the issue once and for all when, as AFT president, he effectively argued the issue in several articles and pamphlets. In 1962 the AFT's Conference on Merit Rating concluded that this type of rating is a device leading to educational "ward heeling" among faculties, and that it fosters confusion, friction, and ill-will among staff members. This is no less true today than it was then.

There is no doubt that the really tough issues are those dealing with the levels of certification, renewal, and obsolescence. It is trite to say that teachers must be continuously alert to the many new insights into educational theory, the learning process, curriculum and methodology. Teachers obviously must never stop growing or they are dead.

But once again, the question simply is not whether they do or whether they don't. It is: What is the fairest, most mature, and most professional way? Obsolescence can be overcome, I feel, without the restrictions imposed by rigid certification levels and forced renewal, but through meaningful inservice-education programs or "on-the-job training."

WHAT AFT HAS DONE

AFT-negotiated contracts often contain provisions relating to inservice training. Some sample clauses follow.

BOSTON: "Inservice meetings shall be programed and conducted by the teaching staff in cooperation with the principal."

HARTFORD: "When an eligible teacher, as hereinafter described, successfully completes courses in fields of study for which he has received board approval, the board will reimburse such teacher one-half of his tuition for one course a semester and up to two courses in summer . . . . The board shall pay the reasonable expenses . . . incurred by teachers who attend workshops, seminars, conferences, conventions, or other professional improvement sessions. . ."

LYNN, Mass.: "The parties agree that the school committee should continue to provide improved and diversified inservice training programs for teachers. It is further agreed that aid to nontenure teachers, in their teaching performance, be included."

CHELSEA, Mass: "Teachers are to be allowed to attend professional conferences or conventions on approval of the superintendent."

TAYLOR, Mich.: "A reasonable number of classroom teachers shall be encouraged to attend meetings of professional organizations each year; requests for attending such meetings shall be made in writing to the superintendent."

PHILADELPHIA: "The board shall negotiate with local area colleges for an extension of inservice training in cooperation with the colleges whereby such course work will be recognized for purpose of teacher certification and advanced degrees. A sum of $600,000 shall be appropriated for the summer of 1967 and a like sum for the summer of 1968 for teacher fellowships for study in accredited colleges and universities under the criteria hereinafter set forth. The intent is to provide a grant of a sum equal to 70 percent of summer-school teachers' salary. . ."

NEW HAVEN, Conn.: "Programs will be developed, and instituted by the superintendent, which shall be aimed at topics such as the following: inner-city schools, disruptive child, curriculum and teaching methods, assisting individual teachers in improvement of their teaching methods, underachievers, teacher consultation . . . . Such meetings will be held in the afternoon on released time when such can be worked into the schedule."

CHICAGO HEIGHTS, Ill.: "The board agrees to allow each teacher one professional day a year to attend professional meetings or visit professional activities."

BALTIMORE: "Teachers will be informed of all institutes and professional improvement programs sponsored by the department of education through the medium of the staff newsletter."

WASHINGTON, D.C.: "Teachers will be involved in decision making "in every phase and at every stage of staff and curriculum development" and the pro-

(Continued on Page 16)

American Teacher

Education — Bauman FEB 1972

Two films, many questions

Robert Bhaerman

AFT Director of Educational Research

Educational Research Report

Recently, two widely divergent films have come to our attention: one from the United Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2, the other from New York University. Yet, in spite of their differences, both raise analogous questions regarding the processes and politics of education. This report will focus on these films.

"The UFT Looks Ahead: Which Way for Accountability?" is the title of the first film. If you were unable to attend the forum series in New York last spring, four lectures by UFT President Albert Shanker, this film would serve as a substitute for the session which dealt with the ubiquitous concept of accountability. This 40-minute film captures the spirit of the session: the perceptive questioning by two reporters; the attentive audience; the surfacing and then devastating wit; and the seriousness of the issues as one educational fad and panacea after another are encountered, logically dealt with, and destroyed.

Shanker begins by discerning three distinct notions in the current debate on accountability: (1) The view held by some that teachers are the "hired minds" of groups who might retain or get rid of any teacher whom they want to whether on the basis of adequate or inadequate knowledge; (2) the desire by some "educators" and politicians to tightly control educational expenditures (i.e., the question: how are schools accounting for the dollars that are spent?); and (3) the development of professional standards, the view which Shanker expounds so cogently in this filmed speech.

This conception of accountability would explore why things work in schools. It would reject the gimmicks which attempt to convince the public that so-called "innovators" in the form of private business firms are doing something new and creative. Shanker makes it clear that vouchers and performance contracts are perversions of the concept of accountability. The former would result in dismantling the public-school system and handing it over to the private sector, while the latter is a deceit which "guarantees" outcomes and is based upon the notion of product rather than proc-

- **To develop a technology for teachers—the proper use of educational hardware—which does not now exist.**
- **To utilize a scientific research model to identify the variables within districts, schools, and programs which are doing something to reach the objectives.**

Elsewhere, Shanker has written on the need to identify the factors which have nothing to do with the objectives, which are neutral, and those which are dysfunctional:

"Teachers do not work in a vacuum, a controlled environment with all random factors controlled. So it is impossible to develop a design that will tell you what the teacher should be doing, or which practices are good and which bad, without considering those random factors, or outside influences, that limit the performance of even the best teachers. The individual student, his family, his socioeconomic background and the school system itself, must all be held accountable in degrees yet to be determined for everyone involved."

In an earlier address, Shanker made a similar point: "These gimmicks (performance contracts and vouchers) should be rejected, for unlike many educational experiments which can be tried and, if they fail, be rejected—these experiments which reduce the commitments of government to education and which move the schools from the public to the private sector are, like experiments with hard drugs, irreversible. Our public schools, with all their faults, are worth keeping, and their improvement will come, not from gimmicks but from the same type of slow, painful, unrestricted, free, scientific inquiry that brought other areas of human concern into the modern world."

No teacher union, indeed no one in education, can escape the threats of performance contracts and vouchers. Neither can they avoid accountability. As Shanker has stated so precisely elsewhere, "Where accountability is concerned, no man is an island."

ALREADY TOO LATE?

"Inside Out" is the title of the second film. Whereas the underlying basic assumption of the UFT film is that public schools must be made to work, the assumptions of this film is that it is already too late.

Produced by Dr. Jack Robertson of New York University, "Inside Out" is based upon a series of highly controversial premises:

- **The entire school system is outmoded. Band-Aid remedies will not work anymore. The system is not about to collapse. It already has.**
- **Schools as we know them are corrupt, for they do not exist for learning.**
- **Middle-class teachers are part of the problem and, in many ways, are as victimized as the children.**
- **Putting more money into a bad system is like throwing it down the drain.**
- **Children must be taken out of the traditional school setting and put into a real-life environment.**
- **Class size is not the issue. Changes in attitudes and school structure are.**
- **Schools do not need any more piecemeal innovations but rather total renovations.**
- **One does not need to be a licensed teacher in order to be effective.**
- **The public can save money by not building any more schools. Space is not the problem: the city is the school.**

The bulk of the film then, quite logically, is about the Parkway Program in Philadelphia, often referred to as the "School without Walls." Parkway certainly has something going for it. However, in this exceedingly uncritical view, it achieves near-panacea status.

The oversimplification of the Parkway project is particularly troubling in view of the film's apparently blind and undiscriminating acceptance of the role of corporate giants. Ignored in Robertson's analysis are the educational and political motivations of such new saviors of our schools as the altruistic gas company!

If you agree that his premises are not overrated (my own feeling is that many of them are), you will agree that Robertson raises some important questions: Do we have the vision and vitality to build a new system? Or will the resistance of the old one prevail?

Robertson himself is optimistic of the outcome. He states, "What man has made, man can change." His proposed solutions, therefore, are along the lines that (1) attitudes of the total population must change and (2) we must "get the kids out of the school and into the community." He believes:

- **We should not sit in judgment of students, if we wish them to learn.**
- **Students must see themselves as a reflection of the community in which they live.**

But in spite of those two positive aphorisms, Robertson's message primarily is this: "The system has a stake in perpetuating itself even when it is a failure."

One thing I will say for him is that at least he (apparently) views the solution within the framework of public education. No calls are made for turning

things work in schools. It would reject the gimmicks which attempt to convince the public that so-called "innovators" in the form of private business firms are doing something new and creative. Shanker makes it clear that vouchers and performance contracts are perversions of the concept of accountability. The former would result in dismantling the public-school system and handing it over to the private sector, while the latter is a deceit which "guarantees" outcomes and is based upon the notion of product rather than process. And as with other business ventures, it involves false packaging. ("Our company guarantees that all of you can be above average!")

Shanker has put performance contracts and vouchers into proper perspective, part of the political strategy of Nixon and his Rumsfeld-Sanchez supporters who only offer excuses to stop spending money on education until "the results are in."

A more meaningful approach to accountability than the oversimplified solutions and gimmicks of the educational entrepreneurs is offered in Shanker's three-part assessment of needs.

- **To re-define educational objectives, not so narrow as to turn children into machines but also not so broad as to make measurement impossible.**

"Inside Out" is the title of the second film. While the underlying basic assumption of the UFT film is that public schools must be made to work, the assumptions of this film is that it is already too late.

Produced by Dr. Jack Robertson of New York University, "Inside Out" is based upon a series of highly controversial premises:

- **The entire school system is outmoded. Band-Aid remedies will not work anymore. The system is not about to collapse. It already has.**

Where to rent the films

"The UFT Looks Ahead: Which Way for Accountability?" can be rented from the AFT, 1012 14th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, or from the UFT film distributor, Evelyn Tinsley, Harold Mayer Productions, 155 W. 72nd St., New York, N.Y. Prints are limited, so order well in advance. There is a fine for prints returned more than five days after showing.

"Inside Out" rents for $60 per day from Dr. Jack Robertson, 3 Washington Square Village, New York, N.Y. 10012.

wish them to learn.

- **Students must see themselves as a reflection of the community in which they live.**

But in spite of those two positive aphorisms, Robertson's message primarily is this: "The system has a stake in perpetuating itself even when it is a failure."

One thing I will say for him is that at least he (apparently) views the solution within the framework of public education. No calls are made for turning public schools over to private voucher-operated schools or to private contractors, although, as indicated, courses are offered by such "social institutions" as an insurance company and the United Gas Improvement Company. The only call is to turn schools "inside out." The basic question is this: Has Robertson accurately described the problem for which he so dramatically proposed his Parkway-type solution?

If drastic surgery is necessary (according to Robertson the patient has expired already), could it be done along the lines of the John Dewey High School experiment in New York City in which the patient hasn't been turned so much "inside out" as "right-side up." In JDHS, the school has retained its walls; but they are not made with intractable wall-board!

In defense of 'free schools:' a reply to Ben Rust

In the December Changing Education, author and teacher Ben Rust wrote a critique of Steve Bhaerman's defense of 'free' schools. Here is Bhaerman's rebuttal:

I agree with Ben Rust [AT, Dec.] that public school is important because it is the only chance many people get. But just because it is open to everyone doesn't mean the public school is a democratic institution. It has a caste system based on ability grouping, competitiveness which divides and demoralizes, and compulsory-education laws which not only tell you that you must attend school but also specify what type of school.

Public schools are not helping desegregation. If anything, they are resegregating kids according to academic ability (which often runs along race and class lines). Poor people and blacks especially are led to believe that education is their only option, but instead the school reinforces their feelings of inferiority. The judgment of a "scientific," "objective" test is far more difficult to overcome than mere racial prejudice. As long as public schools reinforce old hierarchies or create new ones, all the other reform remains insignificant and deceptive.

It's meaningless to discuss public schools out of political context as Rust does. How can there be "learning for learning's sake" as long as the diploma is seen as necessary to make a living? I, too, would prefer to see small classes and loving teachers, but the public schools are clearly not moving in this direction. Instead of making small classes a reality by hiring more teachers, most school systems are cutting back. In California, Gov. Reagan is limiting funds for teacher-training programs in order to reduce the "glut" of teachers. This policy is not merely due to Nixonian economics or the current recession. Ongoing innovative projects center around technology and educational testing and these are proving profitable. Gadgets, teaching programs, and sophisticated tests can all be consumed more quickly than teachers.

Rust proposes to shelter kids from the same reality which pervades the school and determines its policies. The kids who started our free school realized that it's useless to study reality without changing it. For example, we were aware of the "reality" that private schools tend to be elitist. We were determined to change this reality, to make our school as public as possible. We asked $275 per year from each student but those who couldn't pay (because of poverty or lack of parental support) still participated in activities. A few even lived at our communal house.

Another "reality" was that a school needed a huge endowment, rich facilities, and a large student body to be successful. But, operating on a small scale that first year (20-25 students) we were able to manage money communally, look to our own resources instead of consuming curriculum, and, most important, relate to each other as brothers and sisters. Our school integrated ideas with experience and provided a communal and supportive social form.

I don't find that "becoming cynical and depressed destroys us as educators." Cynicism was essential for us to see our way through the insanity and begin to educate ourselves. Reality is "sordid" only when you have been deceived about it. When you've been taught in school that America has God on her side and find out in some rice paddy that she has Lt. Calley instead, that's sordid. But once you move past that point, once you see the world as it really it, reality ceases to be "sordid" or "evil." Our reality at the school was joyful, painful, exasperating, educational. Most important, we had some control over it.

Public school reinforces powerlessness, convinces people they are incapable of making the most simple decisions affecting their own lives. They can't even decide not to come to school or not to participate when they get there. They are thus prepared for the outside world which, as Kurt Vonnegut says, is just a replay of high school. To be sure, school offers an abundance of choice. Answer the question with A, B, C, or D. Never mind that none of these feels right—just choose A, B, C, or D. Later on, you will be called upon to make similar choices: the army, Canada, or jail. Nixon or Humphrey. It doesn't matter if they're not right either. That's all the choice you get and it's better than no choice at all.

Rust insists school must be separated from life. Yet it's precisely this separation which makes people incapable of action and facilitates mystification. When you make school a sanctuary for "free inquiry" and idealism, inferring that there's little room for either in later life, the sanctuary can quite easily become a prison. Idealism can be imprisoned in the school the same way religion is often imprisoned in the church (visiting hours: Sundays only). When idealism and religious feelings are confined to specific institutions, daily life can proceed unfettered by either.

Our society finds it convenient to isolate philosophy from practice so that idealism is relegated to the realm of the impossible. Peace becomes a "utopian" and, therefore, unattainable goal. This frees us to continue making war. Those few who care to make their actions consistent with their ideas are called "conscientious objectors" and are subject to all kinds of harassment for their integrity (for "integration" of word and act).

Those of us who have spent time in college know that academic freedom means very little without the freedom to act. The war continues despite years of teach-ins, volumes of words. Certainly the teach-ins informed people about what was going on. But that was just part of it. They weren't educated until they applied what they had learned, until they organized people around the war, worked for peace candidates, got their heads bashed at Chicago, formed communes and counter-institutions. Free inquiry is indeed "the name of the game." And it will remain a "game" until people take their lives into their own hands. The free school served this purpose for us. In the words of one student, it was a "crucible" melting away the chains which bound us to our past.—**Steve Bhaerman**

Education - Governance

'I am opposed... to holding teachers accountable for the learning of their students.'

Holding the system accountable

By AL MAYRHOFER

Al Mayrhofer is a member of the staff of Learning Foundations, Inc.

I have taught, been a school administrator, and worked in the field of accountability for approximately 12 years —that's a little before some of the writing started. I am going to address accountability in terms of public accountability, because that is what is generating, in my opinion, the current furor and some of the political activity as regards the schools.

The term accountability shares much with the terms busing and capital punishment, because they all have evoked more heat than light, and for good reason. It is not atypical for people and groups in a pluralistic society to have motives, objectives, opinions, and preferences which are at variance with each other. Indeed, it is one of the strengths of America, and it takes a strong and a wise people to secure the operational patterns which provide optimum choices for society with minimum stresses on individuals and groups. I, too, have opinions, particularly on accountability as it applies to teachers. I think my record in the past on this is pretty clear, but I would like to go over it again.

I am opposed, except under certain circumstances, very special in nature, to holding teachers accountable for the learning of their students. Remember, I am addressing the issue of public accountability. I am indebted to Albert Shanker, president of the United Federa-

the system itself. It is for these and other reasons that I take the firm position that it is the system which must be held accountable.

I said earlier that teachers might be held accountable under special circumstances. Let me give a real-life illustration. I once worked in a school system which had a superintendent who believed that teachers could be led to greater productivity by the most creative, best organized, and most responsible of their colleagues. He got the board to set up an investment-capital account for research and development, which amounted to about one-fifteenth of a budget of $15 million for a school district of, roughly, 12,000 youngsters. A needs-assessment by a logistics group set up the largest accomplishments. Any teacher or a group of teachers could submit what amounted to a bid for a piece of that investment capital. No administrator or group could stop the proposal from being heard by the board. Any proposal recommended by the Academy of Instruction, which was an elected teachers' group, and the principal's council had advantage in the hearing with the board, but no one could stop a teacher or a group of teachers from getting a hearing on a proposal.

Now, the criteria for implementation included the probability of success based on learning-research findings, cost effectiveness, and the practicability of installation in other schools. Those who were successful bidders depended for continued funding of this operation only on meeting their stated objectives and their objectives were stated in terms of student learning. They were given every logistic support possible—that was my job, and I really enjoyed working with those people for not only their friendship, but for what was produced.

To list a few accomplishments of these teachers: a drug-abuse program that was good enough to win one of the 10 national awards of the National Laboratory for the Advancement of Education and which worked in the school district (that's more important); a reading laboratory in which, in over five years, kids advanced an average of 2.8 grade levels per semester and gained success in their other subject-matter areas, and which has been installed in

but I would like to go over it again.

I am opposed, except under certain circumstances, very special in nature, to holding teachers accountable for the learning of their students. Remember, I am addressing the issue of public accountability. I am indebted to Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, for specific support of one aspect of my opposing position, and will quote part of an article that he authored (it appears in a new publication by Leon Lessinger and Ralph Tyler, "Accountability in Education," which was done for the National Society for the Study of Education):

"Teachers are also disturbed by the frequent association of accountability with something called teacher motivation, a doctrine which holds that many teachers fail to reach their children because they really don't want to."

I have been privileged to work with literally hundreds of teachers and my experience denies this dictum or doctrine. Oh, sure, there are a few here and there, but no more than in any other profession. The majority of the teachers I have worked with are good, dedicated persons doing as well as they know how to do. Shanker goes on:

"This view of accountability poses a great threat because, to be honest, most teachers aren't doing the best they can."

You notice he says, "the best they can," and for a very simple reason: they don't know how to do it any other way; let's get this accurate, they don't know any other way of doing things.

They are victims, if you like, of a system that has seen 8,000 new teachers move into New York, for example, every year for the past 20 years.

Shanker goes on to say that with 20,000 diverse backgrounds, after four weeks of teaching in New York City it is almost impossible to distinguish the new teachers from the ones they replaced. He concludes from this that, with few exceptions, teachers do what the system compels them to do.

But I'd like to extend Shanker's ideas and say that it is not the teachers alone who don't know any better way, but Laboratory for the Advancement of Education and which worked in the school district (that's more important); a reading laboratory in which, in over five years, kids advanced an average of 2.8 grade levels per semester and gained success in their other subject-matter areas, and which has been installed in other schools and other school districts and works there, as well; achievement, by system-technology methods, of the social-study survival concepts in America, performance objectives and criterion-reference items for each of these linked; a math program which was very similar to the reading program both in terms of process and product; and a physical-fitness testing program, which measures and prescribes the kinds of activities most helpful to kids, run by teachers and kids.

There are many others—these are but examples of conditions in which teachers were happy to be held accountable because they found a better way and received logistic and administrative support to develop, install, and disseminate the better way. Those teachers are doing that right now in other school districts around the country.

Teachers need pre- and post-certification training and continuing support and they are not getting it, either from the colleges of education or the systems.

Administrators need help in acquisition of management skills. Teachers and their children are the victims of that management and, of course, eventually, of society. A system's capability cannot exceed that of the people who operate it. We must insist on holding the system accountable for the sake of our children, our nation, and our profession. In this way, we can get the monkey of blame off of the teacher's back.

We must see that if accountability measures are used, they be used accountably, as the engine which furnishes the energy to develop the objectives and feedback mechanisms to improve the quality and relevance of education. In this way, we can secure the student accomplishment our nation needs at a price it can afford and is willing to pay.

Free-schoolers' countermeeting adds interest to AFT consortium

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A counter-conference to the AFT's QuEST consortium?

No doubt about it, the Festival for Alternatives in Education was scheduled for the same three days as the consortium, and less than half a dozen blocks away, in a Quaker meeting house.

Would it draw consortium-goers away from the regular sessions? Would the leaders try to disrupt the program? What in the world was in store for the QuESTers?

Well, the first thing was a greeting committee handing out alternative programs near the registration desk Sunday night. Many of the greeters wore odd costumes, and had faces brightly painted in intricate designs. Most AFTers stared from a distance.

Later, the group joined the cash-bar reception. They put on a few skits in one corner, and had a recitation or two, but after more awkward stares, the AFTers turned back to their own conversations and drinks. Soon, the alternatives contingent gave up on the theater, and joined the conversational groups.

And that was the way it stayed, for the next three days. Few if any AFT members ventured to the alternatives conference, and most of those from the alternatives group came to meetings—unpainted and in mufti—of the workshops that interested them. Tempers were lost on one or two occasions, briefly.

The alternatives people, who were teachers, parents, and students in free schools throughout the Washington area, presented their views at both plenary and workshop sessions, but sat and listened, too, and often joined the regular participants in similar reactions to the parade of "experts" from government and the universities with their own solutions to educational problems. By the end of the conference, unless there was a sharp age difference, the two groups were nearly indistinguishable.

What threatened to be another awkward moment in the consortium was the head-table lineup at the Tuesday luncheon: 15 white males, all of whom were speakers, workshop leaders, or AFT leaders. Three empty seats belonged to three female workshop leaders who had decided, quite separately, to eat lunch elsewhere that day.

AFT Vice-President Herrick Roth, who is also president of the Colorado AFL-CIO, introduced a head-table waitress, shop steward of Waitresses Local 507, and called repeatedly for the three missing women. The next day, at a well-integrated luncheon head table, AFT President David Selden apologized for the gaffe of the day before, and said that more care would be taken in the future to make sure programs were more integrated, racially and sexually.

Education — Governance

More money and good intentions alone will not bring about needed reform in the schools.

Innovation without change

Am. Teacher

By JAMES CASS

James Cass is education editor of Saturday Review.

Most of us, probably, have observed cases in which wide-ranging innovation brought very little change in the schools, but I guess that few of us had as dramatic an experience as John Henry Martin when he was superintendent of schools in a suburb of New York City just a few years ago. In his book, "Freedom to Learn," which is to be published later this month, he tells how in the mid-1960s he persuaded his board of education to increase the school budget by $4 million, which was, I believe, an increase of something like 50 percent. All of this increase was to be used to introduce the newest and most hopeful innovations in the district schools.

Class size was reduced from just over 30 to an average of just over 20. Specialists of every kind were hired, including guidance personnel, psychologists, social workers, classroom aides, and remedial specialists. More teachers with advanced degrees were hired. Modern math, modern physics, and advanced courses were introduced. Five out of every six teachers were engaged in retraining programs. More than 60 curricular and teaching reforms were instituted, and a teachers' council was elected to sit in review on the superintendent's recommendations to the board.

After two years, Dr. Martin hired a top-flight psychometrician to find out whether the school district's investment had paid off. At the conclusion of a painstaking and sophisticated study, the expert's report said, in effect, "Dear John Henry, the $4 million has purchased 125 students, each of the teachers put his desk in one corner of the room and very little changed, except for the rhetoric in the teachers' lounge. In the same way, it's all too possible to introduce an ungraded classroom in which modules of learning do not replace the grades but merely substitute for them.

The problems of replicating effective programs in practice, in other words, are more difficult than we anticipated a few years ago. It is very easy to reproduce the form and structure of innovative programs while missing their substance.

In other words, it's far too easy to innovate, without changing what actually happens to the children in the classrooms.

One of the basic problems here, it seems to me, is people. We all find it enormously difficult to change our patterns of thought and behavior even when we want to. We are fundamentally resistant to change and have a great capacity for developing ingenious ways of accommodating to the pressures of necessity when they arise without actually altering our behavior. And most of the time the institutional structures within which we function not only serve to reinforce our accustomed patterns of thought and action, but actively inhibit any fundamental change.

But perhaps we shouldn't be too surprised at our own reluctance to change. Perhaps we shouldn't be particularly startled that, in Pogo's famous phrase, "we have met the enemy and he is us."

You'll remember that Professor Benjamin Bloom, distinguished-service professor at the University of Chicago, in his classic study "Stability and Change in Human Characteristics," tells us that the older a child becomes, the more difficult it is to influence and shape the development of his individual characteristics, and that the older he is, the more intensive the environment must be and the more protracted its influence in order to induce any change.

He tells us, too, that something like half a child's development has taken place by the age of five, and that the process is virtually complete at the age of 17 or 18. Since most of us are somewhat older than that, it's small wonder that we change with difficulty or that we change only when the environment within which we are functioning is very intensive indeed.

But, after all, all is not lost. We adults do change, we do adapt to new circumstances. Human-relations training, specifically geared to facilitating change in human beings, is available to some of us, and most of us are dedicated to the idea of reform, to improving the educational process, to helping children achieve everything they are capable of. So some change does take place; some reforms are introduced, despite the resistance from those among us who feel threatened by change.

Almost invariably, however, the reforms that take place don't come close to solving the massive problems that the schools face. It's almost always a matter of too little, too late. I don't mean for a moment to denigrate the reforms of the 1960s. Many of them, I'm sure, have been effective to a degree. Many of them have made individual schools and individual classrooms more exciting and more humane places for the children to function there. I think that our problem is that we have operated on old assumptions and, consequently, what too often we have done is to shore up the status quo and we have not yet pointed to the future.

The problem of the future, it seems to me, is the lack of understanding or acceptance of the new role that the schools are asked to play in contemporary society, and our reluctance to put the knowledge that we already have of the teaching/learning process to work in the classrooms.

As long as society merely asked the schools to function as a vast sorting machine, to separate out the winners from the losers, a competitive system of education worked very well. Our rhetoric didn't have to bear any direct relationship to classroom reality. We could talk endlessly about helping every child to develop his own talents to the fullest and then hand out classroom rewards solely on the basis of each child's ability to compete, not infrequently damaging the self-image of those youngsters who were unprepared to make it on equal terms with their peers, even when their own private learning curves were very positive indeed.

We could talk with great fervor about recognizing individual differences—in talent, in interest, in aptitude, in motivation and all the rest—and then in the classroom insist that every child learn the same amount of the same thing in the same length of time or fail.

We could, in short, make schooling into an educational horse-race in which those who were better trained, better prepared, and more talented started the race with a great advantage and so, inevitably, were the winners.

This conception of what schooling is all about is the major source of the shrill and angry criticism of the '60s and the message that it carries is that this conception of schooling will not work

'We're being challenged to make the reality of classroom practice match the euphoric humanity of our rhetoric...'

for the '70s. Now, the schools are being asked to make sure that every youngster is a winner.

What's happening is that we're being challenged to make the reality of classroom practice match the euphoric humanity of our rhetoric, and that's going to take some doing. The problem, of course, is how we should go about it. There are few guidelines or precedents, but there are some. There are some things we can learn, for instance, both positive and negative, from the experience of free schools and open classrooms, whether within the system or outside of it, but we should remember always that, if the challenge of the '70s is to be met, it has to be in the public schools, it has to be within the system. Free schools may serve some youngsters well and they may provide useful experiences from which we can learn, but if the overwhelming proportion of the nation's children are to be well and truly served, it will have to be within the public schools themselves.

I would like to take just a few minutes to try to define two or three perspectives on what seems to me to be one, if not the central, issue in any discussion of the role of the schools in society and the nature of fundamental school reform. The central issue, it seems to me, is the assumption that we make about who can learn what in school. These assumptions, I am convinced, lie right at the heart of the conception of education as a competitive rather than a developmental process. There is some fascinating evidence coming out of research and experience in higher education that bears on this issue, but I think today we should focus on our perspectives that are closer to our immediate concerns.

You will remember that two or three years ago Professor Arthur Jensen in his elegantly lucid and, I believe, woefully wrong-headed study of race and intelligence in the Harvard Education Review, seemed to assure that the development of the kind of intelligence that IQ tests measure is the primary, if not the sole, academic task of the schools. Vo-

out of every six teachers were engaged in retraining programs. More than 60 curricular and teaching reforms were instituted, and a teachers' council was elected to sit in review on the superintendent's recommendations to the board.

After two years, Dr. Martin hired a top-flight psychometrician to find out whether the school district's investment had paid off. At the conclusion of a painstaking and sophisticated study, the expert's report said, in effect, "Dear John Henry, the $4 million has purchased no measurable change in student achievement."

Now, there are many ways in which we could interpret Dr. Martin's experience. At the very least, it seems to me, it illustrates clearly that more money and good intentions alone will not bring about the needed reform in the schools. Neither, I hasten to add, is the necessary change likely to come without more money and good intentions. What is required, in addition, it seems to me, is a more sophisticated awareness of just how difficult it is for men and their institutions to change and a clearer understanding of what education has to be all about in the decade of the '70s.

Now, about the difficulty of getting human beings to change, you remember that two or three years ago, Dr. John Goodlad of UCLA reported on his studies of new approaches in school practice. In the course of visits to several hundred elementary-school classrooms, he and his colleagues found that teachers and principals often were eager to talk about education and how to improve the classroom experience. Not infrequently they thought that they already were individualizing instruction, encouraging self-propelled learning, and doing all of the other things that were included in the liberal litany of educational reform. But Goodlad and his associates found very little evidence of real change in the classrooms.

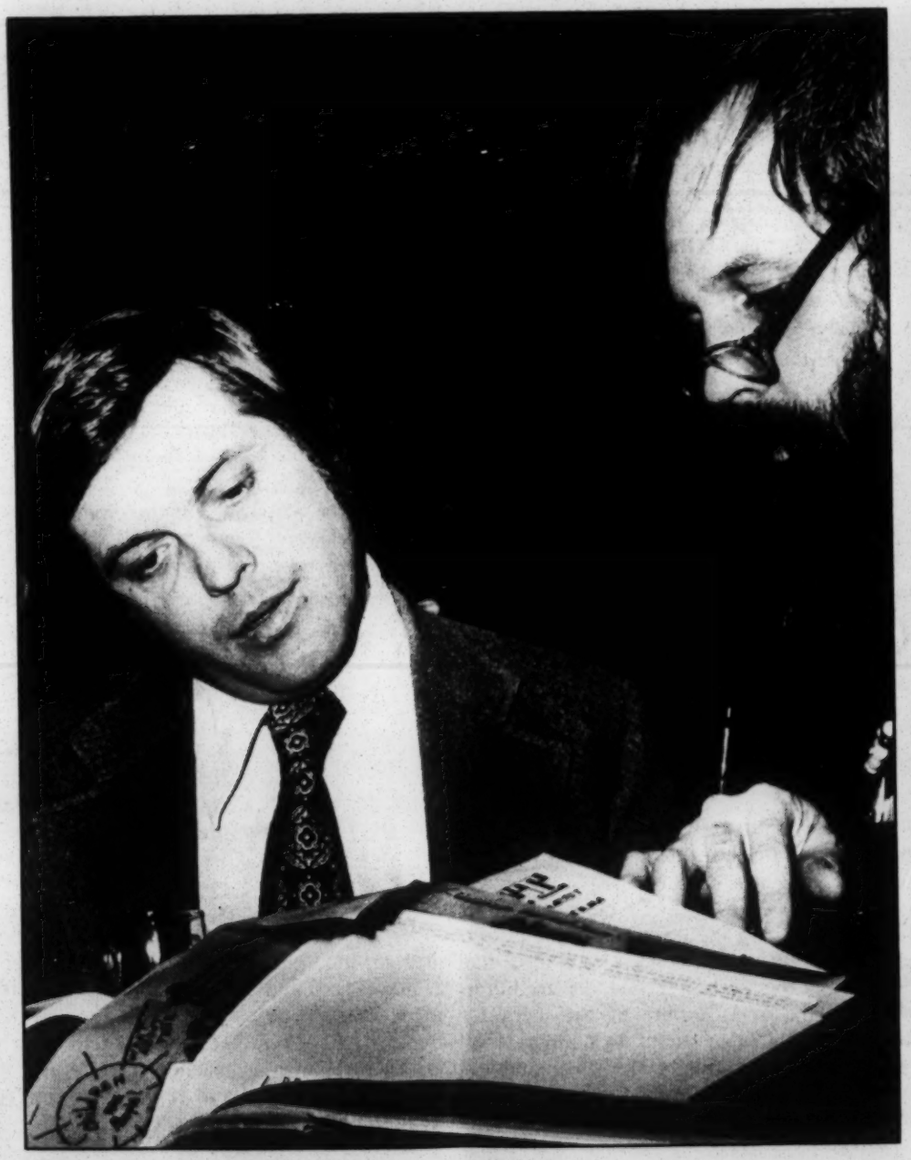
Similarly, I'm sure that many of us have seen schools that introduce team teaching in ungraded classrooms, for instance, with great fanfare. But when everything had settled down and the team of teachers had grown accustomed to their over-sized open classrooms with what older than that, it's small wonder that we change with difficulty or that we change only when the environment within which we are functioning is very intensive indeed.

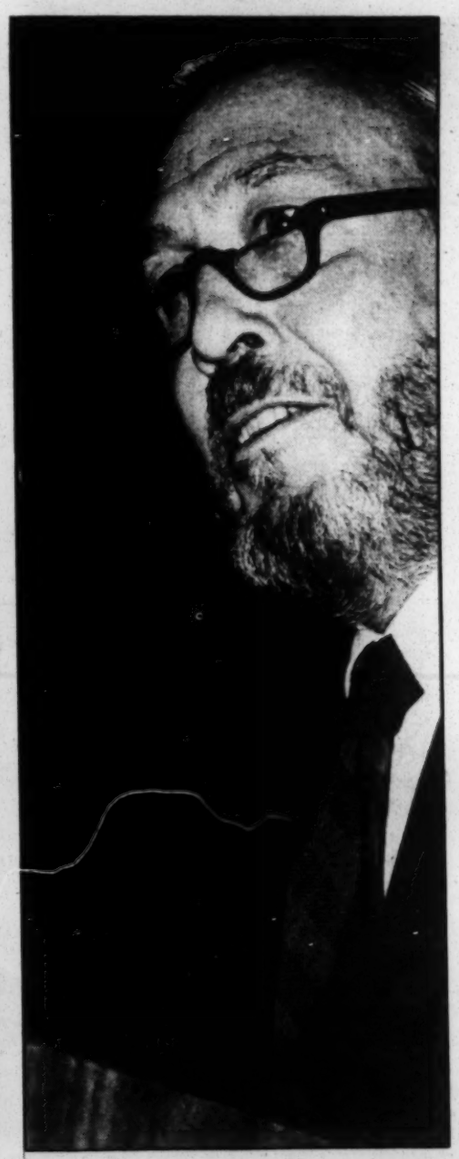
But, after all, all is not lost. We adults do change, we do adapt to new circumstances. Human-relations training, specifically geared to facilitating change in human beings, is available to some of us, and most of us are dedicated to the

We could, in short, make schooling into an educational horse-race in which those who were better trained, better prepared, and more talented started the race with a great advantage and so, inevitably, were the winners.

This conception of what schooling is all about is the major source of the shrill and angry criticism of the '60s and the message that it carries is that this conception of schooling will not work should focus on our perspectives that are closer to our immediate concerns.

You will remember that two or three years ago Professor Arthur Jensen in his elegantly lucid and, I believe, woefully wrong-headed study of race and intelligence in the Harvard Education Review, seemed to assure that the development of the kind of intelligence that IQ tests measure is the primary, if not the sole, academic task of the schools. Vo-





cational training is something else. And, as I've thought about his study, I have come to believe that his assumption is shared by a high proportion of the teachers and administrators in the schools.

Certainly the development of the capacity for abstract reasoning and problem solving, as Jensen defines intelligence, is an important function of the schools and, as long as education was conceived as a means for sorting out the winners and losers in society, rather than as a means for stimulating individual development, this limited conception of the function of the schools worked perfectly well. But in terms of the way in which most schools functioned, it certainly didn't have very much to do with the development of many of the youngsters who were forced to be in school by law.

There was another section of Professor Jensen's study that received less extended treatment, but I found it fascinating. At one point, he devotes a short section to the relationship of IQ to prestige professions. He noted that these occupations tend to be filled by people with high IQs, and that the speed and ease of training for various occupational skills shows a high correlation with high IQ. But, then, he also reports that IQ scores have a relatively low correlation with proficiency on the job after training is completed, and he adds: "This means that once the training hurdle has been surmounted, many factors beside intelligence are largely involved in success on the job."

It would be all too easy for an eager layman to over-interpret Professor Jensen's careful scholarship, but it seems to me that the data he cites strongly suggest at least two conclusions. First, that youngsters who learn more slowly than some of their peers may nevertheless still master necessary skills just as effectively if given the time and the encouragement; and, second, that possibly some of those other factors that make for job proficiency should occupy a more central role in the life of the schools. We'll come back to this second point a little later.

This first perspective suggested by Professor Jensen, it seems to me, is powerfully reinforced by Professor Bloom, whose Learning for Mastery program, I'm sure, is familiar to many of you. Going a bit beyond what I have heard him say, or have read that he has said, in an address at the inauguration of Dean James Doi at the College of Education at the University of Rochester a few weeks ago, Professor Bloom re-

'As long as society merely asked the schools...to separate out the winners from the losers, a competitive system worked very well.'

reveal that as high as 90 percent of the students can learn these school subjects up to the same standard that only the top 10 percent of the students have been learning under usual conditions. As this research proceeds, special conditions have been discovered under which both the level of learning and the rate of learning become much the same from student to student. That is, there is growing evidence that much of what we have termed individual differences in school learning is the effect of particular school conditions rather than of basic differences in the capabilities of the students. As we learn more about how individual differences in school learning are maximized, our responsibility for the learning of students will become greater and greater."

Now, I find that pretty heady stuff, and certainly it strikes very directly at the heart of the assumptions we've been accustomed to make about who can learn what in school, as well as about who is responsible for failure. It also, I believe, points the direction which a fundamental rethinking of what schools are all about must take for the 1970s.

For a moment, I would like to turn back to our discussion of Professor Jensen and those factors that make for job proficiency but do not bear a high correlation with the kind of intelligence measured by IQ tests. What are these qualities, and what can the schools do about them? I must admit that no highly informed researchers confided the answer to me. This is one of the questions that I hope to spend a great deal of my time pursuing in the course of the next year or two. It does seem that simple logic would indicate that they are the qualities that make for effective human beings, and if the schools are to start living up to their educational rhetoric of the last generation, they're going to have to find means for encouraging the development of these qualities—all of which, of course, is so cosmically general that it's no practical help

will measure the ability of individuals to

able to measure so far. It may even be

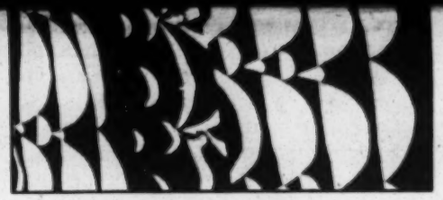
fessor Jensen, it seems to me, is powerfully reinforced by Professor Bloom, whose Learning for Mastery program, I'm sure, is familiar to many of you. Going a bit beyond what I have heard him say, or have read that he has said, in an address at the inauguration of Dean James Doi at the College of Education at the University of Rochester a few weeks ago, Professor Bloom reminded his audience that less than a decade ago most educators were convinced that the learning capacity of individuals differed greatly and that most of us assumed that only 10 percent to 15 percent were capable of truly mastering an academic curriculum. Shades of Dr. James B. Conant's dicta in the late 1950s! We also assumed, according to Dr. Bloom, that the reasons for failure were genetic, socioeconomic status, language facility, or other factors that lay outside the responsibility of the school. But then he goes on to say, and I quote him here at some length:

"More recently, we have come to understand that under appropriate learning conditions, students differ in the rate in which they can learn, not the level to which they can achieve or in their basic capacity to learn. Fundamental research on these ideas is still in process. Studies in which these ideas have been applied to actual school subjects next year or two. It does seem that simple logic would indicate that they are the qualities that make for effective human beings, and if the schools are to start living up to their educational rhetoric of the last generation, they're going to have to find means for encouraging the development of these qualities—all of which, of course, is so cosmically general that it's no practical help.

There may be some help on the horizon, perhaps from what would seem an unlikely source—the test-makers. This morning there was more than one mention, as I recall, about the increasing sophistication of the test-making profession. I am not expert in these matters but, as I understand it, there are several groups who are now hard at work developing instruments for measuring the effectiveness of affective education programs. It may well be that their work will point new directions to ways in which strong, stable personalities can be developed with the help of the schools.

Others are working at ways to measure and, hopefully, to develop creativity in young people.

My old friend and collaborator, Max Birnbaum, of the Boston University Human Relations Laboratory, is working with his colleagues to develop a social IQ, a social intelligence quotient, which



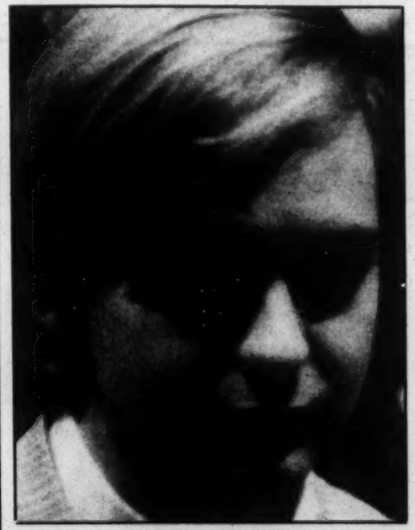
will measure the ability of individuals to work effectively with others and to help others function more effectively themselves. And there is, I understand, at least some tentative evidence that some creative programs in the visual and performing arts have been found to actively stimulate cognitive learning in a fashion that can be measured, even though it is not yet fully understood.

Obviously, most of these perspectives on the '70s, if that's not too sententious a label for them, are merely suggestive of what's coming over the education horizon. In other cases, they seem to point specific directions that the educational process must take if it is to discharge its commitment to the nation's children. It may be that we will find that we're already doing better than we know, but that we have simply been looking for the wrong outcomes, or looking for too limited outcomes.

It may be that some of the changes—some of the innovations—of the '70s have produced more than we have been able to measure so far. It may even be that all of John Henry Martin's $4 million did not go down the drain, that it did help students in many areas of their lives that were not measured. There are today, I think the evidence clearly indicates, ways of doing things better than those we employ.

There are insurmountable obstacles for many of you, I am sure, in your individual schools and classrooms for making the necessary changes. The day-by-day demands are far too great, but I am constantly reminded of the old story about the county agent in the midwest who was attempting to get one farmer to innovate, to do it better than he had been doing it. Finally, he lost patience after several visits and said, "Damn it! Don't you want to farm better?" And the farmer said, "Hell, man, I don't farm half as good now as I know how."

I think that, during the 1970s, we're all going to have to farm just as good as we know how.



Class size, textbooks bother first-year teacher

Chuck Stoll, looking like one of his own students, had traveled from Roseville, Mich., to attend the QuEST consortium. A teacher of junior-high-school math, he hoped the seminars at the consortium would give him some insights on how to be more effective in the classroom during this, his first year of teaching. Having discovered that his major problem was the size of the class, when queried about the open classroom, he said, "If the class size is low, the teacher can be effective using the traditional method when it is applicable." Citing his own experience, he added that, "When the kids first begin the period, I use the traditional method to calm them down. After about half the period is over, I gradually work into the open method. With a large class, it takes too much time to discipline the kids, and establishes an atmosphere which destroys the educational environment. I think the most important item needed to help teachers is more funds to aid them to improve what they're already doing, and to help get the class size lowered."

In addition to class size, he thought a major area of distress for his students lay in the textbook. "The kids I teach largely come from blue-collar homes, and the textbook is geared to the middleclass. The course should be more individualized. Unless study is relevant to the life the kids lead out of school, they won't be interested. I would like to throw out the text, and allow the students to choose their own learning experience, either to work on their own or with a tutor."

Stoll was not as enthusiastic about all the innovative techniques discussed at the consortium. "I feel that some of the new techniques work against the teachers," he stated. "The performance contract can only be viable if it is written by the teacher who's using it, and the voucher system is prejudiced and regressive. They're not really practical in any respect," he reiterated.

Education - Governance

PRESESSION:

'Free schools' inside the system

The QuEST consortium's early-morning presession on the question of open schools attracted better than 40 persons, most of whom had attended the session which extended until late the preceding evening. Though the consortium program promised coffee and pastry to the early risers, the teachers participating sacrificed their sleep because of a real desire to explore all the alternatives available within the school system.

The session was opened by Patrick Fitzgerald, member of Local 28, St. Paul, Minn., a young teacher on the staff of the St. Paul Open School, which was initiated by a group of parents dissatisfied with the traditional school system, who brought a proposal for an open school to the St. Paul school board. The parents guaranteed that they would match funds provided by the board, and eventually secured a grant of $200,000. This money was used to purchase an old office building, second-hand furniture and general equipment.

The school limited itself to a student enrollment of 600 pupils encompassing all grades from kindergarten through twelfth. The only prerequisite for a student was his desire to attend. The same qualification was required of the staff, who were hired on a projected ratio of 10 to one. No set curriculum was established, and attendance was extremely loose. Any resource the school lacked on its premises was sought after in the wider city, including specialized courses offered in the public schools. The staff enlisted years experience who chose the alternative school as a viable option to improve the quality of education within the system. The Seattle school is very similar to that in St. Paul, though it confines itself to the traditional building with more rigidity. Inside the building, however, prevails the open school described by Fitzgerald.

The audience, though interested in the open-school concept, was curious as to the preparation necessary for a teacher in such a school. Fitzgerald suggested that any such training include sensitivity groups, combined with any discipline which interested the individual. The consensus of reaction from his listeners was that the staff must be able to accept the open school, and that it was not the answer for all teachers.

Burns summarized the open-school position when he stated that, though it was only one alternative, the major idea the open-school concept was working for, was to make learning relevant and desired by the child, an idea which he hoped could be successfully adapted to any method of teaching.

PRESESSION:

...and 'free schools' on the outside

"I don't think public-school teachers and those in free schools should see each other as antagonists, as they often do," said Joel Denker, who had come to an 8 a.m. QuEST consortium presession to talk about his experiences in both kinds of schools.

His audience, some 60 or so early-er, December, 1971). "The school never ever relates what's taught in the classroom with what happens to a kid, and I think that's done with a purpose," he said. "When we formed our own school, we were working out of the consumer trap," and out of what we felt was the suburban aim of making students into managers of others, and the inner-city aim of creating petty bureaucrats.

"School means more when the student decides to go there," Bhaerman observed.

The first question from the audience was a bristling "Who financed you?"

"We did," Bhaerman replied, "and we had extreme difficulty." He described the tuition (which included room and board) of from $275 to $350 a year, plus one $1,000 donation the first year, and a $10,000 grant the second.

"What about all of us who feel a great need for change?" the same questioner persisted. "You took a small number . . ."

Bhaerman: "Most of these projects that start on a larger scale, like John F. Kennedy High School [a Maryland "free-plan" public school which changed its style this fall], get people involved who don't want to be, and they'll sabotage it."

Denker: "People in free schools are beginning to see their role in more political terms. You can't just start an alternative school and assume it will survive by its beliefs alone. You have to deal with all the incredible regulations, steel doors, parking space, etc., things which keep young people from renting their own houses, the compulsory-schooling laws. You have to call it a school. I don't think it's enough to seize control of existing public schools, and say that's enough. One of the destructive things about public school is the relationships between teachers and students."

A man sitting on the floor chimed in, "Don't hunt for the sole answer. If free schools say they have an answer . . . people don't have the guts to fight for it when they're in . . ."

And a woman from Philadelphia: "We can question."

"It sounds like an escape from integrated schools, and is it an excuse to take public monies from public schools," said a teacher from New York City.

Denker: "As a public-school teacher, you're the legislator in power of the compulsory-school law. You have to enforce certain kinds of discipline on kids."

"The freedom that you call freedom," said a woman from New York, "could often be very detrimental to the child," and she described her own son's experiences in "the free school of his day."

Bhaerman spoke of a substitute teacher in New York who saw her job "as that of a policeman," and who felt the need to impress the school administration with her competence at that. The woman from New York nodded, recognizing the situation.

"Free schools are pretty good, they serve their purpose," said a younger man in the audience. "The system is pretty big, the country reaches from here to Honolulu, and to effect change, we know we have to unite. We've got to get together on it and decide what we're to do."

"B. F. Skinner says what you're doing is therapeutic," said still another teacher.

Denker: "There's no place in our society for young people to function. There's a moratorium between childhood and adulthood, grown even longer because of the draft. Schools are fulfilling a social responsibility forced on them by the society."

"What you're doing," said a woman with nearly the last word, "is turning out revolutionaries. We turn out an excellent product for the system. What you're doing is creating a revolution. You're getting your children ready for very uncomfortable lives."

ing, second-hand furniture and general equipment.

The school limited itself to a student enrollment of 600 pupils encompassing all grades from kindergarten through twelfth. The only prerequisite for a student was his desire to attend. The same qualification was required of the staff, who were hired on a projected ratio of 10 to one. No set curriculum was established, and attendance was extremely loose. Any resource the school lacked on its premises was sought after in the wider city, including specialized courses offered in the public schools. The staff enlisted the aid of community volunteers and parent aides to travel with the younger children, and to further reduce the pupil/adult ratio.

After describing the physical properties of St. Paul Open School, Fitzgerald explained its underlying motivations and philosophy. "The open school," he said, "is an expansion of the open classroom." It exists on the basic premise that all learning is one whole, and therefore relevant to the student's life, because he is in essence, his own "living textbook."

All learning in the school is informal, done in learning modules called experience sites, Fitzgerald explained. The learning takes place at random, rather than sequentially, and is based on the student's own experiences, interests, and ability to choose. The teacher acts as a functional administrator, who is an advisor to the student, aiding him to set up a week's program of activities, rather than as an information-giver. It is a child-centered school, and there is no pass or fail, and no grades. There is no structured hierarchy. The teacher is respected for his greater knowledge, but is in no way an authority figure. Decisions on school policy are made by the entire staff at biweekly staff meetings, which are themselves optional, though well attended. The staff is advised by a council composed of two community people, two parents, two members of the staff and 10 students.

After Fitzgerald's talk, Donald Burns, member of the Seattle Federation of Teachers, Local 200, and teacher on the staff of the Seattle Alternative School, compared his school's setup to the St. Paul School. Burns is a teacher of many

schools' on the outside

"I don't think public-school teachers and those in free schools should see each other as antagonists, as they often do," said Joel Denker, who had come to an 8 a.m. QuEST consortium presession to talk about his experiences in both kinds of schools.

His audience, some 60 or so early-rising conference-goers, munched rolls, drank coffee, and tried to get over the chip on its collective shoulder, some bending to the task by sitting on the carpet of the hotel meeting room.

Denker and Steve Bhaerman, his co-author of a book on their two-year experience running a free school in the Washington, D.C., area, appeared a little more slicked-up than usual (Bhaerman was wearing a suit), apparently trying to meet the audience at least halfway. But despite all this, some observers felt a certain tension remained.

Denker continued, speaking of his hope for an "interchange," in which teachers and students would go to a public school, then to a free school, then back, which he recommended to achieve a feeling of "security."

"When I taught in a public school, I felt insecure, boxed in," he said, recounting his problems with student and teacher freedoms at a suburban Maryland school. "When we were in a free school, the responsibility was up to us. We learned how to have responsibility, and how to fail.

"People in public schools tend to internalize their anger," he said, "to take it all out on themselves, or they externalize —blame it all on someone else." Denker emphasized his belief, clearly stated in his chapters in the book, "No Particular Place to Go: The Making of a Free High School" (Simon and Schuster, 1972), that the free-school experience was one of self-discovery for both teachers and students.

Bhaerman described his experiences as a Teacher Corps intern in an inner-city Washington school (see American Teach-

with all the incredible regulations, steel doors, parking space, etc., things which keep young people from renting their own houses, the compulsory-schooling laws. You have to call it a school. I don't think it's enough to seize control of existing public schools, and say that's enough. One of the destructive things about public school is the relationships between teachers and students."

A man sitting on the floor chimed in, "Don't hunt for the sole answer. If free schools say they have an answer . . .

ciety for young people to function. There's a moratorium between childhood and adulthood, grown even longer because of the draft. Schools are fulfilling a social responsibility forced on them by the society."

"What you're doing," said a woman with nearly the last word, "is turning out revolutionaries. We turn out an excellent product for the system. What you're doing is creating a revolution. You're getting your children ready for very uncomfortable lives."

Discipline: 'Involve the family'

Zelma Harmon and **Sylvia Shufenthal** were among the many experienced teachers attending the QuEST consortium. Both women, now members of AFT Local 2, have been teaching in the New York City public-school system for more than 20 years. Their attitude toward education is one of progression, they feel that a good teacher never ceases to learn the art and craft of teaching. According to Harmon, the consortium provided the opportunity to "discuss education with other teachers, to help me plan new techniques and be effective in their use."

Some of the new techniques, however, elicited a less than enthusiastic response from the two teachers. After attending a seminar on teacher accountability, Harmon concluded that "I'm against it as it is being proposed. I think that most teachers do a good job, and as professionals, are accountable to themselves." Shufenthal, who has taught both typing and English in New York City's high schools, concurred. "The accountability system, as proposed, doesn't really want to improve a teacher's ability to teach. Instead, I think it will make them teach the tests for which they are being held accountable."

Drawing on her impressions formed during years of classroom teaching and as a teacher of inservice courses on guidance, Harmon offered the suggestion that "new teachers should spend time in other classes and diverse parts of the building, doing any kind of job to further their understanding of the machinations of the school, and to see the worst as well as the best. The best way to learn is by example."

Both agreed that the major problem they encountered in their classes was discipline. Each felt there was no ultimate solution they could offer, but had developed a mode of behavior which alleviated the problem to some degree. Harmon believed that "involving the family is the most effective action a teacher can take, because I feel that 90 percent of the problem goes back to the home situation." Shufenthal counseled, "Kindness and courtesy, together with a very calm manner. It also is important to make the subject relevant to the child. If you can get a child willing to come to you to talk about something other than school, you have made it."

WALL STREET JOURNAL
.June 2, 1972

Academic Hot Seat

School Superintendent Finds That These Days His Tenure Is Tenuous

Tom Shaheen, Who Supports Busing in San Francisco, May Be Expelled Shortly

5/2/72

Rent, Don't Buy, Your Home

By JOANN S. LUBLIN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SAN FRANCISCO — In the school-district parking lot here, the names of most top officials appear painted in bright-white letters on their parking spaces. But one spot has no name —only the title, "superintendent."

"Well, superintendents come and go," wistfully muses Thomas A. Shaheen, the 55-year-old current holder of that title, as he slowly walks to his district-owned Ford. The short, stocky official knows only too well what he's talking about.

During his 22 months as chief executive of San Francisco's public schools, Tom Shaheen has become the political lightning rod in an emotional, divisive storm over busing. That unenviable position may soon cost him his job, frightening the scores of school superintendents around the country who are also backing—willingly or unwillingly—this integration method despite widespread protests by parents.

In January, four members of San Francisco's seven-member school board warned Superintendent Shaheen that they would fire him if he didn't resign. The usually genial and charming Tom Shaheen angrily refused to abandon his $42,000-a-year contract, which expires in mid-1974. So the board stripped him of key administrative powers and handed them to a deputy.

In February, 250 angry antibusing parents chased Mr. Shaheen out of Chinatown, chanting, "Kill him!" And in recent weeks, Mr. Shaheen and busing have emerged as prime issues in next Tuesday's school-board elections. The implications of these developments are clear, San Francisco busing opponents say: A new, predominantly conservative school board may be more successful in getting rid of Tom Shaheen—and in reducing large-scale busing.

A Nomadic Existence

The bitter battle that Mr. Shaheen is caught up in illustrates the perils of being a school superintendent in these days of agitation over busing and other school issues. In recent years, big-city school superintendents have often become the victims of community pressure—so that their average job tenure has dropped to less than three years. A 1960 study showed that 90% of big-city superintendents had held their present job or a maximum of two jobs for the previous ten years.

Superintendencies in 15 of the nation's largest 22 cities have been vacated within the past two years; New York, Los Angeles and San Diego are among the cities that have had vacancies. In fact, two of those 15 cities—Boston and Detroit—have supposedly been considering Mr. Shaheen to fill their vacancies.

Tom Shaheen apparently resigned himself to the fact that an urban school chief now leads a fairly nomadic existence. In assuming his first big-city post, Mr. Shaheen decided to rent a house here. "I had always *owned* a house before coming to San Francisco," he says.

Mr. Shaheen, a balding Lebanese-American with silver sideburns, stirred up the cauldron of trouble here by implementing last fall a desegregation plan for 97 elementary schools ordered by a federal court. The $1.5 million program involved busing 25,000 of the city's 40,000 elementary-school children. The total pupil enrollment was 6,000 fewer than expected reflecting a number of disgruntled parents' protests over the plan.

Two Busing Foes Appointed

Another indication of public sentiment on the busing issue was Mayor Joseph Alioto's appointment last November of busing opponents George Chinn and Dr. Eugene Hopp to the school board. They replaced a pair of liberal, pro-integration members whose terms expired, leaving Mr. Shaheen's supporters in the minority. Also in November San Francisco voters decided to change the school board to an elected one, demonstrating, in part, disenchantment with the appointed board.

Mr. Shaheen also has polarized this polyglot, multiethnic city—whose black, Latino and other minority-group children combined form the district's majority—by seeking to desegregate the school district's predominantly white administrative staff. And, not surprisingly, the superintendent's push to integrate the 18 junior high schools next autumn through extensive busing immediately met with stiff resistance from some school-board members. In fact, on April 6 the board majority killed junior-high integration entirely for next year. This action prompted a $295 million lawsuit by the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The suit demands complete integration of the city's 30 junior and senior high schools by next fall and $50,000 in damages for each black student currently attending segregated secondary schools.

Links to the Past

It isn't the first time that Tom Shaheen, a battle-scarred veteran of 28 years of school superintendencies, has been the target of busing opponents. He recalls a similar chain of events in Rockford, Ill., where he headed the school system for five years.

Mr. Shaheen's "strong support" for a pilot busing program at two elementary schools in Rockford prompted four antibusing candidates to run for the school board in 1970. They won, taking control of the board. Soon after, Mr. Shaheen left the conservative city for San Francisco, his first big-city school superintendency. With his departure, the Rockford School

Please Turn to Page 17, Column 1

Academic Hot Seat: A School Chief Finds That His Tenure Is Tenuous

Continued From First Page

Board dropped the controversial busing program.

Referring to himself in the third person—as he often does—Mr. Shaheen resignedly asserts that the current school-board campaign in San Francisco is built "around scapegoating the superintendent" and "around desegregation." He sees himself as the "whipping boy" for problems that "it is easy to indict a superintendent for."

Life hasn't been too easy for this school superintendent in recent months. Mr. Shaheen, a modish dresser, looks tired: Heavy bags hang under his eyes, and deep creases line his high forehead. At the time he was readying the 130 desegregation buses for school last fall, he separated and filed for a divorce from his wife of 30 years. And his father died a few weeks after school began.

Still, Superintendent Shaheen insists he hasn't been emotionally worn down by the political pressures of administering this city's school system and its integration program. The broad-shouldered 195-pounder, who once wrote an-advice-to-superintendents article called "Rejoice in Conflict," remarks, "I know what I stand for and what I believe in."

Mr. Shaheen's busing critics accuse him of an inflexible philosophical commitment to "forced busing" as a school-segregation remedy. Without this commitment, Mr. Shaheen would "have made a fight" over last spring's court order, seeking to gain more time to consider alternatives to busing such as redrawing school boundaries, say critics like Mr. Chinn, the new school-board member, who is an attorney here.

Mr. Shaheen concedes that he could have sided with the school board's appeal of the desegregation order of Federal District Judge Stanley Weigel. (That appeal is still pending, awaiting the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling on a similar case in Denver.) "But my commitment was to desegregation," the superintendent explains in a nasal New England accent left from boyhood days in Lowell, Mass. "The sooner we desegregate the schools, the better."

But, according to his critic, Mr. Chinn, in desegregating the schools, Superintendent Shaheen seems "only interested in the advancement of his idea, which is racial balancing"—and not in better schools.

Has Busing Worked?

Tom Shaheen fiercely defends his belief that integration will result in "quality-equality" education for all children. He is the kind of school administrator who gives top priority to what he thinks students, and not their parents, want—whether it is integrated classes or a student bill of rights. "If there's any support I have in the community, it's from the kids," Mr. Shaheen says as he hands a Lifesaver mint to a black child while visiting an integrated elementary school. "It's one of the reasons I'm unpopular."

But busing hasn't fully integrated the schools, another critic argues, because more than one-third of the elementary schools remained racially imbalanced at midyear. "That's one of my quarrels with the superintendent," says Dr. Hopp, the other new school-board member, who is an ear, nose and throat specialist. "Busing isn't working." Mr. Shaheen replies that the imbalanced schools simply "indicate that we have some problems."

Mr. Shaheen's opponents also say he lacked judgment, planning and sensitivity in carrying out the district's citizen-designed "horseshoe" busing plan. (The horseshoe plan divided the city into zones to minimize the distances children would have to be bused.) For instance, Mr. Chinn charges that the superintendent "gave the appearance of not caring" when a vocal minority of Chinese parents protested the horseshoe plan at school-board meetings last year.

And Mr. Shaheen's Feb. 7 flight from a Chinatown YWCA busing meeting crowded with shouting, placard-waving Chinese citizens "demonstrated the rapport he has with the people. Not too hot," James Wong says. Mr. Wong, a data processor for the city, serves on the board of directors of Chinatown's Telesis School. Telesis is one of three private schools set up for Chinese pupils in September after Chinese parents were unable to block busing in the courts. About 1,600 Chinese students are enrolled in the private schools. But the remaining majority of the city's 6,000 Chinese elementary-school children attend public schools.

Teachers also allegedly were ill-prepared for desegregation. "The day before school started, hundreds of elementary teachers didn't know where they were to be assigned," says James Ballard, president of the 1,500-member teachers' union.

The Pressures of Time

Superintendent Shaheen readily admits that the time pressures of the court order meant that in-service training to prepare the teaching staff for 40,000 racially and economically diverse children also "was very, very limited." So what? he asks. "What was so beautiful about education before" in decaying, inner-city schools? he wonders.

But the lack of community preparation for busing created a chaotic situation in September, when "everything was in turmoil—parents, teachers and children," says Albert Astor, a sixth-grade teacher at Lawton Elementary School. A school-board member charges that "Mr. Shaheen did little to diffuse a potentially explosive situation or prepare for a better educational system" at the end of the bus ride.

This busing turmoil, the superintendent's critics contend, was exacerbated further by his announced vacation-business trip for the second week of school. Mr. Shaheen canceled the trip ("I was pleased they thought I was so important," he says wryly) after an indignant clamor. Typical of the outcry over his supposed lack of judgment was the demand for the superintendent's resignation by the 2,700-member Classroom Teacher Association.

Many black leaders rallied to the superintendent's defense. Benjamin Criswell, president of the local chapter of the NAACP, says resentment of Mr. Shaheen's vacation plans and opposition in general to busing typify the "bigots" who sought "to make Tom Shaheen the scapegoat of this thing." He adds that he is more interested in seeing Judge Weigel's busing order carried out than in protecting Mr. Shaheen's career.

Integrating Administrators

Still, some seasoned district observers say the superintendent could have more easily integrated the city's elementary schools if he hadn't also tried to integrate administrators. White school-district officials, angered and alienated by what they considered Mr. Shaheen's advocacy of "racism in reverse" in a pair of attempts to integrate the staff, threw roadblocks into the busing plan's administration, Bill Keesey charges. "It's impossible to have the staff he has and expect him to achieve successful integration," says Mr. Keesey, a Filipino and an assistant junior high-

school principal, who is currently on a sabbatical. He is also head of the Urban School Administrators, whose members include half the district's 70 minority administrators.

Just as Mr. Shaheen emerged as the central figure in the busing issue, so, too, has he been blamed for the two staff-desegregation policies. Ironically, the former liberal majority on the school board—and not Mr. Shaheen—pushed through the first of those staff-opposed integration moves, a policy known as "deselection."

In March 1971 the superintendent suggested "deselecting," or demoting, a number of administrators on a strict seniority basis to reduce the top-heavy bureaucracy. But the board president at that time, Dr. Zuretti L. Goosby, a black dentist, objected that Mr. Shaheen's proposal would also demote newly appointed black, Latino and Asian school officials. So, in executive session, the board majority voted to exempt minorities and only demote an all-white group of 125 administrators.

Mr. Shaheen, who was "not unhappy with the board decision," received the full brunt of many district employes' resentment over the "deselection" policy—even months after the board abandoned it after demoting only a handful of administrators.

If the proposed "deselection" was "devastating" in causing a polarization and loss of morale among the approximately 4,000 white teachers and administrators, this sentiment intensified in December, according to Reynold Colvin, who had been ready to sue the district as attorney for many of the deselected whites. In December the board approved a modified version of a plan to promote and hire minority-group members that was proposed by Mr. Shaheen. The proposal set yearly quotas for appointments and promotions to bring the proportion of minority administrators more into balance with the district's primarily minority-student population.

As a result of both "deselection" and this action, a San Francisco Chronicle story at the time reported, only 5% of the 104 top district headquarters administrators remained Shaheen backers. "Those figures were pretty accurate," a veteran headquarters insider says. (As a result of the central-office antagonism, Mr. Shaheen now spends much of his working day at a field office.)

And in March, Mr. Colvin did file suit against the hiring and promotion plan, arguing that what the suit called the racially discriminatory practices of the proposal means "there will be a zero quota" of whites hired or promoted in administrative positions.

This issue helped unite the board to seek Superintendent Shaheen's removal in late January, recalls John Crowley, an opponent of the plan who has since left the board. A majority of four—created by the addition of busing opponents Mr. Chinn and Dr. Hopp—issued the firing ultimatum just three weeks after the new members took office. And all the board members except Dr. Goosby told Mr. Shaheen that they wanted him to resign voluntarily. In a closed-door Sunday-evening board meeting, the greatly surprised superintendent said firmly, "I intend to stay." And then he walked out of the room.

City-County Link Gets School Study

Governace
Atl. Journal
7/27/72

The Fulton County Board of Education is sending four staff members to Indianapolis and Toronto to look at the effects of governmental consolidation on schools there.

Board Chairman W. L. Robinson said Thursday these two systems were selected because of their similarity to the consolidation proposals being considered for metro Atlanta.

The board investigated the possibility of looking at systems closer to home, such as Duval County and Dade County in Florida and Davidson County, Tenn.

However, it concluded their school system organization is not like that which exists here.

The trip may indicate a softening of the county school board's opposition to governmental consolidation in Atlanta and Fulton County.

"RATHER THAN being negative, the board is going to approach the question of consolidation with an open mind," said Fulton School Supt. E. E. Baker.

"We are interested in finding out how the school systems were treated under consolidated governmental situations," Baker continued.

Baker, associate Supt. John W. Grindle, attendance director Lawson Sayer and attorney James P. Groton are scheduled to make the trip.

They plan to visit Indianapolis Aug. 7 and Aug. 8, and spend Aug. 9 through Aug. 11 in Toronto.

The trip grew out of the deliberations of the Commission to Study the Governmental Structure of Fulton County which was set up by the legislature before it adjourned to look at consolidation possibilities for Atlanta.

BAKER IS CHAIRMAN of the education subcommittee of the commission, and at a recent meeting it was suggested the chairman and members of the sub committee visit Indianapolis and Toronto.

According to the minutes of the meeting, Mills B. Lane, vice chairman of the board of Citizens and Southern National Bank, has offered to make the bank's airplanes available to the committee to visit these cities.

There is a lawsuit pending in Atlanta seeking to consolidate nine metropolitan area school systems, either under a large umbrella school board with smaller operating school boards or into one large system.

According to Robinson, Toronto has small borough school boards which operate under a larger metro school board which has major control over the budget of the entire system.

In Indianapolis, the governments were consolidated but the ten school systems were left independent, according to Baker.

Dade County, Florida, which is a consolidation of services between Dade County and the City of Miami, did not involve the school system as there was only one countywide school district in operation there originally.

Voc-Tech Ed

FEB 1973

A Growing Partnership

UNIONS and COMMUNITY COLLEGES

By ALEX BILANOW

Trade unions are playing a growing role in the nation's community, or two-year, colleges.

Craft unions in Coos Bay, Oregon, for example, got together and founded Southwestern Community College to remedy a shortage of skilled workers in that area.

Genese Community College in Flint and Macomb County Community College in Warren, both in Michigan, are now operating apprenticeship training programs in cooperation with the United Auto Workers.

The International Association of Machinists has close ties with City College of Chicago. IAM officials serve on the college's advisory board and a number of skilled IAM craftsmen serve on the faculty.

At Coolidge, Arizona, Central Arizona Community College offers training courses for heavy equipment operators. The school uses members of the Operating Engineers to teach them.

In Los Angeles, that city's trade union council works closely with LA Technical College, providing curriculum know-how and instructors for courses in carpentry, painting, masonry and other construction crafts.

In other cities across the country members of the Teamsters, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Painters and many other unions are involved, in one form or another, with the community colleges in their areas.

If the involvement is not by having union leaders serve on the colleges' advisory boards, or having members of the unions working as instructors, then it is by enrolling union members themselves, as well as their sons and daughters.

Of the 2.7 million students enrolled currently in the nation's 1,120 community colleges, the bulk come from the families of workers. These young people are striving for a better way of life by "going to college." Usually, their parents are unable to pay charges at four-year institutions.

Most community colleges charge $250 to $350 per year tuition and in some states, like California, tuition is free.

At the same time, the two-year institutions provide an open door into the four-year colleges. The American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC), based in Washington, D.C., estimates that about one-third of the students who graduate from a two-year college go on to enroll in a four year university.

Labor Involvement Encouraged

The AACJC, whose membership includes nearly all public and private two-year colleges, wants to see more labor involvement.

"When you think of unions representing working people, you can say that community colleges serve the working man. We have that in common with unions," said Andrew Korim, an occupational education specialist with the association.

"There is a definite role for unions to play in the training and education programs of community colleges, and we would encourage labor to expand that role," he added.

Another AACJC official, William Harper, pointed out that community colleges stand today as the fastest-growing part of the nation's educational establishment. An estimated 20 to 30 new community colleges will be founded during this year. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education estimates that at least 230 more two-year colleges will be needed by 1980.

"With that kind of growth on the drawing boards, we'll be needing all the help we can get from unions and union members," Harper said.

"That help can take many forms—duty with college advisory boards, technical assistance in setting up training and apprenticeship programs, helping enrollments through establishing trade union scholarships, and even, as voters, in supporting bond issues to finance the colleges," Harper explained.

The two-year college, he noted, is an American invention. It is hardly new, having been around since the turn of the century. But for years, it languished in the shadows of the four-year universities. In rank, it hardly stood taller than the average high school.

The first public community college, according to AACJC historical records, was organized in 1901-02 in Joliet, Ill. Joliet College was built on the campus of the University of Chicago.

Educators at the University of California, meanwhile, were promoting a new educational reform—establishment of post-graduate studies in public high schools. This was gradually carried out. However, rather than stressing technical education and training, the schools tended to focus on liberal arts.

The community college movement grew slowly until the 1950's and 1960's. In 1920, there were 207 such institutions operating, only 70 of them publicly-supported. The total grew to 678 in 1960, with an enrollment of 660,216. In 1965 there were 771 community colleges, enrolling 1,292,753 students. Five years later there were 1,091 community colleges with a combined enrollment of 2,499,837. While the explosive pace of the growth has ended, the growth is nevertheless continuing, although at a slower rate.

Community colleges are now located in every state. In a number of states, like California, Kentucky and Florida, they are the keystone of the state's higher education systems.

Florida Adds Something New

California now has 93 community colleges. Florida has 27 and Kentucky 22. In Florida, something new was added several years ago—a two-year college offering a student his third and fourth years of schooling.

Florida now has four so-called "senior" colleges. Another 26 have been established in other states.

Community colleges pride themselves on their open enrollment—anyone is allowed to enter, usually with or without the "good grades" from high school that most colleges make an entry requirement.

"We feel that if a kid goofed off in high school—perhaps he was more attentive to playing football than he was to studying—then he deserves a chance for another try, if he's got the stuff," Harper said.

The institution also makes it a point to be a "part of the community" in which it is located. It tries to sink roots deep among the local populace.

If a group of citizens approaches their local community college and asks that a certain course be set up, like welding, or auto mechanics, or art or even cooking, then it can usually be done, and in a reasonably short time, too, say AACJC officials.

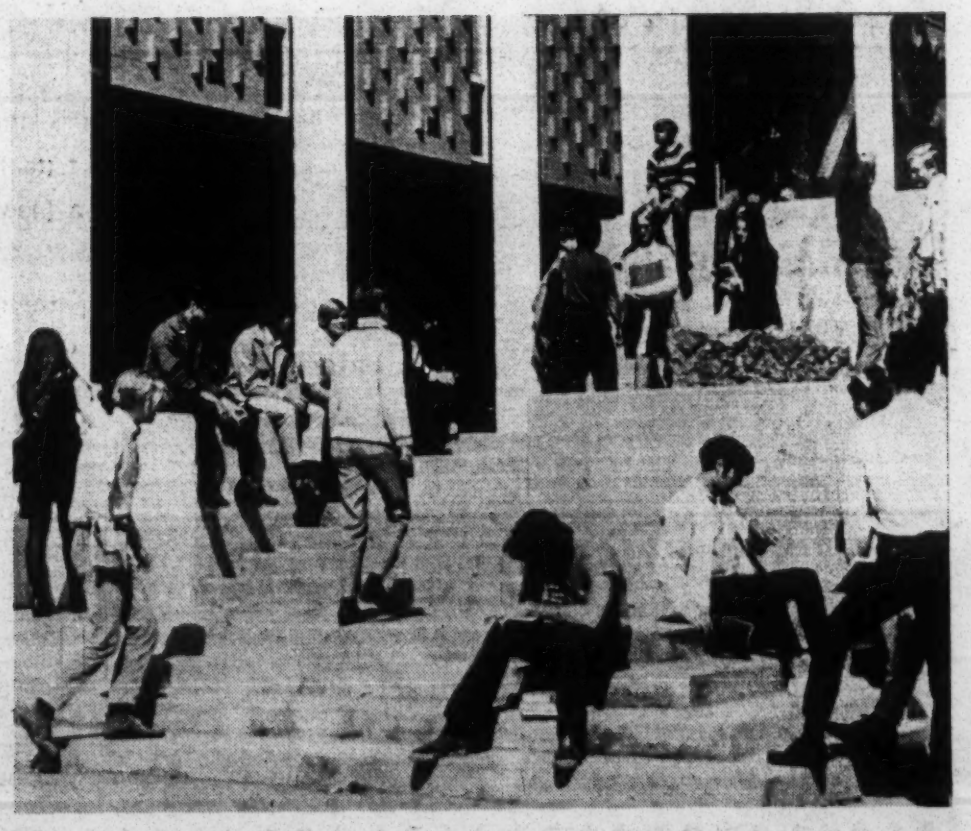
One North Carolina community college president recently set up a program of classes in remedial reading and writing when a local poverty agency asked for help in reaching out to some town residents who had never been to school.

"We brought in one of the people from the community to teach the class. He knew the people and their problems, and they trusted him. It was an enriching experience for all of us," he said.

Some community college leaders urge that such colleges be established within a commuting bus ride of any resident in a city. That is one of the goals of the AACJC. With the help of the Higher Education Act recently passed by the Congress, the goal may become a reality.

The Act authorizes $275 million in Federal grants to community colleges over the next three years to start new institutions and enable existing ones to expand. It is the first time community colleges have been targeted for such a large chunk of aid. It is perhaps recognition by Congress, at last, of the crucial role community colleges are playing in opening opportunity's door to plain, ordinary people.

That's more reason why more labor organizations, and union families—both parents as well as children—should get "involved" in their local community college. It is union-brand democracy in action.



3-4-73

Ed-

Charlotte School To Open Monday For Seniors Only

CHARLOTTE (AP) — Charlotte's troubled West Mecklenburg High School will be open for seniors only Monday, following the school's closing Friday in the wake of racial fighting.

A school spokesman said junior students will attend class at West Mecklenburg on Tuesday and sophomores will return alone on Wednesday.

School administrators said Saturday they have not made a decision as to what action will be taken next Thursday or Friday.

At South Mecklenburg High, where a brief non-violent confrontation disrupted classes for about an hour Friday, classes will be held as usual Monday, officials said. 3.4.73 S-A-C

Ten N. C. Students Injured In Clash

Ed-

The State 3.6.73

CHARLOTTE, N.C. (AP)—At least 10 persons were injured Monday in a confrontation between white and black students at Charlotte's South Mecklenburg High School.

Fighting broke out on the school lawn shortly after 8 a.m., and at least 10 white students were treated in the school's health room for various injuries. Students of both races said the violence grew out of racial tension which had lingered since last week.

Some 50 black students left the campus after they were ordered by Principal E.H. Edmisten to report to classes. Several of them said they were not allowed to return to classes by some of the teachers on hall duty.

The students began grouping by races as they arrived on the campus Monday morning, but reports varied as to what actually sparked the fighting.

West Mecklenburg officials would not reveal how many students attended classes Monday, and refused to release the number of students suspended after the Friday incident.

e necessity
ions of the
Licensing
Chapter 8,
ted.
name and
n cover of
uments.
hdraw his
actual date
Chairman
Water and
Authority

The State S.C. 3.7.73

7 Injured In N.C. School Unrest

CHARLOTTE (UPI) — Seven students were injured seriously enough to require hospital treatment, a car was overturned and windshields and school windows were smashed here as racial disorders wracked five schools in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg system Tuesday.

City and county police took at least a dozen persons into custody.

An estimated 400 students brawled at modern Garinger High School on Charlotte's east side in the most serious clash, apparently sparked by an exchange of words following an assembly program.

A small red foreign car was overturned behind the school during the rampage which brought city and county police rushing to the scene and later resulted in the closing of the school.

Four arrests were reported at Quail Hollow Junior High School but it and three other schools which reported racial incidents continued to operate as school officials huddled in an effort to head off further disruptions.

One other school, South Mecklenburg High, was already closed Tuesday because of tensions resulting from a walkout Monday. Still another, West Mecklenburg High, was operating on a curtailed attendance schedule because of a fight last Friday.

South Mecklenburg's class cancellation was not announced until early Tuesday morning. Assistant Superintendent Dr. Chris Folk said classes were called off after administrators learned of a planned boycott by some white students who claimed they were being disciplined more severely than blacks.

Principal Jack Stern said the 2,100-member student body of Garinger High was leaving a morning assembly program featuring a musical group when "pushing, fighting and shoving" broke out. He said the incident was apparently sparked by an exchange of words among students.

Seven students from Garinger were taken by ambulance to local hospitals. All were treated and released. School system spokesman Henry Bostic said school officials had no estimate of the number of injuries that were minor enough to be treated at the scene.

Rock and bottle throwing was also reported near Garinger after police began dispersing the students from Garinger. Many of the students at the school were taken home in school buses and some others were picked up by parents.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg School Board was to meet Tuesday night for an extensive look at the situation in the system, one of the 50 largest in the nation.

Mild
Showers
High 65; Low 52
More weather data on page 2A

Educ.

The Charlotte Observer

Foremost Newspaper Of The Carolinas

87th Year — No. 350 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7, 1973 40 Pages 10 Cents

School Rampage Leaves 16 Hurt

Observer Photo by PHIL DRAKE

County Police Stand Guard At Troubled Garinger High School
. . . a student's compact car was overturned during disturbance

Garinger Incident Worst Of 6

By WALTER JACKSON
and BRADLEY MARTIN
Observer Staff Writers

A group of students at Garinger High School went on a rampage Tuesday, injuring 16 students, overturning a car and breaking windshields and windows in the school vicinity.

All of the injuries were relatively minor.

Tension and minor disturbances were reported at five other schools Tuesday — some fighting at Quail Hollow and J. Mason Smith junior highs, students refusing to attend class at Harding High and Carmel Junior High, and tension "thick enough to stir" at Myers Park High.

Senior high schools where the main problems have

•

BULLETIN

Superior Court Judge Frank W. Snepp signed an order Tuesday night banning unauthorized visiting and weapons at Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools.

The order, which places violators subject to a contempt of court citation, was issued at the school board's request in the wake of disruptions at several junior and senior high schools.

•

At Garinger, 'Everything Broke Loose' After Concert

By BILL McGRAW
Observer Staff Writer

When students and faculty arrived at Garinger High School Tuesday morning, there was no expectation of trouble, classes went smoothly. A schoolwide assembly program was scheduled for second period featuring a rock musical group, "The Spurlows."

"The assembly was very orderly," said Dr. Jack Stern, principal of Garinger. "There was no indication that anything was going to happen.

"The entire student body seemed to be enjoying the concert," Stern said. "They seemed to 'dig it.'

"After the performance everyone seemed to be leaving in an orderly manner," Stern said, "and some of the students were even getting autographs from the leader of the group."

Suddenly there was a scream and then "everything broke loose," Stan said.

Terry Ware, a senior All-County tailback, said "everything was going along normal" until the assembly was over.

"I was going out," Ware said, "and everybody started pushing. I didn't know who was pushing, but some white dude hit me."

Ware said that he hit back and then "everybody started gettin' into it."

"Everybody was leaving and pushing," Ware said. "They was just doing it to be doing it."

Ware said that he quit fighting when a football coach told him to. He said that he respected his coaches and did what they told him to do. After the fight he said he left campus at once.

Ware said that he thought some of the students were fighting just because there had been trouble at other area high

spected his coleaders and told what they told him to do. After the fight he said he left campus at once.

Ware said that he thought some of the students were fighting just because there had been trouble at other area high schools.

"Just because all the other schools were gettin' out," Ware said, "I guess some of 'em figured why couldn't we get out."

Assistant principal T. E. Asbury said that the disturbance came as a "total surprise."

Another assistant principal, Richard Cansler, agreed with Asbury: "Here at Garinger we've had only extremely isolated incidents and individual confrontations."

A fight broke loose outside the gym where the performance had just ended and crowds of students gathered around.

Suddenly two groups of stu-

Please turn to Page 4A Col. 1

nights, students refusing to attend class at Harding High and Carmel Junior High, and tension "thick enough to stir" at Myers Park High.

Senior high schools where the main problems have erupted will be on special schedules today.

In the worst incident Tuesday, the one at Garinger, several students suffered what hospital officials termed minor injuries after an assembly featuring rock songs of brotherhood ended in the gymnasium. Witnesses said that after a struggle at the gym door, the fighting was on.

Witnesses said students armed themselves with rocks, bricks, clubs and sharp-pointed Afro combs. A car was overturned and windows in other cars — as well as in school buildings — were broken out as a relatively small group of 20 or so galloped around the Eastway Drive campus.

Quail Hollow Principal Vernon Dreibelbis said the trouble at that school began about 8:10 when a number of students, black and white, declined to follow orders to report to their homerooms.

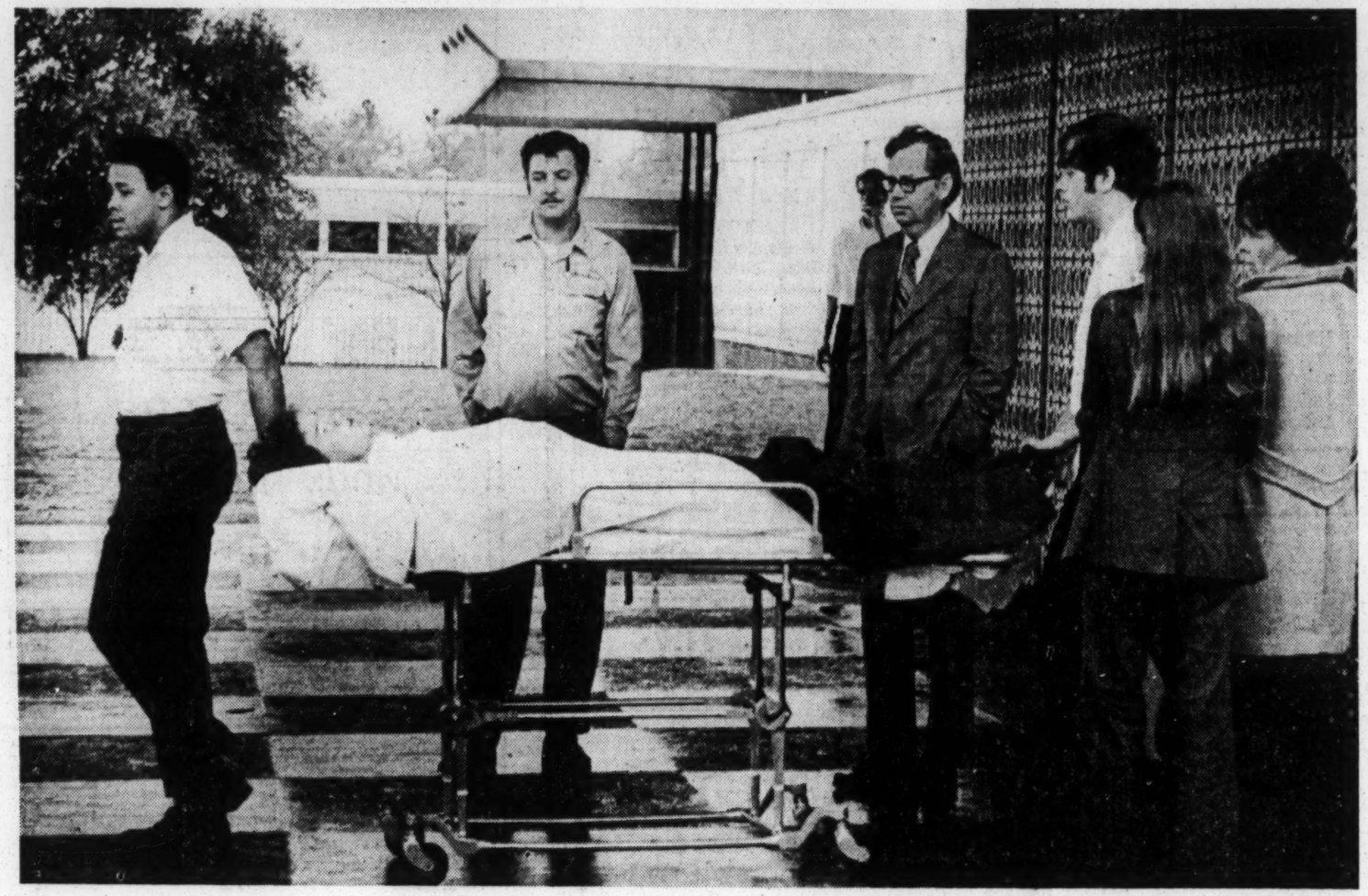
Dreibelbis said that when the estimated 100 to 150 students refused to go to class he reported the incident to the Education Center, and police were sent to the school.

Reporters arriving at the scene about 8:15 found a handful of white students leaving the school, saying that a group of blacks was attacking whites inside.

A number of black and white

Please turn to Page 4A Col. 1

Tension, Disturbances Reported At Schools



Observer Photo by PHIL DRAKE

Mike Amos, 17, Carried From Garinger High Complaining Of Stomach Pain

. . . he was treated and released at Charlotte Memorial Hospital

Garinger Ruckus 'Total Surprise'

Continued From Page 1A

dents formed. Police estimated that a group of black students numbering at least 300 and a group of white students numbering over 300 gathered.

Police said that most of the students in the large groups were merely onlookers. One witness said that a small group of black students broke away from the main group and started breaking windows in the cafeteria.

The two large groups of students quickly broke down into smaller groups and went to various parts of the campus. Students screamed and some openly wept, one witness said. For about 20 minutes the campus was in disorder.

During the melee several students and two faculty members were injured. An assistant principal, a teacher and seven students told police that they were hurt.

Student Ray Hargis's car was turned over on campus and 10 more cars suffered damage, including smashed windows and dents. Eight windows and one door were smashed by students throwing rocks and kicking, police said.

Two teen-agers were arrested off campus, but in the vicinity of the high school by Charlotte police.

Robert M. Scott, 17, of 3212 Country Club Drive was arrested and charged with carrying a dangerous weapon within the immediate vicinity of a riot. Police said that Scott was found with a 45-caliber Mark III Commando gun and a knife near the intersection of Meadow Lane and Academy Street.

Mary Thomas, 17, of 115 Piedmont Courts was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. Police said she kicked a squad car that was parked at the intersection of Pickney Street and 28th Street.

The teen-agers were taken to Mecklenburg County Jail where Scott was released on a $500 bond and Miss Thomas was released on a $100 bond.

Four white students, two girls and two boys, were taken to Presbyterian Hospital, according to J. Robert Hudson, hospital vice president. Three of the students were immediately released following treatment for minor injuries, but a fourth, James W. Carnes, 17, was admitted for observation. He suffered a possible mild concussion and shock.

A hospital spokesman said that Carnes had suffered head injuries, but was feeling well enough to talk with his parents. The spokesman said late Tuesday that Carnes would remain at Presbyterian at least through Tuesday night.

Five white students were taken to Memorial Hospital in ambulances, police said. A spokesman for the hospital said that all of the students were able to walk into the emergency room and that none of the injuries was serious.

Continued From Page 1A

students could be seen running in halls in the school, but newsmen who entered the school were ordered out of the building by police and school security officers.

Dreibelbis said Tuesday afternoon only one student was known injured in "three or four individual fights" that occurred at the school. He said the student had been hit in the back of the head with a wooden object, but was not seriously injured.

He acknowledged that other students may have been hurt, but said there was "nothing more serious than some minor injuries that will require a bit of ice here and there."

Dreibelbis said there had been no evidence of racial tension among the 1,352 students at the school during the past few days, and said he believed the disruption was caused in large part by students who wanted to get out of school for a holiday.

A number of parents began arriving at the school shortly after the incident occurred to take their children home.

Most of them said their children had called them and told them there was fighting at the school and asked to be taken home.

At least one parent who arrived at the school decided to leave her child at the school after she had found out, she said, that "everything is safe."

One woman entering the school to get her son said she had been called by a neighbor who said her son had told her the other woman's son had been hit.

"Whether he's hit or not they're not learning anything today," the woman said as she entered the school.

Three black girls taken from the school by the mother of two of the girls said police used nightsticks only against black students to stop fighting between blacks and whites.

The girls further charged that black students at the school had been incensed by racial slurs written on walls at the school recently by whites.

There was also brief fighting between a small number of blacks and whites at J. Mason Smith Junior High School Tuesday morning before 8 o'clock, but the incident was not a major one and police were not called, according to assistant principal Ralph M. Harrison.

Harrison said that only "a dozen or half a dozen" students were involved in the fights, and no one was injured and there were no suspensions.

Conflicting reports were issued by school officials on the disturbance at Harding High School. A spokesman for the school system's information office said that some 40 students were involved in fights at Harding before the beginning of classes Tuesday.

But Principal Joe H. Hunt maintained that only three or four students were involved in fights, and the main reason police were called to the school was "to make sure there wouldn't be any trouble" after some students had refused to go to class.

Hunt said a number of students involved in the incident were sent home on an "absence before conference" basis, meaning that they must bring their parents for a conference when they return to school.

There was "no incident, period" at Carmel Junior High School, according to Principal George Allen. Allen said some students, in an atmosphere of joking, did not report to their second-period classes at the school, but milled around in hallways.

When he told the students on the school's public address system to go to class or leave the campus, most of them went on to class, he said, while less than 35 others left the school grounds.

Parents who were called to the school by their children were generally "disgusted" that they had been called, he added.

No incidents were reported at Myers Park High School, although, as one student said, tension was "thick enough to stir, almost."

A school official said that a decision was made to allow a "cooling - off" period at the school, and only seniors will attend school today.

Senior Highs Split Classes

Here is the schedule for senior high schools today:

Garinger High — Only seniors will attend. Thursday, only juniors will attend and Friday, only sophomores. All students will return Monday.

Harding High — Seniors only today. No decision has been made on the schedule for the rest of the week.

Myers Park High — Seniors only today.

South Mecklenburg High — Seniors only today.

West Mecklenburg High — Sophomores only today. All students will return Thursday.

The Education Center announced that students attending those schools this week would be required to present their identification cards.

All other high schools and the junior high schools will be on their regular schedules.

Educ.

Highlights Of Assignment Report

On Sept. 12, 1972, the Charlotte - Mecklenburg Board of Education formally requested Supt. Rolland W. Jones and his staff to examine in detail the school system's present pupil-assignment plan.

The examination, the board resolved, was "for the purpose of identifying any inequities which may exist and recommending improvements which are needed to meet the educational objectives of our system."

On Tuesday night, after months of study and consultation involving teachers, parents and students as well as Jones's staff members, the staff's 35-page report was presented to the board. Following are several key sections of the report:

Section IV

Inequities Suffered By Children

A salient fact of the (present) assignment plan is that black members of the community are bearing the dominant burden of assignment change and time of transportation both in hours and years. It is also true that certain areas of the white community are bearing a burden greater than are others.

It is stated by some as fact that black children stand to gain from the results of the assignment plan and white children stand to lose; the opposite is said by some. The demarkation between the speakers on each side is not purely a racial one. Some blacks have said that their children are being "mutilated" by the assignment plan; some whites have said that their children's education is enhanced by their attendance at a racially mixed or even "former black" school. Unnumbered statements that lie between these divergent positions appear as expressions of personal judgment on the school experience.

However, there are some absolute inequities to children in the assignment plan:

1. The plan calls for the extensive assignment of the youngest black children out of their home neighborhood for ten (in some cases, all) of their school years.

2. The plan calls for the extensive cross-bussing of white 5th and 6th grade children for two years of their schooling.

3. The plan calls for more extensive cross-busing for the north and west sides of the city than for any other area. This does not refer to distance alone, but to school-passing routes.

4. Implementation of the plan has necessitated the use of contract buses from the City Coach company. The lack of school system control of these buses and their schedules leads to undependabilities and passenger abuses that are considered to be inequities to those assigned to them.

5. The plan calls for the dispersal and fragmentation of populations, tending to disconnect them from their schools and from each other.

6. The plan calls for placing all black students into a position of minority population in all schools; in many there is at least some lack of commitment to their acceptance and needs.

7. The plan, or any plan involving massive and distant transportation, involves danger and undependability of vehicle that is without question a burden; it is an inequity when it is demanded of some and not of others. The magnitude of transportation under the plan produces this wide-spread inequity.

8. Students so totally dependent on bus transportation are severely limited to the school activities that are confined to the school day. They are virtually excluded from activities, programs, or extra learning sessions that might follow the closing hour of the day.

Inequities and Problems Involving School Personnel

1. Classroom teachers are frequently called upon to conduct courses and class periods for larger than optimum-sized groups of students with a very wide span of achievement level and capacity to pursue the work of the course. The results, among others, are that the extremes of the student group tend to be either neglected or to occupy a disproportionate share of the teacher's time and attention. The solution of "ability grouping" too frequently is de-facto resegregation; the solution of individualizing instruction involves a major degree of training and re-orientation on the part of even the best of teachers. The inequity to the teacher in this situation is real; it is debilitating and frustrating.

2. In some schools, school administrators, counselors, and many competently willing teachers are diverted from program planning and from teaching to problems of daily control on buses and in the cafeterias, halls and classrooms. The management of attendance, promptness and deportment consumes time to such an extent that the students do not receive the benefit of as much careful planning as is desirable.

3. The assignment plan and other regulations have injected racial balance of school faculties as a major factor in teachers' school assignment.

4. Though elementary schools with only the 5th and 6th grades have adjusted their programs and suffered less than is frequently asserted in the community, they have still a more limiting inventory of wide-ranging materials and they need increased time from the specialized itinerant teachers.

The Inequities Suffered By Charlotte And Its School System

The impact of the assignment plan on housing patterns and family resident change is far greater than is the impact on the schools.

Because of residential changes — in part responsive to the selection of schools for their ratio, grade organization or "formerly black" status — the assignment plan is self-destroying. Schools that exceed 30 per cent black tend to experience accelerated increases in the black ratio. Schools with an assignment of lower ratios of black students and minimum years out of neighborhood for white children tend to increase to a size beyond their capacity.

The assignment plan has had perhaps unequal but opposite effects on community attitudes: on the one hand it has intensified racial polarization and its outward visibility; on the other hand it has helped bring about increased interaction between racial groups and persons. The latter has surely been the case among young school children and professionals in the school system.

The assignment plan makes little provision for any planned "economic mix" of students in the schools. Some schools and communities suffer from difficulties in finding and developing leadership persons among students of either race or their parent community.

With the increasing enrollments in non-public schools, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools have lost financial support in significant amounts.

Section V

The Summary Conclusion

1. An equitable and stable assignment plan is hardly possible as long as school assignments are based on residence.

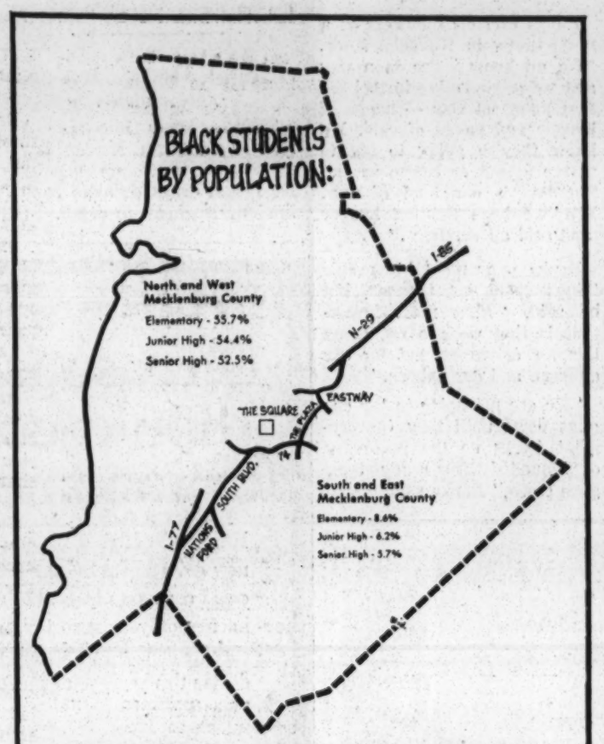
2. The school system will have to enlist other major agencies of the county and city, such as housing authorities, planning commissions, and any agencies that can exercise control on housing patterns, in order to reach any lasting solution.

3. The school system needs to gain the support of the community as it faces these dilemmas; every effort should be directed toward soliciting and meriting this support, within and outside the system itself.

4. The concept on an inequity is far from absolute; it depends greatly on the attitude and convictions of each person. To call assignment to a "formerly black" school or a school with a higher than average black ratio an **inequity** is not valid. To call the need to assimilate newly assigned children from out of neighborhood an **inequity** is not valid.

5. There is a strong feeling in the community that progress in adjustment to the present assignment plan is being made and that changes will have a noticeably negative effect on the community and on the schools which may go through another change in student population.

6. There is no doubt but that the highest priority for modification of assignments remains in the feeder areas of the two high schools that are under capacity: West Charlotte and Harding. Some rectifying action is essential.



MAP SHOWS that north and west Mecklenburg County have 10 times the black population of south and east Mecklenburg County.

The Compensation

Discussion in many meetings on the assignment plan led into inspection of the concept of an inequity. It is far from an absolute; the designation as "an inequity" depends on the attitudes and convictions of the viewer.

The dictionary allows emphasis or inequality or on injustice.

To rectify an inequality could be to pass around the burden so that different people take their turn.

To rectify an injustice is to reduce it, eliminate it, or compensate for it.

In trying to identify and solve the inequities arising out of the pupil assignment plan, we recognize that "taking turns" solves little and seriously interferes with the development of school programs toward the assimilation of all students into our schools. It is a temporary maneuver to make some feel better and others worse.

When we emphasize the **injustice** factor we look for reductions and compensations through specific modifications of the programs serving the children who suffer from the **inequities.**

In other parts of the report we deal with the specific assignment changes that can reduce inequities and establish better racial ratios.

Transportation

1. Some identify the extensive busing, in years and miles, of all young (grades 1 to 4) black children as an inequity. A high proportion have only two years in a nearby school; many have none.

Compensation for this inequity could be accorded by provision of greatly improved bus schedule for these children. Sufficient buses for direct routing of uncrowded buses would minimize waiting and riding time and fatigue built up by misbehavior.

2. Desegregation has brought other inequities related to transportation:

a. Limitation on activity participation at school.

Compensation: "Activity" or late schedule buses.

b. Breakdown of discipline on some buses.

Compensation: Paid adult bus supervision; a number of persons per feeder area to manage transportation and ride buses as necessary. Compensation: added buses to reduce over-crowding and schedule time caused by serving two or more schools.

School Capacity

3. The assignment plan has resulted in some schools operating considerably under-capacity. In addition to rectification by changed assignments, there could be other compensations:

a. Increased staff above normal allotment.

b. Increased offerings in special curricular areas such as the arts and occupational courses.

4. The assignment plan has resulted in some schools operating considerably over-capacity. In addition to rectification by changed assignments, there could be other **compensations:**

a. Added administrative and counselor personnel.

b. Variation in the school day permitting some to arrive and stay late.

c. Space and materials increase.

d. Variation in the school year length; a summer term.

Formerly Black Schools

5. There remains in Charlotte a negative attitude toward a school identifiable as a "former black school." (Though this attitude appears to be diminishing, and though there are such schools which do not suffer under this designation: Sterling, Northeast and Pawtuckett.)

Compensation: Conscious efforts have been made to assigned pupils and teachers to break the racial identity, but it may be necessary to go further, particularly with respect to administrators, counselors and office personnel. It is possible that a systematic rotation of principals and administrative personnel should be effected.

Achievement Levels

6. The assignment plan has brought about conditions in all schools and classrooms where the span of achievement levels is great and the less well adapted to school learning are more visible. This creates an inequity in the eyes of many teachers and to some highly motivated and able students.

Compensation could be achieved in two categories:

a. More favorable adult-student ratios.

b. Intensified staff development.

(Solution by "ability grouping" or separation of the most or least able is untenable because of its resegregation effect and questionable educational value.)

a. Added personnel: compensatory personnel could be assigned by a dollar or person allotment to principals on the basis of student numbers and ability levels. The principal could, within his discretion, use this allotment for administrators, teachers, aides, counselors or monitors.

b. **Staff Development:** increased funding at the disposal of the staff development department would be used for in-service training, teacher counseling, implementation of the "master-teacher" concept, and other mechanisms for helping the teacher develop techniques, methods, and courses to increase the assimilation of all students into the program of learning. Staff development in the area of "human relations" is an effort to develop attitudes that help in this process of assimilation. The need at all levels of school personnel is acknowledged and was re-emphasized in the 1972 Community Relations Committee Report.

Curriculum

7. Though desegregation has been a force toward opening the curriculum to greater variation, the trend has not been rapid and there is a strong counter force toward intensifying the rigidities of a program that is oriented more strictly toward academic achievements as measured by examinations and progression toward higher education. The inequities that must be rectified or compensated for lie in both the assimilation of the less school-oriented children and the individualization of the programs for the more highly motivated.

Compensations are to be found in the further increase of adult personnel and in the curriculum aspects of staff development.

Particular increases are:

a. Components of the Specialty School concept.

b. Extended and intensified programs for the learning disability students in all categories.

c. Provision for individualized and out-of-school learning as now encouraged by action of the State Board of Education. Revisions of the explicit graduation requirements could be implemented without loss of "Standards."

Community Support

8. There is a stated inequity in the varying degrees of parental and community support enjoyed by the schools. This can be seen in the auxiliary financial support accorded by PTA's and in the school committee, or individual participation, in the various neighborhoods. Outlying elementary schools tend to receive greater strength than do some others, particularly the grade 5-6 schools in the city. Though many schools less well supported are showing great gains in this area, inequities remain.

Compensation: Employment of public relations and communications persons to work on school support, particularly in the neighborhoods separated from their schools.

Compensation: Arrange a benefit-sharing plan between paired schools and feeder schools.

Compensation: Fund materials purchases for schools with less ability to have supportive projects. (Example: $5.00 per student to be used at the discretion of the principal and staff after consultation with parent organizations.)

A Special Statement On One Inequity

Members of the (staff) steering committee worked long and hard on a single outstanding inequity of the assignment plan: that the youngest black children bear the major burden of travel and of out-of-district school assignment. These members of the committee wanted a strong emphasis on this subject in addition to its already noted mention.

The committee made extensive search for solutions both within and outside the limits of the feeder plan. Two concepts were studied, but no specific assignment change recommendations were arrived at. The concepts:

a. To rearrange paired schools so that one or more inner-city elementary schools service the primary grades.

b. The establishment of 1-8 elementary schools wherever possible in the county, using busing from any neighborhood to achieve appropriate ratios.

It is recognized:

- That these concepts will lead to major changes in the assignments of many children;
- That formulas for pairing of schools and maintaining ratios limits the inner-city schools to two-grades each or will demand greatly increased busing both out and in;
- That some moves toward this concept are essential to the breaking of continued reenforcement of the cycle of desegreation.

It is also recognized that, with extensive expansion of kindergarten programs, the inequity will be compounded if only present primary schools add kindergartens.

Principals are continuing to search for specific proposals to achieve a righting of this inequity.

Ed. Task force member start with E. many

EDITORIAL

Ed - Gov.

Ed. Criticism

Start With the Schools

The following guest editorial is by Harold Howe II, former U.S. commissioner of education and now vice-president of the Ford Foundation's Division of Education and Research.

Most Americans would probably agree that developing a society in which people care for and respect each other deserves high priority on the nation's agenda. Most would agree, too, that the schools should play a central role in our efforts to move toward such a humane goal. But the schools today are ill-prepared to assume that responsibility, and we have given too little thought to how they could serve such a purpose.

First, I'm convinced racial and economic integration of our educational institutions is a prerequisite. To the degree that an institution says "no admittance" to some class of people because of race or color or nationality, it diminishes the chance that those it does admit will develop a sense of humanity. This is the basic argument against segregation. Physical or cultural differences among men breed fear and suspicion that are passed on from one generation to the next, but these *can* be overcome by the rational and civilized attainments of human beings. The schools are especially important, because there most of us have our earliest and most impressionable experiences with people outside our own families. Racial prejudice is learned, not inherited; thus, we need to create an environment for children that will give them the chance to learn mutual respect.

I emphasize this point because so much recent research and argument has been devoted to whether or not integration produces better reading scores or better mathematics scores or fewer dropouts among minority-group children. Without denying the value of such studies and debates, I contend that there are vastly more significant considerations: the intangible effects on individual children of being segregated or integrated and, even more significant, the influence of education upon the nature and values of society.

But the battle is far from won even when a school enrolls a cross section of Americans among its students. From well-documented experience in countless "desegregated" schools, we know that *inside* the school young people are experiencing discrimination. In the guidance office, in testing procedures, in assignment to programs and courses, in the application of discipline, and in countless other ways, there is clear evidence that segregation and discrimination have moved inside the school.

How then can we change schooling more fundamentally than by bringing together children of different races and backgrounds? The first requirement is a transition from competition to cooperation as the dominant mode of the school; the second is the alteration this shift in values will imply in the authority structure and human relationships within the school.

For many Americans competition is a fundamental principle of life, and some of us tend to equate it with motherhood on the relative scale of values. Faith in the values of competition undergirds the schools' commitment to interscholastic sports (which deny opportunity to the female 50 per cent of the population and to all but a small percentage of males as well) and their use of marking systems (which are frequently arranged to put down as many students as they encourage).

If we are to have a humane society anywhere in the world, we shall have to rid ourselves of much of the competitiveness that dominates our every action and decision. On the world scene the overriding fact is the misery of 75 per cent of the world's people as the few luxuriate in affluence. Greater cooperation is the only possible answer to the perils that lie ahead in this explosive contrast. In our own society we are just beginning to face the hard fact that some of us will have to settle for less in goods and services if all of us are to have the chance for a reasonable existence. As the energy crisis and environmental problems force themselves upon us in the years ahead, the ethic of competitiveness as productive of the greatest good for the greatest number will come increasingly into question.

So I suggest that the school is one place to start the revolution in our values and behavior that is required in the interest of humane survival. If we can give pupils status-producing recognition for what they achieve personally, can't we be clever enough to give equal or greater status for what they contribute to the school, to the class, or to the learning of others?

It is possible, of course, to argue that this is a competitive world and that the schools will serve children ill unless they prepare them through competition. This argument defends the sorting-out function of the schools, the advancement of some and the rejection of others, partly on the grounds that the toughness and resolution needed to deal with the realities of life can be produced only in a competitive environment. The argument contends also that competition is necessary to produce quality in intellectual endeavors. This sort of Social Darwinism seems to me utterly fallacious. It assumes that there is no rigor, discipline, or character development in a cooperative environment. I submit that the opposite is true and that the sense of responsibility, the power of restraint, and the patience an individual must have to function effectively in a cooperative venture are more highly civilized attributes than those produced by competition. They are more useful and more humane. The idea that high-quality intellectual endeavor is dependent on competition, on beating the other fellow out for the Nobel Prize or the Phi Beta Kappa key or the best scholastic average, is a ridiculously simplistic interpretation of the motivation of scholars.

A closely related issue is the use and abuse of authority in schools. Cooperation, and the mutual respect and tolerance that are both its product and its source, cannot exist in a rigid, authoritarian system. Many pressures today are bending the school toward more rigidities. Occasional or even regular violence calls forth restrictions, policing, and punishments. Threats from the surrounding community force schools to lock their doors against that community, which may be their greatest learning resource. Teachers need protection and so do students, but the need for basic protection should not be allowed to create a fortress climate in our schools.

There is no easy solution to these problems. Some of their causes lie deep in the wounds of our society and will continue to operate until those wounds start to heal. But secure and confident teachers and administrators can begin to find ways to run their institutions in a style that says to students and teachers, "We trust you." Where this message is clear and where the relations among the adults in a school are open, direct, and respectful, there will be a response, and the school will be on the way to useful change.

HAROLD HOWE II

Tracy L. Vito

PROPOSAL FOR A REVOLUTION

by JOSEPH P. LYFORD

This article, published in two parts, in the October 19 and October 26, 1963, issues of the *Saturday Review,* has been reprinted by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California. The author, a staff member of the Center, is preparing a study of the problems of the Negro, Puerto Rican and white inhabitants of a neighborhood on the West Side of Manhattan in New York City. The study, entitled *The Area,* will be published in 1964 as part of the Center's Study of the American Character.

Negroes, Education, and the Two-Edged Sword

IN THE course of his struggle, the Negro has presented Americans with a basic education about themselves. He has demonstrated that the majority of white Americans, in the South and out of it, are in varying degrees violently or silently opposed to the universal application of the Bill of Rights. By interposing his own body he has shown, beyond any reasonable doubt, the inability of the government of the people to guarantee the freedom of all the people or even protect the safety of their persons if they happen to be of an unusual color. The Negro has made it fairly clear that the Protestant churches in America have countenanced the subversion of fundamental Christian principles about as often as they have advanced the idea of human brotherhood.

But the Negro has done a great deal more than expose the contradictions between the actual and professed beliefs of the American citizen. His battle for freedom has established the fact that the Negro cannot win equality of opportunity until American society as a whole develops some way of dealing with the rise of mass unemployment and the growing ineffectiveness of our political and educational system. What we call the "Negro revolution" is a preview of a much bigger crisis to come; it is forcing us to take a closer look at certain extremely unpleasant developments that are going to transform or destroy the traditional institutions and habits of all of us, black and white. If we fully understand the significance of the Negro's present experience, we will realize how great a stake we have in his success. Given the recent past, however, it seems more likely that we will react by building "monstrosities," as Arnold Toynbee calls them. A "monstrosity" is an ugly construction set up by a society to deal with the effects of a problem it is unwilling to solve, current examples being our public welfare program and the proliferation of mental hospitals.

Paradoxically, some Negro leaders do not seem to be fully aware of what they are up against—at least they have not broadened their attack on the problems of the Negro. They continue to concentrate almost entirely on desegregation, the right to vote, fair employment practices, and the breaking down of all types of racial discrimination. The means of reaching these objectives still seem to be mainly a matter of picketing, protest, pressure, and litigation. Perhaps this is all the civil rights groups are able to do. If so, the Negro badly needs a new type of organization that will work on his more general problems. Negro leaders and their white allies may win battle after battle for Constitutional rights only to find that these rights have little practical meaning for the majority of American Negroes under present conditions. The entry of a pair of Negro children into an all-white Birmingham school is an important victory for a fundamental principle, but it carries no immediate hope for Negro children, who will continue to starve to death educationally in the still-segregated schools of the South and hundreds of thousands more who are overcrowding classrooms in the slum-area schools of the North. Forcing open a Jim Crow construction union in New York City to a handful of Negro apprentices is a step forward for decency, yet it has almost no bearing on the employment prospects of hundreds of thousands of teen-agers and millions of adults—white and Negro—who are sinking to the bottom of a society that may very well have 14,000,000 unemployed by 1970. A clean sweep of housing discrimination will not wipe out a single slum or ghetto. The Negro who cries "now" is having to face these facts.

The white man has to face these facts, too. If he thinks very much about joblessness and the state of our educational system, it must occur to him that the Negro is struggling against forces that are undermining white society as well. The Negro has begun to react before anyone else because, being economically in the most exposed position, he is far more sensitive to the shock signals that are traveling through the country. But there should be no assumption on anybody's part that his fate can be divided from the rest of America's. If the Negro does not prevail over the forces that are driving him downward, the white American will go down with him. The issue is the survival of an entire people whose basic educational, political, and economic arrangements are on the verge of breaking down.

IT IS now just about official that mass unemployment can be added to death and taxes as an inevitable part of the American way of life. Like most inevitable things, they are also totally mysterious. Ed Lahey, an irreverent Washington reporter who has spent most of his time poking into economic riddles, says that there are only three people—he declines to name them—who can understand our tax laws. There is almost as much confusion about unemployment and what it is about to do to us. Our ignorance is becoming more and more apparent at the very moment automation is wiping out 200,000 jobs annually in factories alone and we are trying to figure out what to do about the demands of the Negro for fair and adequate employment.

The most ominous fact about our attitude on unemployment is not that we have failed to discover a solution. It is that we have been unable to come to any sort of agreement in Congress, industry, or labor about what we are dealing with. We have not made the essential connection between unemployment and the breakdown of our system of public education. We have not accepted the fact that the Negro cannot become a part of American society until we find some answer to unemployment. We have not even decided whether 5,000,000 unemployed and 35,000,000 more underemployed are the result of gross economic mismanagement or whether mass idleness is an integral part of a new economic system based on a technological revolution.

Our reaction to the spread of unemployment bears some resemblance to the psychological paralysis that attacks us when we consider the threat of war. In both situations we face problems that have been with us so long they seem permanent, and permanent problems easily become incurable diseases. So, as Jerome Frank has said, we pretend that the diseases don't exist and transfer our attention to such matters as moon shots and the decline of British morality.

WHILE we have postponed a persistent and scientific examination of unemployment, our ignorance has increased as the crisis has worsened. An investigation into the various devices we use to measure unemployment reveals that we have only a cloudy notion of how many people are out of work. Generally accepted estimates tend to understate the problem, partly because unemployment figures are a political issue filtered through governmental agencies and partly because we

have no psychological tests to use on people to find out whether they can work, want to work, and have looked for work. Our detection devices are also unreliable: there are thousands of drifting, anonymous people who have become so isolated from American society that they are invisible even to the census-taker. We have only the sketchiest impressions about the attitudes of the unemployed—Negro and white, young and old—toward their situation and a society that finds no practical use for their services. Yet these attitudes may very well cause a major political upheaval if they continue to ferment.

We are also in the dark about the capacities and potentialities of our unemployed and the many millions of others who inhabit the impoverished "other America" described by Michael Harrington. For example, last year the President's Council of Economic Advisers reported that racial bias has prevented us from utilizing the existing or potential skills of the Negro and that the annual loss to the country is between $13 and $17 billion per year. But discrimination is only one cause of our failure to use manpower efficiently. A random sample of the relatively few job-training programs now in effect indicates that we do not know how to find out what people can do, regardless of what color they are, or how to train them or what to train them for.

Without necessarily saying so, we generally assume that when a man is out of work it is because he is lazy or because there is nothing useful he can do. We feel that because the Negro has always been at the bottom of the educational ladder (69 per cent of the Negroes in New York City have not finished high school), it is natural for him to end up on welfare and spend the rest of his life looking for odd jobs. At the same time we ignore the fact that 61.6 per cent of whites in the same city also do not have a high school diploma but are twice as successful in earning a living. Our thinking about the unemployed is largely speculation; and in all of our speculation there is the more or less subconscious conclusion that the middle-aged Negro, the Kentucky miner in the Cumberlands, the aging migrant worker are, economically speaking, multiple amputees who will have to be written off or absorbed into some sort of relief program. We then turn our attention to the children and hold sporadic discussions about saving them from their parents' fate, thereby entering a new realm of misconceptions about a new generation. Our approach to all the above-mentioned matters is fitful, disorganized, and superficial.

Certainly there is little evidence that our political and governmental officials, our labor unions, management, or individual economists have done much more than throw up their hands, blame automation for reducing us to a state of inactivity, and say, "That's life. It's the price of progress." We accept the inevitability of mass unemployment and propose five-hour weeks and salaries for everybody, or we make a few experimental doodles with retraining programs we know are either unworkable or prohibitively expensive and tinker with our educational system in the hope it will get around to producing repairmen for a world of pushbuttons, electronic brains, and dial systems. Beyond this, there is almost nothing. Since glaciers are not melted by cigarette lighters, the freezing process continues.

We cannot afford to resign ourselves to the situation, and there is no need to. We have been given an opportunity by our improved technology to concentrate fully on some of the really important business of living for the first time in our history. In order to get at this business, we need to recognize that it is legitimate and important even though it pays no profits to stockholders or management. We are going to have to junk traditional attitudes about what constitutes the proper business of government before anything of importance happens in the attack on unemployment. We have to redefine the meaning of urgent and necessary work to include jobs that promote the general welfare even to the exclusion of private profit. We are going to have to get rid of political, business, and labor leadership that says—although it doesn't believe what it says—that government has no role to play in the economic sphere except to act as an umpire for private quarrels and create regulatory bodies that regulate nothing but the critics. Unemployment is a massive problem, with massive effects on our future and it will not yield to anything but a massive attack. The direction of this attack, since it has not and cannot be assumed by labor and business, should be undertaken by government.

The private areas of our economy should be cooperating partners in the attack, if not voluntarily then under duress. It has always been fashionable to protest against government compulsion, but there will be compulsion from somewhere even if it does not come from government. We already have had innumerable demonstrations of such compulsion; the government's intervention in the rail situation, with the support of U. S. industry, is only the most recent example. If unemployment continues to grow, there will be other, far more explosive pressures compelling us to act. The discontent of those people for whom our republic indicates it has no use will be more than economic. Robert Weaver writes that, for the first time in our history, we now have "class" unemployment. The discontent will be class discontent, and circulating through it will be the inflammable antagonisms between the Negro who finds himself the most expendable part of the system we still refer to as free, private enterprise, and the unemployed white with whom he is competing for dwindling job opportunities.

WHAT is the important business of America that remains to be done, now that we have buttons and levers handling the garbage and ready to make automobiles? The first order of business is education. This is a process in which every American can participate, whether as a teacher, a student, a bricklayer, a parent, or a taxpayer. It is a business which up to now has been regarded chiefly as an annoying and expensive sacrifice of public funds. When one compares the magnitude of the need for a broadened program of public education with the size of our commitment, it is fair to say that we are still living in the pre-education phase of American history. Walter Lippmann has pointed out that in 1900 the U. S. government spent $1 for education to every $2 for other purposes, while more than fifty years later we are spending $1 out of every $6, despite the fact that the importance and complexity of education are greater today than ever before.

The old squabbles over infinitesimal financial increases in our educational commitment and the eventual adoption of some token federal aid to education and a few $5-a-week raises for teachers have no relevance any more. We will have to expand our educational coverage to the point at which every educable person will receive a high school diploma. This means raising the limit for compulsory school attendance from sixteen to eighteen. At the same time we have to intensify the educational experience of the individual pupil, not to the point at which all our class sizes are below thirty children, but to the point at which the ratio of teachers to pupils is one to fifteen, or even less, and where special services are available to children who start their education with severe economic, psychological, or cultural handicaps. A revolutionary expansion of our public education program to three or four times its present level can be financed once we have accepted its necessity. We have been able to mobilize far greater amounts for the construction of weapons and the subsidy of weapon makers and their shareholders. At this point, more and better education is more important to our national security than bigger and cleaner bombs. An

uneducated, unemployable population is becoming the greatest threat to our national equilibrium. Education must become one of America's major occupations in the years ahead.

Underlying any expansion of our educational system must be a philosophy of education that meets the need of the people in it to achieve an independent position in adult life and to distinguish between sentimental fairy tales about America and current realities. Such an educational philosophy would enable us to produce people who could read, write, understand arithmetic, have ideas, and who would be emancipated from the sort of tribal attitudes that have turned Birmingham, Alabama, into a fratricidal society. It would also help produce a nation that can improve itself and anticipate change instead of simply starting violently whenever something jolts the status quo. It would help generate a social and political atmosphere in which people consider technological and social and political changes as promises or opportunities instead of "menaces," "threats," and "impending catastrophes." We would gradually condition ourselves to the point where we would shed our old skins as soon as they ceased to fit, instead of enduring them until the itching drove us crazy.

We might recognize more generally the fact that the misuse or disuse of human beings is caused by miscalculations and poor education and not by immutable economic "laws." If we wish to write off the Negro "problem," as it is called, as insoluble because we think Negroes are generally disqualified by lack of education and the attendant lack of incentive, we also have a responsibility to provide an educational system that is able, among other things, to deal with the causes of these misfortunes. If, in contrast, we consider that racial discrimination against Negroes is responsible for a great deal of their joblessness, an educational system should be able to handle that situation, too. If we view somebody without a job as a casualty of a mindless technology, we can set about the task of putting a mind back into the technology.

Apparently the only way of getting Americans to think seriously about education is to frighten them into it. This should not be difficult in the atmosphere of today's Negro discontent. There is no question that racial tensions are eventually going to make life impossible for all of us unless we develop an educational program that enables the Negro to enter our society and the white man to place a high value on his entry. It should be fairly obvious that education is the only method by which we can overcome our institutionalized system of cheating Negroes, halt the growth of a public welfare community, and slow down the emergence of a new group of aliens, the teen-age school dropouts. We are either going to broaden the boundaries of America to include the exiles, or most of us are going to be joining them.

Part 2 — The First Order of Business

IN ADDITION to undermining a feudal social order, the nonviolent movement to desegregate the South has produced some problems for the civil rights movement elsewhere. Northern integration leaders, with a history of association with both the Negro and white communities, reacted defensively to the growth of a dramatic Southern movement based almost entirely on the Negro, especially when it seemed as if Martin Luther King and the other Southern militants might dominate the integration struggle and attract financial support that might otherwise go to the older civil rights groups in the North. Some Northern integration leaders for a while even attempted to discredit King's motives and belittle his efforts. However, the most enduring and unfortunate result of their defensiveness was an apparent decision that they had to compete with King by imitating him, by reconstructing the atmosphere of the Southern revolt in a Northern setting.

The effect of the Northern groups' resolution to be aggressively and spectacularly militant has been that in city after city, from Portland, Oregon, to Boston, civil rights campaigns have often tended to obscure or ignore the major problems of the Northern Negro and the causes of his special difficulties. Demonstrations seem to have been based mainly on the assumption that for every injustice there is a guilty party and that once the culprits are disposed of, the problem is solved. The assumption is far more realistic in Mississippi than it is in New York City, but it explains why civil rights groups have freely charged that the educational problems of the city's Negroes are mainly the result of a Board of Education that is deliberately segregating the school system along racial lines. Pinning the blame on someone for a situation may make it easier to organize a picket line and issue releases, but in many cases the operation has turned out to be a waste of time and energy that might have been spent on developing workable programs to get the urban Negro out of the slum, into a job, and onto a voting list.

Picketing, protest, and pressure are obviously necessary to the civil rights movement. Direct action should certainly not be de-emphasized, but it could be applied more selectively so that well-meaning people are not sent out to lie down on highways because a city's park department hasn't hired enough Negroes. In both South and North the demonstrations have, in somewhat different ways, spearheaded the drive for racial justice. Aimed at the construction unions, discriminatory landlords and employers, and ineffective public officials, direct action has cracked a number of Northern roadblocks to theoretical equality for the Negro. The fact remains that real equality depends on his achieving political and economic power. In the North the biggest and most intractable obstacle to gaining that power is no longer racial discrimination; it is a general crisis of unemployment and a breakdown of our system of public education. This fact explains why, unless conditions are changed, relatively few Negroes have benefited or will benefit in their lifetime from the civil rights victories that are being won. At present the Negro "revolution" is not a revolution

at all: it is a limited action carried on within the framework of a stagnating economic and political system that is incapable of letting the Negro live like a free man even when it finally recognizes his right to do so.

What is the Negro's situation today, nine years after the Supreme Court's ruling on school desegregation? For one thing, he is steadily losing ground to the white man in terms of annual income. In 1950 the average Negro family income was $1,519 less than the white, while in 1961 the gap had increased to $2,662. More than 75 per cent of Negro families earn less than the $5,981 average annual income of whites, and 60 per cent of Negro families earn less than $4,000 per year. Employment prospects of Negroes are declining at an accelerating rate because of educational difficulties and the spread of automation. Factory and service jobs, the Negro's chief source of employment, are being automated out of existence at rates estimated to be anywhere from 17,000 to 40,000 a week. Despite token integration of the schools in the South and a slowly growing awareness of the Negro's educational needs in the North, the school system in which most Negro children are caught is just about as inadequate and black as it was before "separate but equal" schools were called unconstitutional. The probability is that the schools are even worse, because of the increasing shortage of classrooms and teachers, and the growth in school population.

A particularly disturbing development is the growth of an enormous colony of unemployed adolescents in our large cities. Thomas J. Watson, chairman of the board of International Business Machines, gives this thumbnail sketch of the problem:

> The United States today has 800,000 teen-agers out of school and out of work—a number approximately equal to the population of San Francisco. Many of these are Negroes, who, in addition to youth and lack of skill, have the further burden of racial discrimination to bear in their search for work—a burden which helps make their rate of joblessness double the national average.
>
> To continue this kind of discrimination is eventually to invite violence, such as we have witnessed in Birmingham and Nashville in recent weeks, and not only in the cities of the South, but in the slums of the North. And to continue to permit unemployment to grow among all teen-agers is to risk disillusionment at best and an explosion of violence at worst. If present trends continue, by 1970 the United States will have in its cities more than a million and a half young people untrained, unemployed, and frustrated to the point of danger. This fact constitutes an indictment of our society—we have somehow failed in our educational responsibilities.

There are other ominous facts. Unemployment, poor education, and hopelessness have seriously interfered with efforts to activate the Negro politically. The *Wall Street Journal* recently reported that Southern integration leaders feel that voter registration drives are having almost as much trouble with Negro apathy as they are with institutionalized white resistance. The problem is not confined to the South. A confidential study of Negroes in an Eastern state, made by John Kraft, Inc., one of the country's leading public opinion research organizations, has found that at least 30 per cent are not registered and that 50 per cent will probably not vote in the next national election. The finding is especially significant since half of the Negroes in the sample have incomes of more than $5,000, as compared to a national average for Negroes of $3,000. In New York City it is estimated that as many as half a million Negroes who are eligible to vote do not do so. The problem, of course, only begins with apathy. Even when the Negro does register and vote, South or North, he is forced to choose between two parties that have shown either a remarkable indifference to him or downright hostility.

IT would seem from all this that the Negro in the black Northern slum needs a new kind of leadership that will stand much closer to him than his traditional leadership has done, and broaden the attack on the immediate causes of his discontents and frustrations. He needs a leadership that will work out a national policy on education, a national policy for rehabilitating our economy, and a national political program to force changes in the structure and standards of both political parties. If the Negro is ever to live like a free man, it is time to turn the rebellion into a revolution and open up a second front in his war of independence.

The most likely place to broaden the attack is in education. What are some of the needs here? More and more emphasis should be placed on guidance in and out of school to create greater incentive and motivation among teen-agers so that they would do more than simply inhabit schoolrooms until discharged. Guidance should also attempt to give the student a far better idea about the special paths open to him. More should be done to provide him with information about specific career opportunities and where and how he could obtain financial support for post-high school education and prepare himself for these careers.

Our emphasis on vocational training programs in the high schools themselves should not be increased; if anything, it should be de-emphasized in order to concentrate much more heavily on the general intellectual development of the child and on his reading, writing, and mathematical skills. The miserable failure of so many job-training programs out of school can be directly traced to the trainees' inability to read and write. Expansion of guidance work should supplement the general curriculum, and should give additional meaning and hope to the child whose economic background is such that he is constantly laboring against pressures to become a drop-out.

PERHAPS the greatest educational need is more intensive and specialized reading programs both in and out of schools. There are some developments taking place rather quietly in this area of education that may suggest new ways of helping the Negro child of the slums to help himself. The Northern Student Movement, originally organized at Yale, has put hundreds of college undergraduates into the slums of Detroit, Chicago, and New York, where they have set up reading centers for Negro children, during both the regular school year and the summer vacation. Last summer 200 of the students worked in Harlem. The Associated Community Teams, a federally sponsored Domestic Peace Corps group, is also giving Negro children extra educational training with success. A reading center for drop-outs established by the government's Mobilization for Youth on the Lower East Side of New York has enabled many teen-agers to achieve the reading skills necessary to get a job. The New York City Board of Education has announced that it will establish 232 after-school reading centers to supplement the regular school programs of the slum areas.

The federal government ought to do far more to extend the educational life of the child in the school system. It could initiate a national program to encourage young people to prepare themselves after high school for elementary and secondary school teaching, nursing, social work, and government service, and for advanced training for science, law, medicine, and university teaching. The government is justified in making a serious financial investment in an educational program for these professions because it would not only open up employment opportunities to people who otherwise will end up looking for non-existent factory or white-collar jobs, but it would also provide badly needed trained personnel. It should also be pointed out that a shortage of highly trained persons is one of the main obstructions to an increase in our economic growth. There is no reason why, through a system of free tuition and scholarships for teachers, nurses, and social workers,

for instance, the government shouldn't emulate our largest corporations, most of which have their own job-training programs. Such programs would have the advantage that, unlike the advanced professions of law and medicine, the student would not necessarily need to take graduate work after college. If a training program were available to the Negro teen-agers in New York City, for example, and there were sufficient personnel who could maintain their interest in education, it would be possible to direct large numbers of them into "community service professions." In my interviews with Negro teen-agers, I have found that many of them are thinking of these professions as a preferred career, rather than employment in a factory, in business, or in trades. It might be pointed out that the period of post-high school training for the "community service" professions would be nowhere as long as the apprenticeship training periods in most trade unions.

A PROPOSAL for a new type of federally backed job training program, supported by an argument that might even interest Harry Byrd, has been advanced by James S. Coleman of Johns Hopkins. Pointing out that two-thirds of our trainees are preparing for blue-collar occupations where unemployment is getting worse all the time, he recommends the experimental high school for dropouts conducted by Encyclopedia Britannica in Chicago and suggests that the federal government invest in such "educational entrepreneurs" throughout the country. These entrepreneurs would "take the culls of the system and teach to get results (not, as in many high schools at present, merely to maintain discipline)." Mr. Coleman explains: "If paid according to results, with students tested by government examiners, I suspect that capitalist enterprise would produce some remarkable successes. The government, in turn, would not be spending its money unwisely, but would be investing in a profit-making enterprise, since every successful student would mean removing a person from a status of dependence on society, and allowing him to move into a high-demand sector of the economy, where he would pay back in taxes and in contributions to economic growth many times the money invested in him in his youth."

Without attending to education as the first order of business, it is useless to discuss anything else. On the assumption that we do attend to it, what are some of the other areas of necessary and unfinished business? There is the matter of conserving and expanding our natural resources before they are wasted away in the manner we are wasting human beings. The business at hand may return no financial profits to anybody in particular—if properly undertaken it may deprive some people of profits—but it advances the future economic welfare and productive capacity of this nation and means useful employment for hundreds of thousands of Americans. Reforestation, soil conservation, flood control, park and recreation area development, urban and rural redevelopment, creation of new water resources, the elimination of air, sea, and river pollution, the supervision of private operations in the public domain, and the improvement of agricultural techniques are all areas in which the public interest has had little voice and little effect. Much of the work could be done by people who have become superfluous in those urban areas where factory and service work is declining or disappearing. The establishment of small, racially integrated population centers to carry on this work could be, literally, a new frontier for volunteers who have been stranded in our congested cities without work and without decent housing. There is no reason why America cannot create its own version of the kibbutz, especially since our technology is making present population patterns obsolete.

The "frontier" would also offer the Negro a chance to break out of the big city—Dr. Martin Luther King's "airtight cage of poverty"—and thereby take the first significant step in becoming integrated with the rest of America. Despite the commotion about integration outside the South, the low-income Negro's mobility in the city has been generally restricted to moving from one slum to another, or into a public housing project. The patterns of *de facto* segregation remain the same. Meanwhile, the concentrations of Negroes and other minority groups in the metropolitan centers intensify and the white populations diminish. If meaningful integration does not proceed outside the great cities, the possibility exists that the large cities may take on the political coloration of the race as well as of an economic group. The prospect of political confrontations between black cities and white towns and suburbs is not promising for our country, especially when one considers the animosities that already exist between city and "up-State" even without the "poor versus rich" or "black versus white" identification.

OF course any government-sponsored proposals for a large program of work in the public interest will be described as socialistic and statist by a great majority of newspaper editors and the Congressmen who read their papers. What is proposed is aimed at preserving human and natural resources that are currently being destroyed and neglected, and unless we find constructive ways for people to support themselves, we can be sure that an increasing body of Americans, and their children after them, numbering in the millions, may very well become lifelong inhabitants of a "poorhouse state."

For those who wish to be briefed on the benefits a welfare-ridden society brings to our republic, Harry Caudill, an Eastern Kentucky lawyer, offers this description of what has taken place in his part of America:

> In most Kentucky Mountain counties the population is so impoverished that between one-third and two-thirds of the people are on the commodity dole and receive public assistance checks. Thus they are charges of the government and dependent upon the government for their daily bread.
>
> In effect the federal government provides the money and the state and local officials deliver the benefits to the people. Local political machines of immense power and efficiency have been organized by and sustained by almost endless amounts of federal money. With the increase in automation and mechanization additional millions of Americans are likely to be reduced to these tragic circumstances. The question arises as to how well democracy can function when the democratic government becomes the custodian and guardian of a majority of the people in a region.

I think it is probably true, from what I heard in interviews in preparation of a study of a section of the West Side of Manhattan, that there has been a tendency to overestimate the extent to which racial discrimination has lessened the employment opportunities of the low-income Negro. His difficulties in getting work seem to result mainly from the fact that, because of a lack of education and of work skills, he is not able to find job opportunities. His educational disadvantages are multiplied by the fact that technology's impact upon factory and service work, where the majority of Negroes are employed, has been especially severe: the jobs themselves are disappearing. His situation deteriorates at a faster and faster rate as a result. This is not to say that discrimination has not played a great part in depriving him of employment. First, the educational disadvantages he suffers occurred largely because of racial discrimination. Second, there is little question that qualified low-income Negroes are often written off as prospective employees by major business institutions the minute they walk in the door; some New York banks are among the worst offenders. Third, the craft unions have in the past closed, and continue to close, their ranks to Negro apprentices for a variety of reasons, some of which have a racist smell about them. Fourth, the Negro who does present educational and professional qualifications for higher-paying jobs invariably finds it difficult to gain employment in financial institu-

tions, publishing, and many other professional areas. His troubles are increased by the fact that a heavy majority of employment agencies throughout the country discriminate against him, according to a recent survey by the American Jewish Congress.

The fact remains that a large proportion of Negroes cannot get far enough in the hiring process to find out if discriminatory considerations are at work, simply because jobs are getting scarce. Stanley Sheinbaum, an economist on the staff of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, writes: "As long as the general unemployment remains acute, all talk about the race issue is as if in a vacuum. Equality in employment will only be achieved in a full employment situation; we all know how discriminatory the labor unions are, the more so the higher the level of unemployment. Both the union members and their officials will protect their own first, and to hell with the race problem. Therefore, as long as unemployment remains high, the minorities are not going to be able to get a fair shake at jobs. The removal of unemployment is absolutely a necessary condition for the resolution of this aspect of the race issue."

SHEINBAUM is also critical of government inactivity. "There is no sign," he writes, "that either the administration or the Congress is interested in doing anything about the job problem. Only recently the Federal Reserve raised the discount rate to one-half per cent, which will further restrict monetary demand. Even if the President's tax proposal does pass, it is far from sufficient to affect the unemployment problem, which fact is a reflection of the administration's lack of interest in the problem. Certainly the Congress has manifested no concern to the extent of taking action." The same theme is voiced by Robert Theobald in *Free Men and Free Markets*.

Joel Seldin, labor specialist for the New York *Herald Tribune*, put it this way in a recent conversation: "You talk to people in vocational rehabilitation or training guidance and ask: Will these programs solve the problems of youth employment? And they say frankly no, they won't. Obviously the problem of youth employment is a segment of the over-all problem of employment in this country. Nobody really has come up yet with a brilliant answer to the problem of unemployment in this country. The best the President is proposing at the moment is a tax cut, which he says is going to stimulate the economy. Last year he tried to do it with allowances for new machinery, which were supposed to stimulate all kinds of things. There was no demonstrable effect. The people in the field tell you the problem is not going to be solved without some over-all approach to the total economic problem of the country. But even if we did come up with such a total solution to the economic problem of the country, you would still need a counseling and guidance and retraining program to make underprivileged kids in the city of New York employable. If employers were begging for help you would still have to produce kids who can read, you would still have to teach them something about work habits and how to apply for a job in order to get them employed."

Seldin's comment is characteristic of him. A labor reporter, he usually ends by talking about education.

Another important and neglected aspect of unemployment is the state of mind of the people undergoing the experience. It is extremely important to know something about this because, whether their ideas are right or wrong—and in many cases they are based on a lack of understanding—the views of the unemployed are going to have a determining effect on the political, social, and economic climate of this country if unemployment isn't checked. Herbert Harris, the labor historian, thinks that the unemployed may someday be the biggest voting bloc in the country and that they will include not just ex-factory hands but also most of the ex-white collar workers, whom he calls the "Casper Milquetoast isolates," I cannot report generally about the attitudes of the unemployed, but I have conducted many interviews with unemployed Negroes in my West Side study, and have consulted with investigators working in other parts of the city.

ONE thing that is significant is that the unemployed Negro is resistant to the idea that automation is a major cause of his difficulties. He feels that this is a "dodge" presented by those people in the white power structure of the country to cover up built-in, reflexive hiring practices based on racial bias. He acknowledges the fact that he is handicapped desperately through educational background in a quest for the secure and steady and better-paying jobs, but he doesn't think this explains his difficulties. He has experienced situations in which he has applied over and over for jobs which he knows he can perform—simple unskilled construction jobs, for instance—and has been told no job is available, only to discover that others who are white have been hired subsequently. His attitude toward unions has been increasingly unfriendly because their apprenticeship programs have been closed to him as a rule and because nondiscriminating unions show an indifference to him because of his low earning capacity. He has support for his suspicions even inside union officialdom: a recent publication of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, entitled *Labor Looks at Labor*, quotes United Auto Workers officials as saying that the low-salaried worker and the unemployed worker are neglected by the union movement. One executive declares, "We have been forgetting the guy way down below, who is really getting kicked in the face. Nobody is doing anything about him except Hoffa." It happens that a great percentage of these "guys down below" are Negroes.

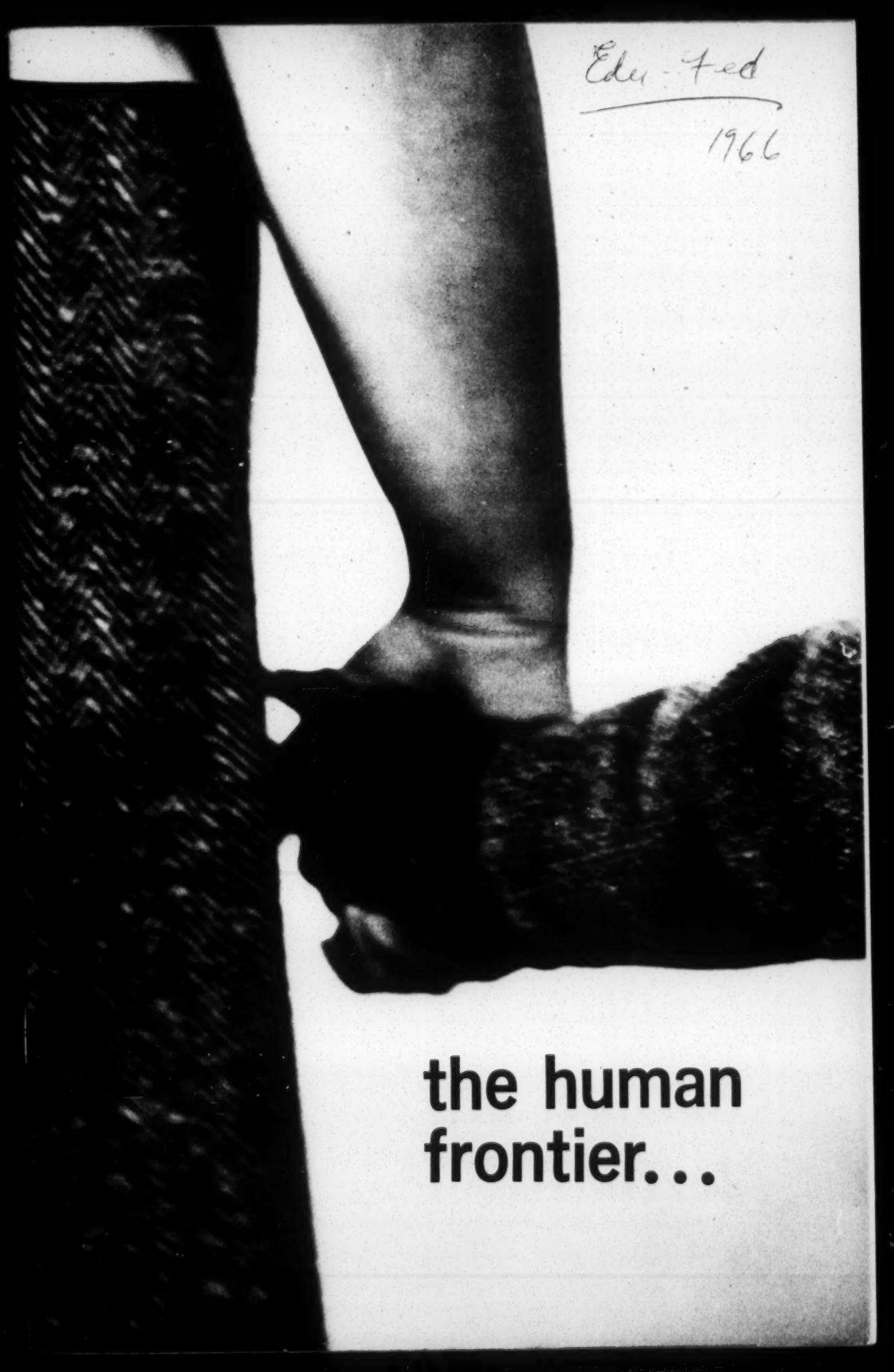
Nor does the Negro feel grateful to the educational system that presumably prepared him for a special trade, when he finds after leaving a vocational high school that he cannot pass the tests to quality for employment. He compares the obsolete equipment in his vocational school with that used on the outside. He also learns quickly that he has been the victim of obsolete methods of instruction. This experience, plus many others, underlines his distrust of almost all training programs. The Negro who is approached with an offer to retrain for some unseen job reacts with disinterest and cynicism.

A sociologist who has been studying Negro attitudes in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn offered me this conclusion: "I found little variation between Negroes in their feeling that the common explanations of unemployment are not real as far as Negroes are concerned. I found an alienation, a feeling that the country's unwillingness to get training programs off the ground was due to the fact that the 'wrong group' of people were unemployed. And I am finding, for the first time, a greater degree of unification among Negroes and more of a feeling of disassociation from the body politic than ever before. Sometimes this feeling also hits out at the traditional leadership of the Negro movement, especially if this leadership seems to have come about with white support."

There may be some argument as to how justified these attitudes of the unemployed Negro are. I happen to feel that there is some sophistication in their conclusions because, even though the economic reasoning may be unsound, there is an air of pragmatism in them. Groundless or not, the attitudes are there and they influence action. Perhaps some knowledge of these attitudes and the manner in which they are expressed even to a random interviewer would convince a few Congressmen that the Negro is not inclined to accept any excuses from a society that has left him jobless. He is not going to be permanently counted out of anybody's plans for a future America. Nor are the 40,000,000 or more whites who are also members of our steadily growing and integrated race of the poor. They have the numerical capacity to overturn the American establishment. Whether they will use their power remains to be seen.

Edu-Fed

1966



the human frontier...

Quality Education

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Vol. 9, No. 15 April 14, 1969

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

Federal aid fight will test Nixon

Congress, the House Rules Committee willing, will soon be asked to put up or shut up on federal aid to education.

A massive 5-year $20 billion program to keep property taxes down and pump more and more money into grade school and high school education is about to get congressional approval. Or disapproval.

Republicans want a two-year extension and an opportunity to put their own brand on the elementary and secondary education act — a shining star of the Johnson administration days, which finally found a way to break the church-state impasse.

School bond issues have been turned down at the rate of 55 percent during the past year, as compared to a rejection rate of 25 percent in earlier years. So warned former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Wilbur Cohen in his parting shot before the House Labor and Education Committee, only five days before Washington greeted the new Nixon regime.

Mr. Nixon's task force on education had some sharp words to say to the new President:

"Speaking candidly, we do not believe that President-elect Nixon, with all his varied and high qualifications for office, would at present by most Americans be considered to have the kind of special concern for education the times require." Strong words—especially from your own task force. And Mr. Nixon candidly mentioned it during a televised press conference.

Will education be put above politics? Will school programs and money become political footballs? Only time can tell. And the fate of the ESEA bill this year will tell a lot about the direction the Nixon White House and Democratic-controlled Congress will follow this year and next.

Mr. Nixon's choice for commissioner of education, James Allen, former New York State education commissioner, was hailed as a hopeful sign for the future of excellence. Nixon's HEW Secretary, Robert Finch, is generally regarded as a humane friend of education, although he's gotten into a real legal tangle on school desegregation.

The fight for the federal dollar is a constant drama in Washington, and while the Johnson years did more for education than any other administration from the beginning of the Republic, Congress saw fit to cut back more than half of what Congress authorized.

For instance, the 1969 fiscal authorization for federal aid came to $3.8 billion, plus another $600 million for impacted aid. Congress cut the money on this back to $1.4 billion for federal aid and $500 million for impacted aid. A total of $4.4 billion was authorized for elementary and secondary school children—but only $1.9 billion was actually voted in money to back up the magnificent program approved by Congress.

A three month long hearing and a total of 2,986 pages of testimony, charts, graphs, reports, statements, and resolutions is now resting on the desks of 435 members of the House of Representatives awaiting some kind of action.

The supporters for a 5-year program argue that school districts need plenty of long range planning to chart their needs. Last minute programs rarely give school districts enough time to use federal money wisely.

The Urban Coalition's stinging report on America's educational failures in the black ghettos of our big cities makes the point that nobody, but nobody has the surefire answer to the nation's school shortcomings. The real thrust of the federal school bill was to pump money into schools with

(Continued on Page 2)

Surely a great nation can afford more than ½ of 1 percent of its gross national product for better schooling of its young.

American Teacher

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION / EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY
OFFICIAL PUBLICATION / AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

Vol. 53, No. 7
MARCH 1969

'Education in the slums and ghettos is a failure.'

One Year Later

An assessment of urban schools on the first anniversary of the Kerner Commission report

HUGE, TROUBLESOME problems beset every large city school system, demanding the best and without any retreat.

"Inner-city schools are not only overcrowded, they also tend to be the oldest and most poorly equipped," reported the Commission. Teaching materials are scarce and "poorly adapted to the life-experiences of the students." Behind most of these deficiencies, the Commission said, is the fact that "our society spends less money educating ghetto children than children of suburban families." It cited a Civil Rights Commission study of state aid in 12 metropolitan areas in 1950 and 1964. In two the same amount per pupil went to central city and suburbs, and in six the suburbs got significantly more. Priorities were inverse to need.

The Commission found an atmosphere of increasing hostility around the schools of the slums and ghettos. They "often appear to be unresponsive to the community, communication has broken down, and parents are distrustful of education. . . . Since the needs and concerns of the ghetto community are rarely reflected in educational policy formulated on a citywide basis, the schools are often seen by ghetto youth as irrelevant." The sense of isolation from the making of school policy, the Commission said, "is adding to the polarization of the community."

ONE YEAR LATER

The indictment of failure passed on education in the slums and ghettos is just as valid and even more familiar. But the ferment stirred by the two earlier education reports and accelerated by the Commission report has increased to the point where it is rocking—in some instances, even toppling—the educational establishment. Unlike other drives for change in the schools, this one looks as if it will not end with talk: There is a discernible shift to action—clarification of strategies, heightened conflict, perhaps the beginnings of genuine change.

Not all of the turmoil is progress. Frustration has taken its toll, and any remedy that offers the glimmer of reaching the disadvantaged is seized upon. As in the larger society of which the schools are part, the dilemma is whether changes that accentuate, rather than mitigate, polarization are a necessary prelude to coming together on an equal footing—indeed, whether there is any choice.

At present the dilemma centers on community control of schools, raised by blacks in the slums and ghettos to an urgency well beyond the Commission's careful treatment of "decentralization." The major battleground, of course, was in New York City, where experiments in community control have unleashed a bitter power struggle and surfaced a nightmare of ethnic and racial hatreds.

REID

BELL

(Continued from page 1)

children from poverty-stricken families. But Congress so watered-down the formula for Title I grants to poor school districts, that many wealthy children got windfalls of help from the bill.

The Urban Coalition points out that **"a billion dollars a year sounds like a healthy sum, but it comes down to $108 per assisted pupil—not very much considering that it goes to schools that have been systematically under-funded and to children whose needs are overwhelming. The per-capita amount is actually declining, partly because the number of children benefitting has been going up, partly because the money is spread around to several million children that no one would call disadvantaged."**

So should the formula be changed? Are the Republicans on the right track in asking for delays, less ambitious programs, and more time to reshuffle programs and ideas in the massive school programs now percolating out of Washington?

What do Congressmen Ogden Reid of New York and Alphonzo Bell of California, two moderate Republicans, who favor the 5-year bill, say about this? They warn:

"We would most strongly caution against any attempts to change the formula for distribution of funds to the states or within the states under Title I. The work of a generation went into devising the current formula to insure that all disadvantaged children, regardless of where they live or what school they attend, will receive the aid to which they are entitled."

And they further warn: **"Any tampering with the Title I formula runs a number of serious risks. One is the aggravation of existing distribution patterns with states which al-**

(Continued on page 3)

TEACHERS' PAY GAINS vs. INCREASES FOR OTHER GROUPS

	Average Pay 1966	Average Pay 1968	Increase In Two Years
Grade-school teacher (9-10 month school year)	$6,620	$7,675	16%
High-school teacher (9-10 month school year)	$7,110	$8,160	15%
Mathematician	$12,300	$15,000	22%
Physicist	$10,600	$12,600	19%
Chemist	$10,500	$12,000	14%
Psychologist	$11,000	$11,800	7%
Linguist	$6,800	$9,000	32%
Federal worker	$7,900	$8,930	13%
Auto worker	$7,675	$8,740	14%
Construction worker	$7,625	$8,505	12%
Mailman	$6,435	$7,320	14%
Bus driver (local)	$5,860	$6,460	10%
Factory hand	$5,855	$6,385	9%
Store clerk	$3,870	$3,900	1%

NOTE: Pay for mathematician, physicist, chemist, psychologist and linguist is rate reported for men with bachelor's degrees plus a few years' experience.

STARTING PAY IN TEACHING, COMPARED WITH OTHER CAREERS

	Average Starting Salary Per Year for Graduates With Bachelor's Degrees
Teachers (9-10 month school year)	$5,940
Engineers	$9,310
Physicists	$8,915
Chemists	$8,520
Accountants	$8,425
Economists	$7,800
Sales-marketing specialists	$7,620
Business-administration trainees	$7,560
Liberal-arts graduates	$7,370
Policemen (no degree needed)*	$6,555
Firemen (no degree needed)*	$6,200

*As of Jan. 1, 1968, in cities of 500,000 or more population.

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, March 3, 1969

TEACHERS ARE NOT ABLE TO KEEP PACE with other professional groups. They are gaining, but America can and must do better for those who teach its young. We ask much of the teacher, we ought to be willing to pay for it.

Don't tamper with Title I formula, warn two moderate Republicans. A $5 billion a year spending level for America's children is sought in the face of threats to slash $360 million from federal aid to schools.

(Continued from page 2)

ready tend to slight the special financial problems of urban education. . . . Another equally important risk is the reopening of the church-state debate which was only narrowly avoided when this legislation was last extended 2 years ago."

In the nervous years after the Russians sent a rocket around the world, the American educational establishment engaged in a crash program to spur the study of mathematics and foreign language. We stubbornly avoided a forthright embrace of federal aid during those benumbed Eisenhower years. What the federal government did for grade school and high school youngsters was done in the name of "defense." Now we are more bold. But still the formula and the legislative embroidery delicately avoids any frontal assault on spending money for kids, all kids rich and poor, white and black, urban and rural.

A $5 billion a year level of spending for children in high school and younger, would represent a little more than ½ of 1 percent of the $861 billion gross national product for 1968 and less than ½ of 1 percent of the estimated $921 billion GNP for 1969.

One in four Americans is either a student or teacher, the Nixon task forces emphasizes. Educational spending is growing by leaps and bounds (it went from $28 billion in 1963 to $48 billion in 1968, almost doubling in three short years). The dollars and cents needs for more classrooms, higher teacher salaries, and more teaching equipment grows just as immensely.

What about the property tax? Is there any way to keep it down or within reasonable bounds?

Every school district is different. But The U.S. Statistical Abstract for 1968 tells a story which gives something of an answer to the rising property tax quandary.

In 1954—when President Eisenhower led the country—$4.5 billion for public schools (which was 58.1 percent of the total spent) came from intermediate and local sources (mostly property taxes). But in 1966, a preliminary report shows that intermediate and local revenue has gone up to $13.5 billion—a four times increase in dollars—while the percentage of revenue from local sources was 53 percent.

Thus, the burden on the local taxpayer was eased by only 5 percent, but the actual tax bite was increased by four times.

Surely a great nation can afford more than ½ of 1 percent of its gross national product for educational opportunity to its young. We spent roughly $25.4 billion for elementary and secondary education in 1966 (counting $2 billion federal, $9.8 billion state, and $13.5 billion local) which was only 3 percent of our gross national product of $743 billion for that year.

Congress must decide this year what to do. Vote for a 5-year $20 billion program to ease the property tax burden and grapple with the educational deficiencies of the nation. Or nitpick and slash and retreat from the bold thrusts of recent years.

"Like the Bourbons of old, the Republicans will have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. If this kind of penny wisdom and dollar foolishness is allowed to characterize the next four years, our schools, our children, and the parents and taxpayers who support them are in for a bad time."

—JIM O'HARA, last week warning against 10 percent Republican cuts in federal aid to education.

WEEKEND WRAPUP

Congress is finally heading into a confrontation with the Nixon administration. The fate of the federal aid to schools bill may tell us a lot about other domestic programs now moving toward votes in the House of Representatives. . . . **President Nixon has some crackjack good people** charting his course on education (Education Commissioner Allen and HEW Secretary Finch). But as Congressman Jim O'Hara warns, the 10 percent meat-axe edict issued by the Bureau of the Budget would whack $360 million out of the bill. We need every dollar we can find for our children. . . . **Ogden Reid and Alphonzo Bell** stated very well why tampering with the school bill could send the whole program into a meat-grinder that could well destroy the whole school bill. . . . **Tea bags to Congress**—that's a dramatic way of expressing the taxpayer's revolt mood of the country. Several congressmen report they are getting tea bags in their mail, and they get the message. If that 10 percent surtax

---

The political nit-pickers on Capitol Hill will play their games during the forthcoming weeks. They will raise all kinds of questions which deserve answers. The real trouble would seem to be that Congress generally is unwilling to give education the same kind of urgent priority which the defense and space programs get.

It is hard to measure educational success. The HEW "Toward a Social Report" document's section on "learning, science, and art" points out:

"The standard sources of educational statistics give us hundreds of pages on the resources used for schooling, but almost no information at all on the extent to which these resources have achieved their purposes." And the report continues to state that **"groups that suffer social and economic deprivation systematically learn less than those who have more comfortable backgrounds."**

---

was a hard bite to take, reach into your cupboard for a tea bag and send it to your favority congressman. . . .It is almost a cliche to talk about **the "quality" of our life** these days. How do you measure quality? One good attempt has been made by a booklet called "Toward A Social Report" issued in the waning days of the Johnson administration which asks: Are we becoming healthier?; How much opportunity is there?; Are conditions of our phsyical environment improving?; Are we better off income-wise?; What is the impact of crime in our lives?; How much is learning, science and art enriching society?; and What do we need to learn about participation and alienation in our lives? Weighty questions, certainly. But they tell a lot about what's happening to us. We have one or two stray copies of this HEW booklet left for the first who write for them.

"What we must all realize is that the consequences of inferior education—unemployment, poverty, crime stemming from social despair—respect no political boundaries. The suburbs will eventually suffer from the disease of the cities; they have an important stake in helping to cure it through adequate education for the children of the ghettoes."

—HAROLD HOWE

Liberal Democrats warn of education cuts; urge full funding of federal aid bill.

Congressman James G. O'Hara of Michigan, a leader of the House liberal bloc, said budget cuts in school aid, unless reversed, will confirm Democrats' worst fears about President Nixon.

O'Hara, a member of the Education and Labor Committee and recent chairman of the Democratic Study Group (DSG), an organization of liberal Democrats in the House, cited published reports that the Nixon Administration tentatively has approved a 10 per cent cut in former President Johnson's education budget.

The cut, O'Hara said, would amount to about $360 million and would "undercut" school aid programs established by law after long debate. It reportedly would be applied against such popular programs as impact area aid and assistance to elementary and secondary schools.

The cuts, dictated by the Budget Bureau under a general economy directive from President Nixon, are said to await a final okay by the President himself.

"If this decision is final," O'Hara said in a statement, **"if the administration does not reconsider, it will confirm the worst fear and confound the fondest hopes many of us have had for the new administration.**

"Like the Bourbons of old, the Republicans will have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. If this kind of penny wisdom and dollar foolishness is allowed to characterize the next four years, our schools, our children, and the parents and taxpayers who support them are in for a bad time."

O'Hara noted that the Education and Labor Committee, without benefit of specific recommendations from Nixon, already has approved a five-year extension of the Elementary and Secondary School Aid program. The House will consider this soon after it returns from a current Easter recess.

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Walter P. Reuther, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

Federal aid fight will test Nixon and Congress aims for education

NEWSPAPER

W.K 30303 VIA SOUE A1
EMORY VIA DIR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST NW
ATLANTA GA 30303

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1969

New York: The School Lunch Syndrome

* * *

By STEPHEN MACDONALD

NEW YORK—If you have a child in public school here, this might be what he calls lunch: Cold frankfurter, no ketchup, no mustard. Thin tomato-rice soup, lukewarm. Canned peaches. One-half pint of milk, served at room temperature, no cup, no straw.

Although some people here find the curriculum no more appetizing than the cuisine, the big school uproar last year was fed less by these conditions than by the parents' unwillingness to remain impotent over them. If your children attend a private school you can express your dissatisfaction in a number of ways, the most extreme being to send them elsewhere. In a smaller community, you can band together and storm the PTA. But in New York, and no doubt in other large cities as well, you take what you are given. Teachers and administrators are accountable upward, through a classically ossified bureaucracy, not downward to their clients.

Parental hope for reversing this power flow lies in dismantling the bureaucracy and distributing most of its authority to neighborhood-sized districts, as if New York City were a confederation of small towns. "Decentralization," as this restructuring is called, is popular with the electorate, and as a result the state legislature passed in April a reorganization of the school system. But since any real redistribution that gave the parents more power would by definition give someone else less, and since the someone else in this case includes deeply entrenched and politically healthy labor unions, many parents think the current law, when it is fully implemented, will be revealed as a sop. If this is so, the school uproar will probably start all over again. Parents are organizing, and they are not in a mood for easy compromise. Not even on lunch.

* * *

"WE ARE FED UP WITH BAD SCHOOL LUNCHES," proclaims the heading on a mimeographed list of "demands" ("The Central Kitchen Must Be Closed At Once! . . . Our Questions About the Frozen Food Kitchens Must Be Answered! . . . The Jail-Like Conditions in All Lunchrooms Must End At Once! . . .") that looks far more fierce than the young lady distributing it. In fact, seated around the long oval table in the red-carpeted conference room of the Board of Education headquarters, these forty or so ladies and a man or two look anything but militant. They are members of United Bronx Parents Inc., a community agency that trains parents, especially poor parents, to deal with school problems. The problem that brings them to this room today is that the government-subsidized an inconspicuous seat behind and to one side of the board president.

At the other end of the table Mrs. Juanita Hernandez, who is to lead the parents' part of the discussion, rises and complains that a third official was supposed to be present. "This is the way the Board of Education always treats us," she says. Then she explains briefly that the parents, who represent a half-dozen schools, will speak in rotation.

As they do, what emerges is a fragmented, informal, sometimes emotional but nevertheless well documented assertion that many school lunches simply aren't fit to eat, either because the food itself is poor or because lunchroom conditions are unhealthy. Although hardly an aspect of the school lunch program escapes the ladies' criticism, the gross offender turns out to be a central kitchen in Queens, where soup-and-sandwich lunches are prepared in the predawn hours and delivered by truck to more than half the city's 900 schools. Because the menus are unappealing and repetitious and because Puerto Rican pupils consider the food foreign, the garbage cans are always full even if the children aren't. The parents know the city is experimenting with a plan to phase out the central kitchen and phase in a frozen-food service, but they don't want that either. What they want is decentralization: Each neighborhood cooking for its own children. In addition, they voice what might be called a procedural complaint: In months of struggling to improve the lunches, they have had very little cooperation from Mr. Howard's Bureau of School Lunches. They say their letters asking questions about reports they know exist and about current and future costs and policies have not been answered.

But this all comes into focus only after an hour or so of the recitation.

"I have four daughters, and at least twice a week one of them was throwing up. I took her to the doctor, and he said it was that greasy soup and spoiled milk."

"They give you a peanut butter sandwich with nothing else on it. The parents can't get into the lunchroom to see what's going on."

"My kids come home and cry because they're so hungry. My son begs me to let him take his breakfast to school with him."

"Last year my daughter used to get a headache or an upset stomach because of those lunches, sometimes just thinking about them. That wasn't just once in a while or twice a week, that was every day. Now I have my six-year-old there, and it's the same thing."

"We've had lots of meetings with lots of people, but it hasn't done any good. We're

* * *

self, Mrs. Hernandez cuts it off. "Now," she announces, "we will hear what Mr. Monserrat has to say."

The board president consults his notes, then begins to talk in a voice that is slightly raspy. His manner is patient. He speaks first in English, then pauses to provide an interlinear Spanish translation.

"First of all," he says, "I'd like to thank you for coming down here, and for your concern and interest. I think this is important and necessary. For a long time it was said that there is no interest, but I'm glad to see there is.

"At this moment, as you know, the board is very much involved in decentralization. One very important part of this is the school lunch program, and the current law provides for it. The reality of the matter is that local school boards will soon be in complete charge of the lunches within their own districts.

"Nobody likes the central kitchen. Nobody is satisfied with it, not even the people who run it. But I'm not here to tell you nice words, I'm here to try to solve the problem and to give you some perspective. The truth is that we have 900 schools, and if we dismantled the central kitchen overnight many of them would have no lunch at all. We are also limited by laws and regulations, but to the extent that we can bend them to your wishes, we'll try to do it.

"The idea, as I see it, about the frozen food kitchens, does not mean they can't serve ethnic food. We have all kinds of frozen Spanish foods. If you have been to Puerto Rico you know they have frozen food of every kind there, and we could get it here. The fact that this has not happened doesn't mean we can't find someone to provide it. You will be able to make any kind of contract you want, with any company you want."

At this point Mr. Howard decides to speak up in defense of the frozen foods. He says that a committee of food-industry experts assembled the program, that it is being tested quite successfully in a pilot program in the city and that many schools are demanding it.

But the parents did not come all the way from the Bronx to be talked into the frozen-food program, and they are quick to reply.

"Your committee's kids won't be eating the frozen food. Ours will, and we don't want it."

"Can you give us a list of the schools that are 'demanding' frozen food? I'd like to see that." (Mr. Howard says he came to the meeting on short notice and doesn't have the list with him, but he will get it later.)

community agency that trains parents, especially poor parents, to deal with school problems. The problem that brings them to this room today is that the government-subsidized lunch served free to children in poverty areas (others pay 40 to 50 cents) is not the hot, nutritious meal the law says they need.

The parents are meeting with Joseph Monserrat, president of the Board of Education, in a confrontation that culminates a year of study and protest. During that time the agency has paraded city, state and Federal officials through the schools, cooked its own model lunches in an attempt to demonstrate that other methods would be both cheaper and better, and petitioned, picketed and met a number of school officials down the ladder from Mr. Monserrat—all without much satisfaction.

The man they came to see, who has just entered with one of these lesser officials, is more simpatico than his predecessors and others in the bureaucracy, at least to this delegation dominated by Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Mr. Monserrat was born in Puerto Rico and grew up in New York, where he attended public schools and Columbia University. He worked in Puerto Rican affairs for the Federal Government before taking his present post, in May. He is 45 years old, has wavy steel-gray hair and wears black-rimmed glasses. This is either a working meeting for him or is meant to appear so: He is coatless, and the sleeves of his broad-striped gray and white shirt are rolled up to the elbow. He places a yellow legal pad and pencil on the table, hunches down into his seat, lights a cigaret and glances around the room. No smile. No talk. His associate, Kevin Howard, director of the Bureau of School Lunches, moves to

my six-year-old there, and it's the same thing."

"We've had lots of meetings with lots of people, but it hasn't done any good. We're going to keep on fighting for our kids to have a decent lunch."

"We're tired of making demands that are not heard."

"There is more garbage than food."

"That lunchroom is so dirty and dark, I don't think they ever clean it. They must have about one 30-watt light bulb in there, if it's that. The kids have to eat with their coats on, because there's no place to hang them up."

"I asked one man at the Board of Education why don't they give the children a knife and fork to eat with. And he told me if they did those Negroes and Puerto Ricans might stab each other. Can you imagine? We try to teach our kids good manners at home and then they go to school and it's worse than anything."

"We may be poor, but we're clean and we're proud. If I kept my home like that and cooked like that my husband would throw me out."

"At my school some parents go and take a lunch and feed their own children themselves. I think the parents ought to have some say-so about what their children eat."

"I can see no reason for the frozen food. The situation will remain the same. Nothing replaces a fresh meal. It is also the cheapest."

"Junior high school students are not infants, but they are served infant portions."

"Frozen food is the same as central kitchen food, tasteless. It will be wasted just the same."

When the presentation begins to repeat it-

that. (Mr. Howard says he came to the meeting on short notice and doesn't have the list with him, but he will get it later.)

"You're going to spend millions of dollars installing this special frozen-food equipment—we know you've already budgeted $12 million—and we're going to be stuck with it. How can we get rid of it?"

"Why not take the money and use it to install kitchens in the schools that aren't properly equipped? This would be cheaper in the long run."

"Who will get that $12 million for this equipment? We know there's a report on this, but we can't get Mr. Howard to give it to us."

"They say frozen food will save money. The big savings will come in labor, by laying off people. Who will be laid off? Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Let us hire these people in our own communities."

Finally Evelina Antonetty, executive director of United Bronx Parents, who has apparently known Mr. Monserrat for some time and has been hovering over him the last few minutes, says, "Look, Joe, why couldn't we have a pilot project, with just four schools? It would be a satellite lunch plan. Two schools that are fairly new and have good equipment could cook for themselves and also for two others nearby that are getting central kitchen lunches. Parents would take the responsibility and they'd hire people from the neighborhood. They'd do a good job, because it would be their own children. I'm sure it wouldn't cost any more."

"All you're telling me," replies Mr. Monserrat, "is that you have an idea. Great. But that's not the same as a *plan*. What you must do is work out a plan, give me something on paper and let me see it. If it turns out to be possible, I would like very much to do it."

Having plunked the ball neatly back in the parents' court, Mr. Monserrat tries to conclude the meeting with a summary. But by now some of the parents are up, putting on their coats. They must get a bus up to the Bronx in time to pick up their children, who will soon be dismissed from school for the day. Other parents want a last word with Mr. Monserrat, and soon the summary is overwhelmed by a rising bilingual cacophony. Mr. Monserrat promises to visit at least one school ("If I visited one a day it would take three years to see them all"), and now he too is on his feet, headed for a side door.

A mother across the room remembers that she does not trust Mr. Howard. "Those reports, and the answers to all our questions, will you see that we get them?" she shouts. Mr. Monserrat turns toward her and his lips move, but the reply is lost. Then with a smile and a little wave he is gone.

* * *

Afterward one participant offers a private evaluation. "He's a good man," she says, "but his hands are tied as much as ours. At least he sat there and listened to us for two hours. That's something new."

©1969 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

Edu · Gen

A Reappraisal of the Most Controversial Educational Document of Our Time

By CHRISTOPHER JENCKS

THREE years have passed since James Coleman and his colleagues issued their now famous report on "Equality of Educational Opportunity." Virtually unnoticed at the time of its publication, this 737-page monograph has since become the best-known and most controversial piece of educational research of our time.

Like a veritable Bible, the "Coleman Report" is cited today on almost every side of every major educational controversy, usually by people who have not read it and almost always by people who have not understood what the authors meant when they wrote it. It has been used to support arguments for increasing integration in the schools—and to buttress the position of those who would accept segregated schools with community control. It has been cited as evidence that what black children need is good teachers—and as proof that such increases in per pupil expenditure will not close the educational gap between black and white.

The report has also inspired a growing body of scholarly exegesis, interpretation and criticism, so that anyone who wants to know what the report "really" proves must now plow through not only the baffling charts and tables of the original document but dozens of subsequent critiques and reanalyses, most of which are available only in mimeographed form to the cognoscenti. The time has clearly come for a reappraisal.

THE Coleman Report was a political football from its very inception. Like much American social science, it was initiated in order to avoid confronting a difficult political problem. In the summer of 1964 Congress had decided to pass a civil-rights law which was expected to end *de jure* school segregation in the South by cutting off Federal funds from segregated systems. The question inevitably arose: what about *de facto* segregation in the North? The expedient answer was that the Commissioner of Education should investigate the problem and report back in two years.

After nearly a year of bureaucratic squabbling and indecision in the U.S. Office of Education, Commissioner Frank Keppel decided to conduct an "Equality of Educational Opportunity" survey. The survey, theoretically covering nearly a million pupils in 6,000 different schools across the nation, was carried out in the fall of 1965. Prime responsibility for planning and analyzing it fell on James Coleman, a distinguished sociologist from Johns Hopkins University with a long record of interest in both education and survey research.

Coleman expected the survey to demonstrate three rather conventional propositions:

1. Nonwhite pupils, North and South, usually attend different schools from white pupils.

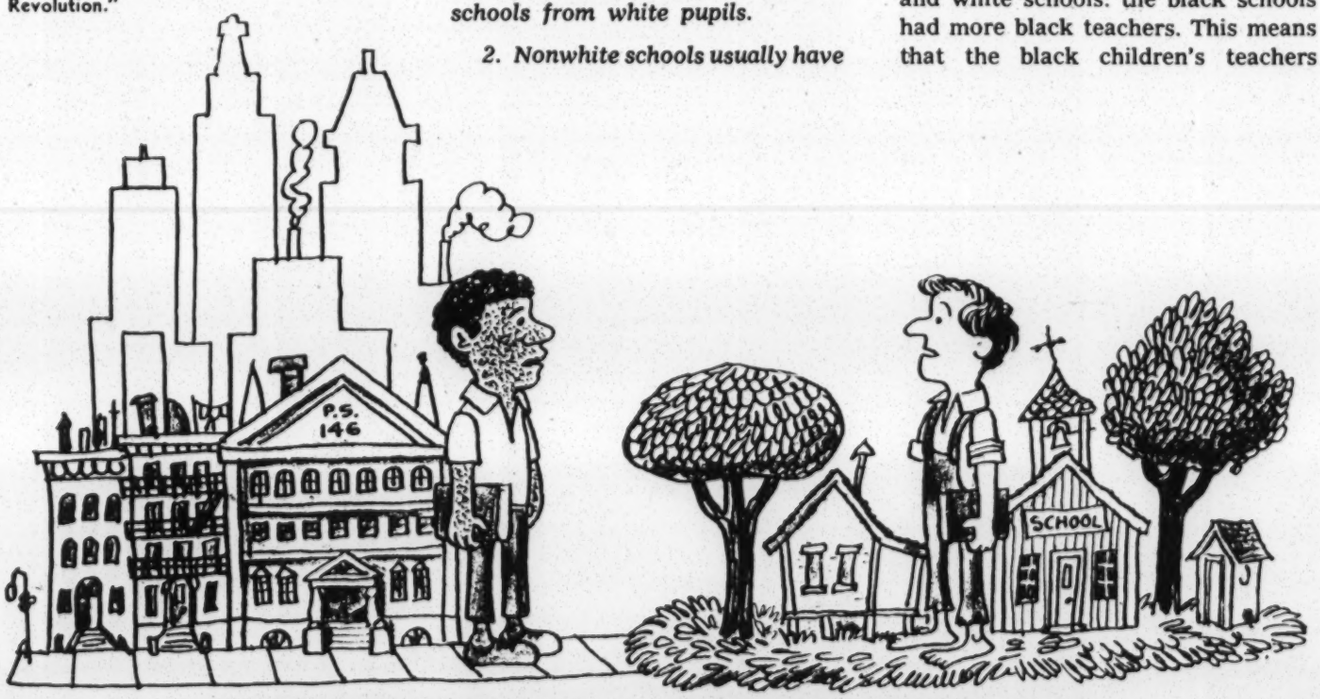
2. Nonwhite schools usually have less adequate facilities, inferior curriculums and worse teachers, as well as less affluent and academically adept student bodies.

3. Because they attend those inferior schools, nonwhite pupils learn less than white pupils.

The survey confirmed the first proposition. Black and white pupils are seldom in the same schools, even in the North. Not only that, but the black pupils do learn much less than the white pupils, at least judging by standardized tests of verbal and nonverbal skill, reading comprehension, arithmetic skill and general information. The typical black first grader scores below about 85 per cent of white first graders. This relative disparity persists throughout elementary and secondary school, and thus the absolute difference between black and white children grows wider as they grow older. A 6-year-old who scores below 85 per cent of his classmates is about one year behind, while a 16-year-old is more than two years behind.

The survey did *not* support the second proposition, that black schools spend significantly less money per pupil than white ones, have substantially larger classes, get worse trained and less experienced teachers, operate in more antiquated and crowded facilities, rely on less adequate textbooks and equipment and so forth. On the contrary, the survey uncovered only one major measurable difference in these items between black and white schools: the black schools had more black teachers. This means that the black children's teachers

CHRISTOPHER JENCKS is co-author with David Riesman of "The Academic Revolution."



The report points out plain truths often overlooked. For example: "In most cities, the black schools get short-changed . . . but most white Americans live in smaller and poorer places where schools leave almost as much to be desired as in the ghetto."

also come from poorer homes and do worse on tests of academic ability Black schools in the urban North also tended to have somewhat older buildings and smaller play areas. In other respects, however, black and white schools proved surprisingly similar. Later analyses, while largely confined to Northern urban elementary schools, have shown that schools which serve rich and poor children also have quite similar facilities, curriculums and teachers.

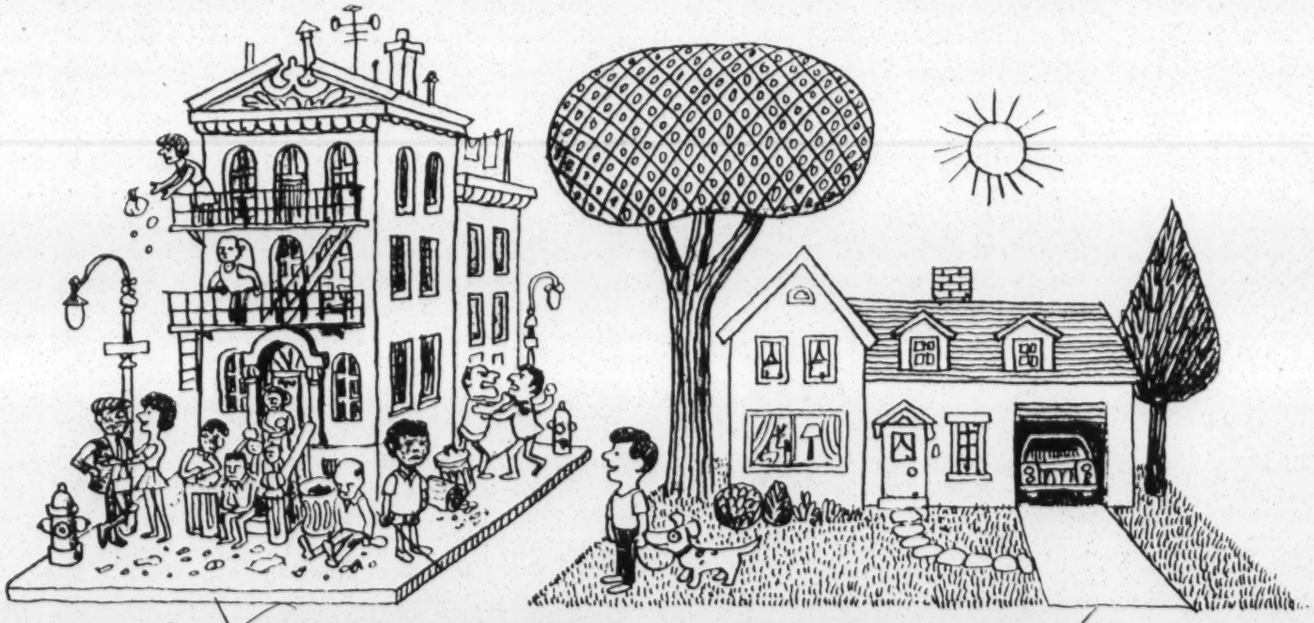
How could the conventional wisdom have been so wrong? The apparent answer is that claims of discrimination have usually been based on the obvious contrast between Northern ghetto schools and white schools in a few affluent nearby suburbs or in the city itself. In most (but not all) cities, the black schools get short-changed. What all such comparisons evidently ignore, however, is the fact that most white Americans live in smaller (and poorer) cities and towns, where the school facilities, curriculum and teachers evidently leave almost as much to be desired as they do in the big-city ghettos, where most blacks live.

MORE important, even, was the report's conclusion on the third proposition, the expected cause-and-effect relationship between inadequate school resources and low student achievement. In fact, neither black nor white children of a given family background did significantly better in schools with high expenditures, large libraries, accelerated curriculums and so forth. Coleman and his colleagues believed that pupils did slightly better in schools with experienced and articulate teachers, but even this difference was surprisingly small—and the evidence supporting their belief has subsequently proved to be rather shaky.

The report suggests—though it does not state in so many words—that black children clearly get less satisfactory schooling than white children in only one major respect. If a child happens to have a black skin, the odds are very strong that he or she will end up with classmates from impoverished homes and a plethora of learning and behavior problems. A child who attends such a school may be short-changed even if it has first-rate facilities and teachers. Most black sixth-graders, for example, attend schools in which the majority of their classmates are reading at the fourth- or fifth-grade level. This means that even if a black child has the ability to read at sixth-grade level, he will probably not be pushed to do so. The instruction in his classroom will be aimed not at him but at the laggard majority. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that children learn more from one another than from their teachers. If black children attend schools where this "informal curriculum" is based on a vocabulary half as large and on concepts far less abstract than in a white school, their chance of developing academic skills is reduced.

Coleman and his colleagues were extremely anxious to determine whether individual achievement was dependent on a school's social composition. After analyzing their data, they concluded that it was, but that a child was influenced by his classmates' social class background and aspirations rather than by their race. This implied that a poor black child would *not* benefit from attending school with poor white children, but that he *would* benefit from attending with middle-class children, black or white. Coleman and his colleagues also tentatively concluded that black children were more sensitive to peer influences than white children. This implied that a black child would benefit substantially from integration, while a white child would suffer very little. The apparent effects of integration were always small, however, relative to over-all differences in achievement between races, socio-economic groups and individuals.

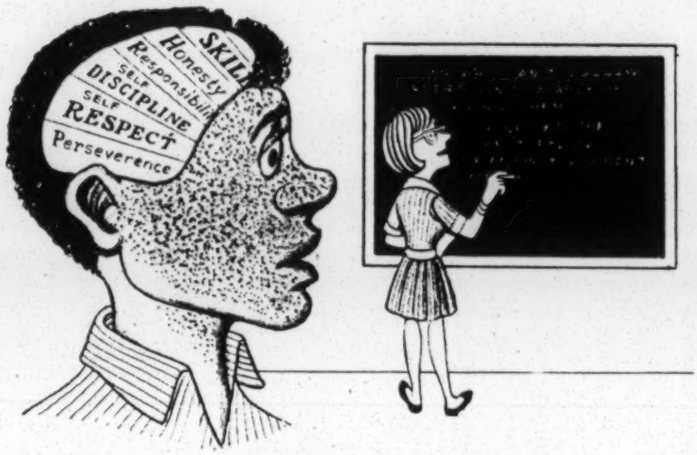
If differences between schools do not account for most of the observed differences in achievement, what does? By far the most important factor measured in the survey was the ethnic and socio-economic background of the individual child. In addition, there is a strong association between children's achievement levels and their attitudes. Among black children in particular, there is a marked relationship between their achievement and their personal sense of control over their own destinies. Yet even when family background and attitudes are taken into account, more than half the variations in individual achievement remain completely unexplained. Whether this



"If improved student achievement is our goal, the report's implication is obvious: We must alter the whole social environment in which a child grows up rather than just tinker with the schools."

reflects unmeasured genetic differences in aptitude or unmeasured differences in environmental influence is a matter for speculation. One thing it did not seem to represent, however, was unmeasured effects of differences between school environments. The survey showed that the differences between the best and the worst pupils in the same school are invariably far larger than the differences between the best and the worst schools. Indeed, eliminating all school-to-school differences would only reduce the total variation in achievement by about 20 per cent. This does not definitely prove that schools have no role in generating inequality, since there could theoretically be systematic discrimination against certain kinds of pupils within most schools. Still, it is hard to believe that within-school differences play a large role in inequality when between-school differences play such a small role. Coleman and his colleagues therefore concluded that the major reasons for unequal academic achievement must lie outside the school.

THIS brief summary of the Coleman Report's major findings hardly does justice to the voluminous text, but it does suggest why the report became a major focus of political debate. The report was published at a time when America was vacillating between two different strategies for helping the disadvantaged. Some people advocated racial and socio-economic integration of the schools—and of the larger society. Others argued that integration was unattainable, undesirable or both; the only realistic strategy was to accept segregation and make black schools as good as white ones. The Coleman Report implied—though it did not say explicitly—that *neither* strategy would help achievement much. But insofar as anything was likely to work, the report seemed to indicate that integration was a better bet than what had come to be called "compensatory" education. Yet at the same time the finding that parental interest and pupil attitudes were strongly associated with achievement seemed to give oblique support to those who believed that parental participation and/or control over all-black schools might make a critical difference to student achievement.



"Teachers in schools for the disadvantaged are probably right in feeling that what their children need first is not academic skill but such 'middle-class' virtues as self-discipline and self-respect."

The report's conclusions were inevitably subjected to stringent and sometimes extravagant criticism. The report had been prepared in great haste to meet the Congressional deadline, and the authors had had no time to examine many obvious objections to their tentative conclusions. Skeptics have been able to offer a variety of speculative reasons why the report's conclusions might be wrong, and those who have political reasons for wanting to discredit or ignore the report have naturally found such speculations very persuasive. For the past two years I have been part of a group of Harvard social scientists trying to determine whether any of the hypothetical objections to the report's conclusions are actually correct. My judgment is that the report's broad conclusions were sound, even though many of its specific methods and findings were wrong.

One common criticism of the survey has been that more than 10 per cent of the school districts in the original sample refused to cooperate, including such major cities as Chicago and Los Angeles. Some districts evidently feared that the Federal Government would use the survey to prove they were discriminating against minority groups. Other districts—especially those being sued for *de facto* segregation—feared that minority groups would get hold of the survey results and use them in court or in the press. Some districts also feared that simply asking questions about sensitive racial issues might stir up trouble in the schools. In addition, many schools in nominally cooperative districts failed to return data because it was too much bother or perhaps—a more serious matter—because they had something to hide. As a result, complete returns were received from only about 60 per cent of the schools in the original sample.

There were clearly some small differences between participating and nonparticipating schools, and selective participation may well have led to a slight underestimate of the qualitative differences between black and white schools. But there is no reason to suppose that nonparticipation led to an underestimate of the relationship between school quality and student achievement. It hardly seems likely, for example, that the dynamics of education in Chicago and Los Angeles, which refused to participate, differ significantly from Detroit and San Francisco, which agreed to do so. On the contrary, the dynamics of education are probably much the same in one big city as in another. The problem of nonparticipation is therefore probably a nonproblem.

A second criticism of the survey has been that the information provided by the superintendents, principals, teachers and pupils in the sample schools may not have been accurate. This criticism arose largely because of doubt that black children's teachers and facilities could really be the equal of those given white children. Since the Office of Education made no site visits to check up on the accuracy of replies given by principals and teachers, no definite answer to this charge is possible. Data supplied by state departments of education suggest, however, that the principals' replies about facilities were probably fairly accurate. Direct interviewing of parents in two communities likewise showed that most (though not all) of the pupils' responses were reasonably accurate. And the replies of principals, teachers and students to similar questions show a fairly high level of internal consistency for most "objective" items. On the other hand, questions which involved subjective judgment of any kind did *not* elicit internally consistent answers. The results of such subjective "attitude" questions must therefore be treated with great caution.

A THIRD criticism of the report has been that the authors should not have concentrated on the determinants of verbal ability to the exclusion of reading, mathematics and general information. Those who believe that black people are peculiarly "nonverbal" have even argued that the decision to stress verbal ability was fundamentally racist. Unfortunately, black children did as badly on the tests of other abilities as on the verbal tests. Furthermore, while some individual children did well on one test and badly on another, schools as a whole either did well on them all or badly on them all. A Northern urban elementary school's mean verbal score, for example, correlated almost perfectly with its mean reading and math scores. Under these circumstances it hardly matters which test we use to measure over-all school achievement.

A fourth line of attack on the report has been more technical. The authors of the report employed a number of dubious statistical techniques and made a variety of mechanical errors in handling and labeling their data. But they also recognized that such errors were likely, given the extreme haste with which they worked, and they were generous in helping others reanalyze the data more meticulously These analyses have shown that while the report's broadest conclusions were correct, many important details were wrong. In particular, and contrary to what some critics have argued, the net effect of the report's various errors was to *under*-estimate the importance of family background and *over*-estimate the importance of school in determining achievement.

A fifth criticism of the report has been that the authors made unwarranted causal inferences from their one-shot survey, which by its very nature could reveal only patterns of association rather than prove causation. Two examples illustrate the problem.

The report uncovered a strong association between teacher verbal ability and student achievement in secondary schools. Though they listed a number of qualifications, the authors concluded that able high school teachers probably boosted student achievement. Yet the report's data could equally well lead to the conclusion that school systems were assigning able students to schools with able teachers, or that they were assigning able teachers to schools with able pupils. Since we know from experience that both practices are widespread at the secondary level, it seems rash to assume that there need be any direct causal link between teacher ability and student achievement to explain the observed association between the two.

Fortunately, these problems are far less serious at the elementary level. Students are allocated to elementary schools largely on the basis of residence, race and social status, all of which were measured in the survey. With luck and ingenuity the effects of such allocation can be discounted and the effects of various school characteristics can then be estimated. Since there is little evidence that student transfers at the elementary school level are based on ability (as distinct from family background), the mean achievement of first graders entering a given elementary school can also be used to estimate the mean initial ability of sixth graders in the same school. With these precautions, causal inferences are considerably safer than at the secondary level; and when these precautions are taken, it turns out that facilities, curriculum and teacher characteristics are even less important than Coleman and his colleagues supposed. A student's peers may, however, have a modest effect on his achievement.

Another instance of ambiguous causation was the association between attitudes and achievement. The survey showed, for example, that students who did well on achievement tests were more likely to say that their parents expected them to go to college. The authors concluded that parental expectations probably had an important influence on children's achievement. Yet it would be equally reasonable to conclude that children's achievement had an important influence on their parents' expectations. Most parents know that if their child cannot read competently, he is unlikely to attend college, and the child is likely to be aware of this attitude and report it when asked. This same difficulty arises with all the report's inferences about the effects of attitudes on achievement.

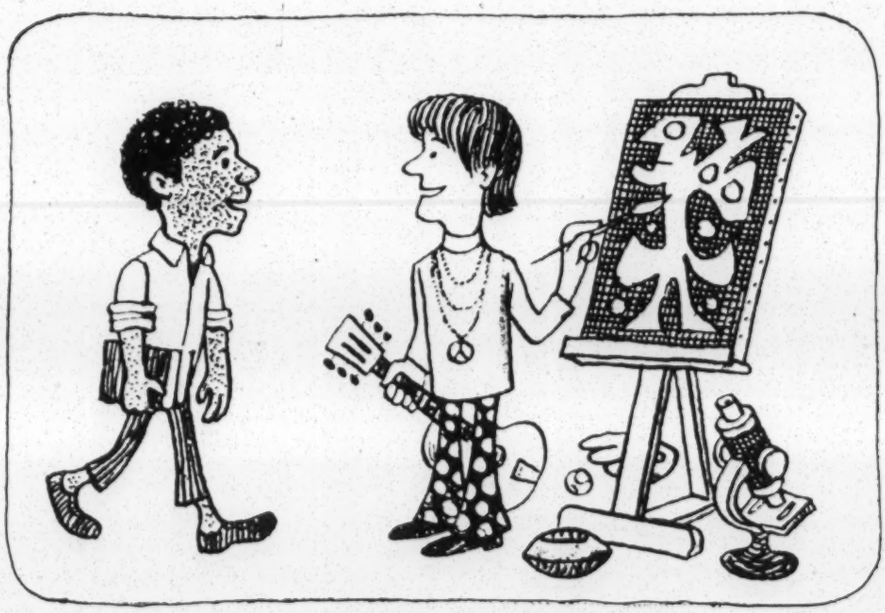
WHAT, then, is the present consensus about the policy implications of Coleman's survey? The answer is that no consensus exists, even among experts. My own judgments are as follows:

(1) The resources—both fiscal and human—devoted to black and white children's schooling are not dramatically different, except perhaps in certain parts of the South. Nor do we devote substantially greater resources to educating middle-class children than to educating lower-class children.

(2) Variations in schools' fiscal and human resources have very little effect on student achievement — probably even less than the Coleman Report originally implied.

(3) The report's assertion that peers have a consistent effect on achievement may or may not be correct. My guess, based on available data, is that peers *do* have an effect, but that it is relatively small.

None of this denies that unusually dedicated and talented individuals can create schools in which initially disadvantaged children learn a remarkable amount. But it does deny that the achieve-



"Coleman and his colleagues concluded that a child was influenced by his classmates' social class, background and aspirations rather than by their race."

"There is reason to believe that children learn mainly from one another instead of from their teachers."

ment levels of large numbers of disadvantaged children can be appreciably enhanced by spending more money, hiring better teachers, buying new textbooks or making any of the other changes that reformers normally advocate.

If improved student achievement is our goal, the Coleman Report's implication is obvious: we must alter the whole social system rather than just tinker with the schools. There is plenty of evidence that major changes in a child's social and cultural environment will affect his intellectual development, often dramatically. Bruno Bettelheim and others have chronicled the impact of the Israeli kibbutz on hitherto deprived North African and Yemenite Jews. Here in America we know that children raised on Long Island do far better, even in first grade, than those raised in Appalachia. Similarly, children raised in Jewish homes do better than those raised in Christian homes, even in the same city. And the World War II draftees who grew up in the America of 1917-1941 did far better on standard tests than the World War I draftees who grew up in the America of 1900-1917. Intellectual skills are, therefore, not just a function of genetic differences. But neither are they a function of school differences. If the Coleman survey convinces us of that basic truth, it will have served its purpose.

"The common assumption is that academic achievement is the most important objective of schooling. . . . Yet there is little evidence that it is critically important to adults in most walks of life."

Does this mean that we should simply let inferior schools rot? I think not. Good schools *can* make a difference —if we know what kind of a difference we want them to make.

Underlying the comments of most people who discuss the Coleman Report is the assumption that academic achievement is the most important objective of schooling, and that if school reform does not affect achievement, it is worthless. Yet despite much popular rhetoric, there is little evidence that academic competence is critically important to adults in most walks of life. If you ask employers why they won't hire dropouts, for example, or why they promote certain kinds of people and not others, they seldom complain that dropouts can't read. Instead, they complain that dropouts don't get to work on time, can't be counted on to do a careful job, don't get along with others in the plant or office, can't be trusted to keep their hands out of the till and so on. Nor do the available survey data suggest that the adult success of people from disadvantaged backgrounds depends primarily on their intellectual skills. If you compare black men who do well on the Armed Forces Qualifications Test to those who do badly, for example, you find that a black man who scores as high as the average white still earns only about two-thirds what the average white earns. Not only that, he hardly earns more than the average black. Even for whites, the mental abilities measured by the A.F.Q.T. account for less than a tenth of the variation in earnings.

WITH these observations in mind, go visit a slum school and ask yourself what the school is actually doing. You will usually find that it seems to share the employers' priorities. It devotes very little time to academic skills. Instead, the teachers spend their days in a vain effort to teach the children to behave in what they (and probably most employers) regard as the proper way. The teachers' ideas about proper behavior are silly in some respects. Nonetheless, they are probably right in feeling that what their children need first and foremost is not academic skill but such "middle-class" virtues as self-discipline and self-respect. It is the school's failure to develop these personal characteristics, not its failure to teach history or physics or verbal skill, that lies behind the present upheavals in the schools. And it is this failure to which reformers should be addressing themselves.

From this perspective the best index of a school's success or failure may not be reading scores but the number of rocks thrown through its windows in an average month. The Coleman survey does not speak to this question. ■

Single Copy, 15¢
Quantity Prices on Request

For additional copies, write to:
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 Lexington Avenue • New York, N.Y. 10016

Bayard Rustin Ed - Higher - Gen

A Word to Black Students

Dissent

This is Mr. Rustin's adaptation of a commencement address he gave at the Tuskegee Institute on May 31, 1970. He is the executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Nov - Dec - 1970

YOUR GENERATION has lived through a period of unprecedented upheaval. Most of you were only five years old when the Supreme Court declared school segregation unconstitutional. You were seven when a young black preacher named Martin Luther King emerged as the leader of the Montgomery bus protest. At eleven you witnessed the beginning of the sit-in movement in Greensboro, North Carolina, and for the next ten years—your adolescent years that were to shape the perspective with which you now look out on the world—you lived through a period in black American history more eventful than any other decade, including the decade of the Civil War. The March on Washington, the outbreak of large-scale violence in hundreds of Negro communities, and the rise of the Black Power movement—these events no doubt had their precedents in the March on Washington movement of 1941, the race riots of 1919 and 1943, and the black nationalist Garvey movement in the 1920s. But in the 1960s they occurred with a driving momentum that made the race problem the central issue in our national politics.

It is difficult to judge precisely what the effect of this experience with uninterrupted social protest has been on your generation (I am referring here to young whites as well as to young blacks). But I would not doubt that it has made the political consciousness of this generation sensitive primarily to what we may call *the upward arc of historical movement.* The problem is that such a consciousness finds it hard to come to grips with the reality that history consists of alternating periods of movement and stagnation, of action and reaction, of tremendous hope and enthusiasm, which can be followed by cynicism and exhaustion. I am not suggesting that this process is inevitable, though to a certain extent it does seem to contain an internal dynamic that operates independently of human will. What I am suggesting is that we must understand this process if we are to be in a position to influence it.

What we must first understand is that the pendulum of history has *already* begun to swing downward. It is impossible now to gauge the extent of this reaction. My own feeling is that the drift to the Right in American politics can be reversed if we do the correct thing. But we cannot escape the conclusion that, for the present at least, the conservatives have made important and ominous gains. They control the White House and, through the power of presidential appointment, have gained a majority on the Supreme Court.

WHAT IS HAPPENING today is not very different from what happened in the 1870s. At that time, the country had been through a period as turbulent as the one we have just experienced. The Civil War and its aftermath left the North with a moral

(Continued on page 581)

government to provide equal employment opportunities for blacks, and Malcolm, towards the end of his life, called for electoral political action as a means to correct unjust conditions.

THE LIKELIHOOD is that the force of reality will have its effect on today's young nationalists as well. The simple fact that masses of blacks are involved in the struggle for equality should temper whatever nationalist tendencies exist, because the need to deal with reality—finding allies in the white community, electing public officials sympathetic to the Negro cause, fighting for new laws and programs—will counteract the impulse to indulge in fantasy. Draper is entirely correct in pointing out that it is still too early to assess the real strength of the present black nationalist movement. "The returns are far from all in," he writes, "and it would be well to wait another five years before making any judgment on what black Americans really want. . . ." My own feeling is that despite the agonizing pressures under which so many blacks live, Negroes as a whole are too *sensible,* too concerned with their own self-interest, to reject realistic political strategies for the flamboyant and self-destructive activities of such groups as the Black Panthers. In the end, Negroes are like other Americans in that they desire simply a better life for themselves, "a place in the sun," as Malcolm put it, and such a goal can only be achieved if Negroes enter *and influence* the mainstream of American political life.

A WORD TO BLACK STUDENTS *(continued from page 496)*

burden it simply could not bear. It was far more interested in pursuing its own commercial interests than in advancing the welfare of Negroes in the South and, of course, the North also suffered from the disease of racism. All hope for black equality collapsed when Northern Republicans worked out a compromise with Southern Democrats in the disputed election of 1876. The Southern Whigs agreed to let the Republicans retain control of the White House, in return for which federal troops were withdrawn from the South and large subsidies were provided for the construction of the Southern railroad system. The Compromise of 1876 initiated the darkest period in the history of American Negroes. The system of Jim Crow was established and lynchings and terrorism became commonplace as poor Southern whites, embittered by poverty, were encouraged to unleash their wrath upon Negroes.

Things have not yet reached that stage today, but the parallels are frightening. The Southern strategy of the Nixon administration is based upon the same principle as the Compromise of 1876: namely, that Northern Republicans and Southern conservatives share common interests and together can rule this nation. I do not think it is possible to condemn too harshly what the President has done in the South in order to form this alliance. Indeed, I can think of no recent President who has more blatantly sacrificed the ideals of equality and racial justice for his own political ends. Nor is Nixon simply riding the wave of reaction. He is encouraging that reaction, for he knows that he became President because of divisions in the society, and that it is in his interest that these divisions grow wider. More specifically, he wants to see another antiblack Wallace vote in 1972, only this time he wants it cast for himself. This is the prime motivation behind the President's opposition to the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, his nominations of Haynsworth and Carswell to the Supreme Court, and his clear message to Southern segregationists that the federal government will not oppose any efforts to roll back whatever advances had been made in school integration. By means of such acts he has helped foster a mood of confrontationism and racial hostility. He has profoundly and perhaps permanently alienated blacks, he has put the white moderates of the South on the defensive, and he has given a go-ahead signal to the reactionaries.

What worries me most about the present situation is that there has been a decline in the effectiveness of some of the forces that have traditionally held reaction at

PAGINATION INCORRECT

bay. In the case of the South, we have already seen how the federal government, formerly an ally in our struggle, has contributed to the resurgence of conservatism. Nationally, the progressive coalition of blacks, liberals, and the trade-union movement, which has been responsible for the major social advances since the New Deal, is now weakened by internal divisions. In part this is due to conflict between blacks and lower-middle-class whites. This conflict has probably been exaggerated in the press, but a disturbing amount of it *does* exist, primarily because of economic competition between the two groups. Such competition can be reduced to a minimum if an expanding economy provides enough opportunities for everybody. But today, partly as a result of the Nixon administration's disastrous economic policies, we are in a recession. Consequently, the likelihood is that there will be an increase in racial tension which will further eat away at the unity of the progressive coalition.

Finally, the dramatic events of the last few years seem to have totally disoriented a sizable portion of the liberal community. Many liberals have lost a sense of purpose and direction. The traditional goals of integration and the expansion of the welfare state are no longer thought to be feasible or even desirable. But they have found no goals to replace the ones they have cast aside, with the result that they have become politically immobile. A number of theories have been created to give this mood a forward-looking image, but it is really little more than an accommodation to the new conservatism.

BY NO MEANS do I want to give the impression that the situation is hopeless. There is a tendency today to anticipate the apocalypse. Such ideas are sheer indulgence, because even if there were any truth to them—and I do not believe there is—it would be our duty to act so as to prevent the worst from happening rather than to enable the fulfillment of our prophesies. Such moods can be harmful, for, as George Orwell has pointed out, "an effect can become a cause, reinforcing the original cause and producing the same effect in an intensified form, and so on indefinitely. A man may take to drink because he feels himself to be a failure, and then fail all the more completely because he drinks." Our struggle is too important, there is still so much that remains unaccomplished, that it would be a grave error were we to indulge in this "end-of-the-world" chatter.

The situation is not hopeless. There are progressive forces at work in American society that did not exist in 1876. There is, first of all, the militant desire for racial justice, which is shared by countless numbers of young blacks like yourselves. In the words of the civil-rights song, I don't think that anybody is going to turn you 'round—not now, not after we have come so far. Then there is the black vote, which in both the North and the South has become a major new factor in American politics. This vote has increased not only in numbers but also in sophistication, and in addition to the gains it has already won for blacks, it exercises a restraining influence on the scope and effectiveness of anti-Negro forces. The problems George Wallace had in the Alabama primaries should make this point eminently clear.

Last, there is the trade-union movement which, though much maligned from both Right and Left, remains the strongest bulwark against reaction. Let us be very clear that the civil-rights forces alone could not have defeated Haynsworth and Carswell. They succeeded only because they were allied with the trade-union movement, and it is this alliance, based upon mutual interest between blacks and labor, which offers hope for future progress.

Thus, there are factors working both for and against the achievement of full racial equality. In a very real sense, we are at a crossroads. If Mr. Nixon succeeds in carrying out his Southern strategy, then the commitment to equality, on which America defaulted almost 100 years ago, will again be deferred to some future

time. And if he fails, then we will be provided with an opportunity to resolve once and for all a central dilemma of American life—the relationship of blacks to American society and, in an even more profound sense, their relationship with themselves. Our task is to see to it that he fails.

If we are to have any hope of accomplishing this task, it is essential that we make an important distinction between issues of politics and problems in psychology. We should see this as a distinction between what we do in order to influence the political and economic relations in the society and what, in a more personal way, we do to achieve self-knowledge and identity. Now I do not think that these are hard and fast categories that totally exclude one another. A just society certainly encourages a healthy psychology, and individuals can find personal fulfillment through political involvement. But I think we must make this distinction, because in periods of great social upheaval—and we are living through such a period—there is a tendency to politicize all things, including scholarship, art, friendship, and love. The most extreme form of this total politicization is totalitarianism, a stage we have not yet reached. But even a moderate form of it can be dangerous since it can lead to a politics so preoccupied with psychological issues that the goals of political action are obscured and even rendered unobtainable.

AS YOU WELL KNOW, a great cultural revolt is taking place among many young black Americans. Young blacks are striking down the traditional symbols of racism. They are taking new pride in their cultural heritage and are demanding to be accepted as full and equal human beings. I think this is an exciting and creative social phenomenon, but it raises three political problems, which we must analyze carefully.

•The first is that in some instances the cultural revolt includes a demand for racial separatism, which is entirely self-defeating from a political standpoint. Translated into political terms, the cultural revolt too often expresses itself as a desire for self-determination. Now this is a very complex issue, with which A. Philip Randolph tried to deal almost 30 years ago. At that time, he acknowledged that "the Negro and the other darker races must look to themselves for freedom. Salvation for a race, nation, or a class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted." But Mr. Randolph did not mean that blacks should isolate themselves from broader political movements in the society. He followed that statement with these words of caution: "But Negroes must not fight for their liberation alone. They must join sound, broad, liberal, social movements that seek to preserve American democracy and advance the cause of social and religious freedom."

This should indicate a political principle that we must never forget. As long as blacks constitute only 11 percent of the population, any go-it-alone strategy is bound to fail. Separatism can only aid Nixon's Southern strategy which is designed to build a conservative majority on the basis of hostility to blacks. In this sense separatism is the opposite of self-determination, because it can lead only to the continued subjection of blacks. Real self-determination can only be achieved by a unified black movement joining with other progressive social forces to form a coalition that represents a majority of the population. We must keep this in mind, if we are to prevent the black cultural revolt from playing into the hands of white conservatives and segregationists who are the very worst enemies we have.

•A second problem is that the cultural revolt has been accompanied by a growing tendency to justify, and sometimes engage in, violence as a form of political struggle. A clear distinction must, of course, be drawn between the violence of the oppressor and the reactive violence of the oppressed. Morally, the former is more

reprehensible than the latter. But we must also judge the use of violence by the oppressed from a *political* standpoint. The question here is whether violence is an effective form of political struggle.

I think it can be demonstrated that for a racial minority the use of violence is not only politically ineffective but counterproductive and even suicidal. Who benefits when blacks engage in violence? Do blacks benefit, or do George Wallace, Spiro Agnew, John Mitchell, and Richard Nixon? I ask this question rhetorically, since it should be clear that violence can do nothing more than produce a reaction against blacks that will strengthen our enemies and thereby make it impossible to achieve the things we so badly need. In the end it is not the black community that stands to gain from some of the more extreme activities of the Black Panthers and similar groups; it is the people who call for more police and less social spending. The problem is not only that violence obstructs the achievements of social change by strengthening the Right; it also obscures the very meaning of social change by offering the desperate adventures of a few "revolutionaries" as an alternative to the mobilization of political majorities, and by making it appear that killing a cop is a serious alternative to full employment. I am not here discussing the motives of young blacks who preach violence. But I do call into question the effects of their actions. If we are to think strategically about eliminating racial injustice, then we should not be satisfied with an approach that results in aggravating our problems.

•Finally, the third problem raised by the cultural revolt is that it has been exclusively preoccupied with racial issues and has thus tended to ignore other issues that are also vitally important. Ralph Ellison has written of his "struggle to stare down the deadly and hypnotic temptation to interpret the world and all its devices in terms of race." He wrote this as an artist who has devoted his life to portraying human reality in all its complexity. I would like, if I may, to apply Ellison's idea to the economic situation of black Americans today.

It goes without saying that Negroes are brutalized by racial prejudice and discrimination. What is not often remembered, however, is that were we to eliminate racism today we would have solved only part of the problem, and perhaps not even the major part. The fact is that we live in a society that not only tolerates a relatively high level of unemployment, but is willing to increase that rate in order to combat inflation. Automation is eliminating thousands of jobs that were held by both whites and blacks. This problem does not spring from blackness but from a technological revolution that has affected all poor people regardless of their race. We might psychoanalyze racism out of all the prejudiced white people in the country, but until we are willing to accept the principle that every able-bodied man or woman has the right to a decent and well-paying job, we shall not have begun to attack the economic roots of racial injustice. We need a social and economic program that will wipe out poverty, and we need that far more than we need pure white hearts. I do not mean to disparage the attack on racism, but if we do only that, we shall provide an out for those whites who are far more interested in "giving a damn" about impoverished blacks than in doing the economically more uncomfortable things that could eliminate hunger and deprivation.

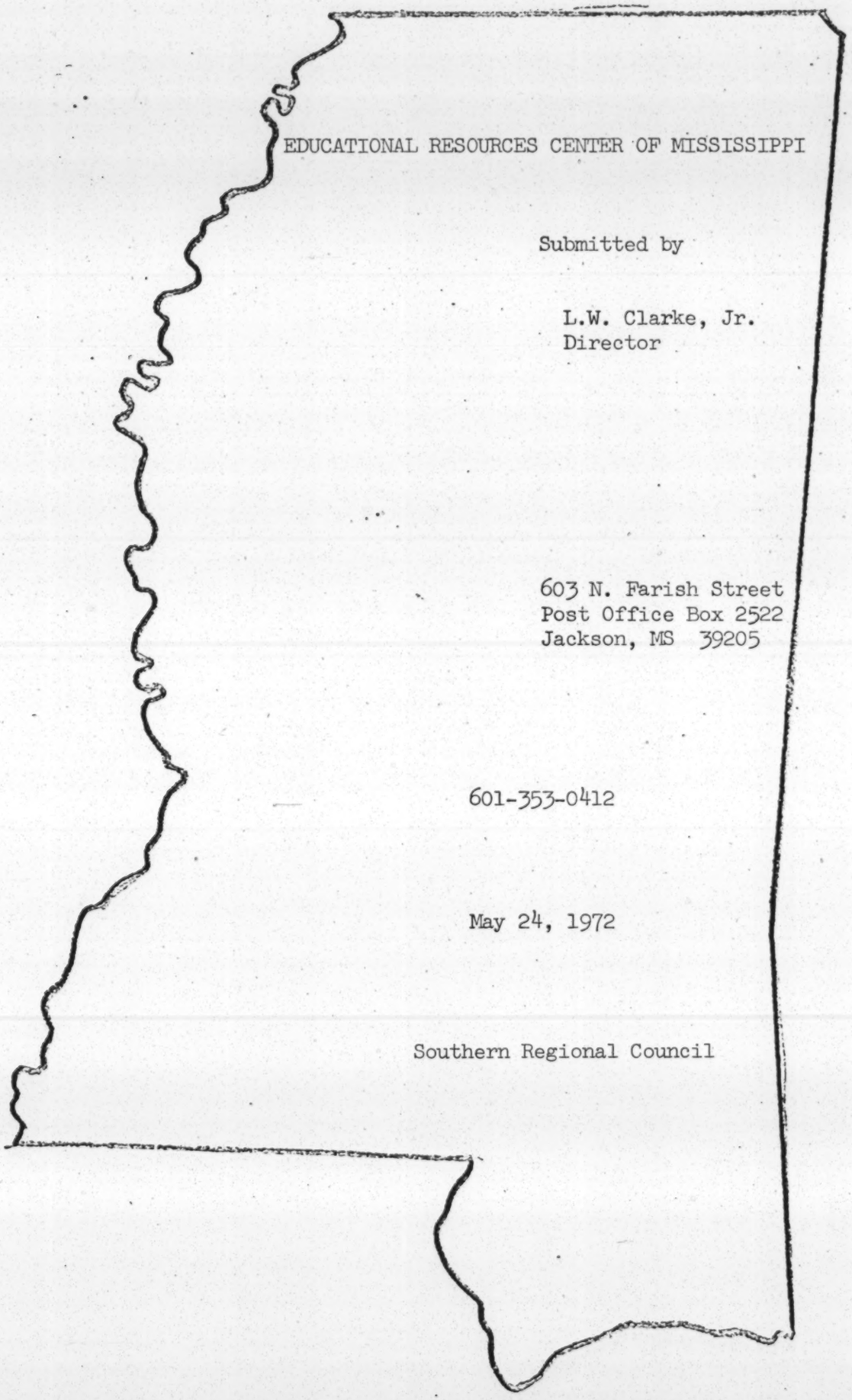
I emphasize these economic problems for a special reason. You are part of an intellectual elite among blacks. As such, it is extraordinarily important that you not lose touch with the problems and aspirations of the great mass of blacks who are not part of this elite. In order to do this you must guard against the possibility of becoming concerned only with intellectual, cultural, and racial issues while the problems of lower- and working-class blacks remain economic. These millions of black people do not have the choice of withdrawing into the kind of concerns, sometimes mere fantasies, which are now prevalent among certain elements of the black intel-

ligentsia, and until they do have that choice, it is your responsibility to fight for programs that will enable them to achieve full economic justice.

I think it is also your responsibility, especially those of you who will go on to graduate work and university teaching, to protect the intellectual integrity of the university. In *The Souls of Black Folks,* W. E. B. DuBois wrote that the function of the university is above all "to be the organ of that fine adjustment between real life and the growing knowledge of life, an adjustment which forms the secret of civilization." You must help it perform that function, particularly in the controversial field of black studies. The study of the black experience in America is so vital to an understanding of our country and our people that it must attract scholars of the very highest intellectual eminence. We must not permit this promising area of study to become a refuge for charlatans more skilled at intellectual intimidation than investigation. For this reason it is essential that those students and faculty members who are committed to upholding the scholarly standards of black studies firmly refuse to accommodate anyone who would debase them.

WE ARE LIVING in a time of such rapid change that we must continuously redefine our terms and reassert those principles which seem to hold some truth. I do not regard as radical or progressive any black person who does anything that strengthens the forces of conservatism. I therefore do not regard as radical those who talk of separatism, however loud may be their words and however militant and controversial their actions. For all practical purposes, they stand with the opponents of our struggle. I do not regard as radical those who advocate violence only to bring about repression. I do not regard as radical those who moralize about the evils of white society, if at the same time they do not present a program that can solve the problems of black society. Nor are they radical who assume a revolutionary posture, but who then propose nothing more than an escape from American political reality and from the grinding social struggles that we must participate in. The real radical is that person who has a vision of equality and is willing to do those things that will bring reality closer to that vision. And by equality I do not mean "separate but equal," a phrase created by segregationists in order to prevent the attainment of equality. I mean equality based upon an integrated social order in which black people, proud of their race and their heritage, shall have no door closed to them.

In such a social order there will no longer be walls, representing fear and insecurity, to separate people from one another. Such walls, whether constructed by whites or by blacks, are built to oppress and repress, but never to liberate. I admit that most likely we will not achieve such equality next month, or next year, or even in this decade. But it is a goal that we must hold ever before us, even in the darkest of times, for it not only confers dignity upon our struggle, but it should indicate to us how we must act toward one another today if we are to preserve for tomorrow the possibility of a just society.



EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES CENTER OF MISSISSIPPI

Submitted by

L.W. Clarke, Jr.
Director

603 N. Farish Street
Post Office Box 2522
Jackson, MS 39205

601-353-0412

May 24, 1972

Southern Regional Council

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES CENTER OF MISSISSIPPI

ABSTRACT OF PROPOSAL

This is a proposal for the refunding of the Educational Resources Center of Mississippi Program. The funds are sought for the continuation of the effort to deliver a systematic approach of educational assistance to those persons, groups, organizations and institutions in the state of Mississippi.

The work program is designed to respond to educational problems peculiar to indigeneous Mississippi communities by fashioning solutions and giving meaningful insight towards resolving conflicts therein. It is a program to utilize an expertise in the identification and resolution of educational conflicts and to introduce the benefits, responsibilities and protections guaranteed by that system of laws inherent in the United States Constitution. To be sure, it is a planning, resources, information, assisting, organizing, technical assistance type of educational program.

The beneficiaries of a relevant educational resources program will be: Mississippi students, parents, persons, teachers, groups and administrators. The community, the towns, cities, counties and ultimately the nation will benefit. This proposal is for funding in the amount of $500,000.00 for a two year period, beginning June 1972 as follows:

1st year	$225,000.00
2nd year	$275,000.00

General Background

Mississippi has, for years been stereotyped as a backward, racist society. Though exceptions to this could always be found the stereotype was well earned. Professor James Silver wrote a book of considerable notoriety, entitled Mississippi: The Closed Society, which lists hundreds of specific incidents that reflect this understanding of the state.

In its past history, Mississippi has typically elected public officials who reflect the "Old South" image and rhetoric. This image and rhetoric has usually been backed by specific programs. For instance, although Mississippi now receives about $3 in Federal monies for every $2 that go out of the State, the hostility toward "Federal intervention and proposed takeover" has been manifested by such things as the fact that practically every OEO program in the State during the administration of Governor John Bell Williams was vetoed by the Governer, and required an agency override to be funded. This was true of the North Mississippi Rural Legal Services program and Statewide Head Start Program among others. Meanwhile, there has been general receptivity and support of things (apparently considered more "patriotic") such as military bases, the NASA test site, and the ship building industry on the coast which manufactures nuclear submarines and destoryers.

During his first term as Governor of Mississippi (1916), Theodore Bilbo created the Mississippi Illiteracy Commission, purportedly for the honorable purpose of raising the litaracy rate of the general citizenry. However, according to A. B. Lewis, elderly sage of the NAACP, the MIC was used through the years as

one more move in a series of moves to devise standards which would prevent black citizens from qualifying to register to vote. While absolute interpretations are not possible, it is noteworthy that "tests" were devised for black registrants requiring such impossible things as quoting lengthy portions of the State constitution, in order to be allowed to register. Mr. Lewis notes that tests for white registrants were required also, but the "meaning" of the consitution was sufficient for a white to pass. As recently as the early 1960's, Governor Ross Barnett reinforced this way of thinking in his nationally televised statement, "The right to vote is a great privilege, not to be intrusted to people who do not understand the importance of what they are doing."

Educational TV was allowed into the State only after much deliberation in the State Legislature. Chief objections to ETV centered around "Sesame Street" and the general feeling that ETV was subversive in nature. The issues continued until May 1970. (ETV has operated since 1968) In March 1972, it appears the State Legislature will again inhibit the growth of ETV by substantially decreasing the budget.

The 1970-71 school year was the first full year of school operation under a Federal mandate to desegregate totally. While the ensuing traumas did move many of the State's 150 school districts to a reasonably equitable ratio of desegregation, there was still massive resistance in various forms. Often the whites resisted desegregation and found diverse means of getting around the intent of the desegregation plan for their particular school districts. Blacks also were found resisting-sometimes they were resisting

the white resistence; sometimes they protested the Federal Court order or HEW plan which was discovered to have serious flaws. By the time of this writing, the reports of black teacher demotions and dismissals, abuse of Title I funds, curtailing of extracurricular activities in public schools, white flight to private schools and continuing white control of school districts are legendary.

In terms of minority citizens in Mississippi, about 40% of the State is minority (black, Choctaw Indian and others), which is the largest minority percentage of any state in the Union. The Choctaw Indian community of about 3,800 is located primarily in Neshoba County. There is a paucity of Chicano and Oriental people in the State. Most of the minority population is black, and the heaviest concentration of blacks is in the "Delta" (western part of the State, adjacent to the Mississippi River) and in the central part of the State. For instance, minority population percentages in Delta counties include: Tunica (80%), Wilkinson (71%), Coahoma (68%), Bolivar (68%), Washington (55%), Sunflower (64%), Sharkey (70%), Issaquena (67%), Clairborne (76%), Yazoo (60%). Of the State's 82 counties, 29 have over 50% black population, and an additional 19 counties have 40 to 50% minority population.

There is an increasing concern and awareness within the black community in Mississippi for education problems and ways to deal with them. While there are some organizations and leadership scattered throughout the State, there exists no unified effort to coordinate or communicate on a statewide level. Local groups often pursue their objectives without the benefit of the thinking and/or resources of other groups in the State which are faced or have been

faced with the same problems. While we can point to outstanding, and in some instances, sophisticated minority leadership throughout the State, the sphere of influence tends to be localized. (There would, of course, be a few exceptions to this, but they would be mainly political exceptions.)

THE PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AS IT EFFECTS THE BLACK COMMUNITY

With the implementation of school desegregation orders in January, 1970, certain patterns began to develop that created new problems for Black people. Most of these arose out of the circumstances whereby all-white school boards and administrators were making the day to day decisions, while the Black community was still isolated from the decision-making process.

The prime problem is illustrated by the often expressed attitude of school officials in the Courts that the feelings of Whites must be taken into consideration in both the plan and implementation of desegregation to prevent their disillusionment with the system of public schooling. There has been a general feeling expressed that White dissatisfaction could lead to White withdrawal from the schools and a lessening of the public support for the system. Conversely, it has been assumed that Black people would live with whatever happened as they had no place to flee to. Because of these attitudes, several problems have arisen in the porcess of desegregation that Black people view as critical.

A. Bi-racial committees seem to represent poor Black people who have been excluded from policy-making in the past, while having Whites that are throughly familiar with the proceedures. It is also felt that the White members have the expertise of the school officials at their disposal. This has tended to polarize the committees (both those set up for school desegregation and those set up for Title I, ESEA).

For instance, one county school district was allocated $200,000 for Title I school programs. Of this, $160,000 was used for salaries. Ninety percent of the Title I coordinators in the State are White. Minorities are rarely well represented on local Title I advisory committees, and are generally not well informed as to what the issues are. A frequent experience by Black committee members (who sometimes are rather unsophisticated and unacquainted with such proceedings) is that the committee meetings are merely the time when a school official makes a report; their "advice" as committee members is not sought. In other words, their role is reduced to that of hearing announcements about what somebody else has already decided.

Bi-racial Committees have usually been rather ineffective in dealing with minority student and teacher problems. Reasons vary in different communities. Often the minority members of those committees are not truly representative of the minority community and are sometimes found to be as insensitive to minority student needs as White members.

Therefore, there is a great need for the development of means of the Black members to be able to acquire the expertise needed to make their presence on such committees viable.

B. Black people traditionally have had to rely on the press for their information on school matters. Most school boards have met on desegregation matters in executive session, and the Black community is unable to gain the necessary information to have any effect on the decisions. Therefore, there is a need for an agency that can gather and disseminate information to the Black community relative to their school system's status.

C. Black people have been alienated from the schools due to the desegregation process. Many schools have dropped extra-curricular activities, including those (such as P.T.A.) in which the whole community has tradition-

ally been involved. The school which had been somewhat a center of activity and infromation in the Black community then becomes a part of that alien White world. Therefore, there is a need to assist the Black community to become truly integrated into the school system, for it is only when they can come to share the feeling that the school is theirs can true education take place.

Minority people are in need of information and assistance in order to deal with the inequities of the educational establishment.

D. Many Black schools have been closed, and are not in use. Therefore, there is a need to enable the Black community to gain an input into the decisions that lead to school closings, and to gain a voice in the use of such buildings if they are closed.

E. Ability grouping (tracking) has resulted in resegregated classes in many integrated districts. Many Black students are tracked into vocational curricula, because of poor counseling services. Student Counseling Services often discriminate against minority students who are interested in college prep courses.

F. Black students are feeling the brunt of White hostilities in some instances. There have been some fights and there have been numerous misunderstandings of the cultural expression of Black students. Therefore, Black students need to find ways of developing for themselves coherent ways in which they can integrate a school without losing their identity as Black people and yet cope with the hostilities present in the political climate that now exists.

G. Curricular changes to accommodate Black students entering into the White system are not evident. Curriculum is typically unresponsive to minority student's needs. Revision is badly needed. Rhetoric on the part of most Blacks and White, without comprehension of the possibility

of well integrated multi-ethnic curriculum. There is a need for Black people to understand the curricular possibilities and for them to develop ways of bringing these into the structure of the school system.

H. Typically, even in school districts which have become virtually all-Black (such as Wilkinson County), the school board and top school officials remain White. The minority community experiences not only the insult of this situation, but also the unresponsiveness of Whites to the particular needs of Black students and teachers.

Black leadership in public schools is disappearing. Black teachers and administrators have been demoted, fired, or otherwise displaced in the desegregation process. As with student problems, teachers and administrative problems are endless in variety. See Appendix A for statistics related to teacher firings and demotions.

There have been numerous dismissals (or non-renewals of contracts) of Black teachers. (A number of Whites have left the public schools, also, but many of these have gone to the private academies or quit rather than teach Black children). Whether these teachers were dismissed by objective or subjective criteria is not the main issue. The overall effect on the morale of the community is poor. Teachers need to find ways to get together and sort out their problems, including ways to come up to the new standards, so that the school system can be truly inter-racial.

I. <u>White Flight to Private Academies</u>

While a cursory examination of this phenomenon may indicate only that it lessons the burdens on public schools, in Mississippi, State school officials have declared that State owned school books "follow the student," whether in public or private schools. While this is perhaps not inherently destructive, ERC has known of some instances where students in public schools did not have all their textbooks, while students in a nearby academy had a full supply of new, State provided, books.

J. Drop-outs

The drop-outs rate in public schools is averaging about 18,000 students per year for the past three years. This is not counting white flight to private academies or those who never attend school. See Appendix B.

K. Teachers Are Usually Unprepared to Deal With Integrated Classes.

In particular, White teachers often either ignore or display open hostility toward minority students in the classrooms. This is probably a result of traditional racial isolation which produces lack of understanding and lack of desire to understand.

L. Minority Students are Often Victimized by unfamiliar rules, insensitive White teachers and school officials, dual disciplinary standards, assignments to previously all-white schools where White school traditions continue, etc. The results include a disproportionate number of suspensions, disciplinary measures and expulsions. Of course, these outward, visible problems do not fully reflect the inward traumas suffered by the victims. Rarely is the minority student in a position of fully participating either in the system as it is, or in the determination of his own destiny in terms of how school will benefit him. Often, most or all extracurricular activities are discontinued in the "desegregated" setting, for the apparent purpose of minimizing inter-racial mixing of students.

II. THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI HAS HAD EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS ASIDE FROM DESEGREGATION

A. Several studies have shown that the status of Mississippi education is not up to the general standards across the country. The Booz, Allen, Hamilton Report of 1967 pinpointed many of the problems and indicated some of the immediate quantitative means of improving the situation. Although that report was the impetus for a large raise in teacher salaries, it did not effect much overall change in the educational system.

B. Mississippi remains on the bottom of the scale in most educational catagories, even today. It is further losing many of its finer teachers to other areas of the nation. A State Department of Education study released this year showed that over half of the education graduates from State Universities leave the state. Few teachers trained elsewhere come into the state. This is especially true of Black teachers. Thus, there has been a certain ingrownness and isolation of education in Mississippi that goes beyond the statistical problems.

C. Mississippi schools are further torn asunder by the general societal problems of race. This has lead to many systems trying to "professionalize" the school system, excluding the community from its natural role. While this avoids some of the confrontations, it inhibits the system from responding to the needs of all segments of the community.

D. Resistance to change has been evident in numerous ways. For instance, immediately following the 1954 Supreme Court decision (Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education), the Mississippi State Legislature repealed the compulsory school attendance law. To this day, there is no compulsory school attendance law in the state. At $534.00 per pupil per year, Mississippi spends less per pupil on education than any other state, except Alabama. Mississippi also receives 22.1% of its public school budget from the Federal Government, which is a greater percentage than any other state. Meanwhile, spokesmen for what appears to be

the majority of the White community have manifested severe hostility toward the Federal Government's "outside intervention" into educational affairs of the State. A positive and hopeful development, however, is the new administration of Governor Bill Waller and Lieutenant Governor William Winter. The Governor has stated that he hopes to "move Mississippi into the mainstream of American life."

III. THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES CENTER

Following the order of the U.S. Supreme Court on October 29, 1969, a meeting of people historically concerned about school desegregation was called under the auspices of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and the American Friends Service Committee. Those in attendance felt that there were two crucial problems that must be dealth with: (1) maintaining White confidence in the public system; (2) maintaining Black integrity in the process of desegregation. As one result the sponsors of the meeting, along with many of the participants, held subsequent meetings that resulted in the formation of the Educational Resources Center.

The need for the Center was agreed upon by all concerned, but the concepts went through a long series of negotiations before a structure emerged. At base was the difficulty in negotiating a coalition take out among groups of teachers, parents and students that would be acceptable to all and that would not be weighed down by a cumbersome mechanism. After several months, a sturcture was arrived at and a board elected (see attached initial proposal of the Educational Resources Center to private sources).

The Educational Resources Center was established as a coalition of groups with an historical interest in school desegregation. It is a non-profit association of such groups, and is an agency that is not attempting to create new constituencies for itself. It has sought funds from private sources to begin operation. Funds have been forthcoming from Field Foundation, Aaron Norman Fund, Southern Education Foundation, and the Joint Foundation support. The Educational Resources Center relied upon such groups as the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, the American Friends Service Committee, The Washington Research Project, and

the National Council of Churches. With this support it was able to hire an initial staff and begin operation.

On April 1, 1971, ERC obtained a $105,000 grant from the Office of Education (ESAP). This grant allowed ERC to expand its service and increases its staff to include: One (1) secretary, One (1) research assistance, two (2) staff members, a Xerox copy machine and a state wide WATS line.

With four staff members. ERC was able to cover more school districts and service more groups throughout the state. See Appendix C for a comprehensive report of activities.

IV. BACKGROUND OF THE CONSTITUENT GROUPS:

Mississippi Teachers Association: This predominately Black professional association worked to achieve a merger (and intergration) with the predominately White Mississippi Education Association. However, despite their efforts and those of the National Education Association the merger could not be culminated. As a result the MTA is the only nationally recognized teacher organization in Mississippi. It represents the interests of 8,000 teachers.

The Delta Ministry: This agency of the National Council of Churches has had an educational program in the state for six years. It is a non-profit, non-membership, agency doing community service. It has worked in supportive roles in the community for facilitating freedom of choice, providing tutorial assistance, and helping organize people for the protection of their human rights. It played a large role in the uncovering of the maladministration of Title I, ESEA funds in Mississippi and has provided technical assistance to community groups on educational issues.

Mississippi Action for Progress: This agency has worked to develop local leadership in the Black community for three years. Working in majority Black areas of the state, it has given educational and technical assistance to the community as it tried to come to grips with its local problems.

NAACP: This organization is the oldest supporter of school desegregation in the State and has chapters in almost every county. From its membership has come many of the plaintiffs that have brought school cases to the federal courts.

In addition to these organizations, there are other agencies with which the ERC is associated. These agencies are relied upon for their

community contacts, their advice, and their technical assistance. Among them are several poverty programs, principally, Community Education Extension of Mary Holmes College, and Systematic Training and Redevelopment (STAR). All the major legal groups that have been involved in school matters have accepted on advisory role to the ERC: NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, North Mississippi Rural Legal Services, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

V. BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF ERC

(Black) Robert Clark, House of Representative, two terms (5 years), Lexington, MS, Chairman of Board of Directors

(Black) Dave Rice, Director of Community Education Extension of Mary Holmes College (17 county area), Jackson, MS

(Black) Quentill Gipson, teacher, 10 years, Holly Springs, MS

(Black) W.A. Reed, Jr., Ex-teacher, Board of Directors of Mississippi Teacher Association, Meridian, MS

(Black) E.T. Hawkins, Ex-principal, 20 years, Board of Directors Mississippi Teachers Association, Forest, MS

(Black) Jake Ayers, Delta Ministry, Active in community organizing for 10 years, Glenn Allen, MS

(White) Rev. Rims Barber, Delta Ministry, Educational Coordinator for the organization for 6 years, Greenville, MS

(Black) Howard Gunn, Mary Holmes Junior College, Director of Extension Programs, 10 years in community involvement, Okolona, MS

(Black) C.J. Duckworth, Executive Secretary for Mississippi Teachers Association, 25 years involvement in education, Jackson, MS

(Black) H.M. Thompson, Prsident of MTA-NEA, 25 years in education, Jackson, MS

(Black) Richard Polk, Director, Tuff University Medical Center, 10 years in community organizing, Mound Bayou, MS

(Black) Alex Waites, Ex-Exectuive Secretary of State NAACP, 6 years, Jackson, MS

VI. RATIONALE

There has been good, but scattered, work done by local minority groups and leaders in the State, toward solving education-related problems. This is true for a variety of reasons, chielfly-lack of information, lack of resources, and lack of effective community organization. The result, with a few exceptions, is that either things just "happen to" the minority community, or local people find themselves in the midst of raw protest, and then call the Justice Department, hoping somebody will "make the man do right". Minority participation, it seems to us, must be stressed in order to deter this contemporary version of paternalism.

Good, solid minority leadership does exist throughout the State. But it is so fragmented and isolated that overall strength is dissipated. Consequently, problems continue in wide variety, and disenchantment with the system grows. It is no secret that by this point in history minority community has little faith in governmental agencies as a problem solvers and/or enforcers of the law (the court order, the Singleton Ratio for teachers, etc.) New solutions are being sought. We see this as a positive factor, moving toward a more independent posture in the minority community. Nevertheless, frustration within the minority community increases.

There are also problems with agencies in the State that deal with community and education-related problems. North Mississippi Rural Legal Services can operate only within the bounds of the Northern Judicial District. Community Legal Services can operate only within the boundaries of Hinds County. No such service exists in the Southern Judicial District (except Hinds County). Mississippi

Teachers Association has developed beyond their central office in Jackson, to five regional offices in the State, under what is called the Uni-Serv system. But focus is strictly on teacher problems.

It should be noted that even with strong minority leadership, little is known about the processes of negotiation. We know of instances where student and adult leaders have approached school officials with a view toward getting student demands heard. Initial frustration leads to threats, and often the result is embarrassment on the part of the demanding group, because they did not have access to such things as the court order, the Singleton Ratio, or other basic equipment (homework) that would have put them in a position of strength to negotiate.

Finally, we have discovered that minority leaders and communities are out of touch with each other. In effect, this means that the expertise of one is not available to the other; and common problems are rarely shared.

A communications and resources network would be a logical outgrowth of the type of involvement which ERC has had in Mississippi. A statewide constituency which was developed as a result of ERC's activities would be served by a network of resource agencies rather than by two or three ERC field representatives. Based on its past successes, ERC is the ideal agency to sponsor an effort to bring together minority constituencies and resource agencies in the State.

ERC has a professional staff which includes expertise in the areas of educational research and community organization. (See Appendix D for resumes) The Center provides field services of

negotiation, organization, concilation and technical assistance to local groups and serves as a clearinghouse of information.

Contacts with minority community throughout the State indicate an expressed interest in and need for a central resource center which increasingly coordinate various local, state and federal resources, act as a clearinghouse on educational information and provide technical assistance on education related problems to the minority community on a statewide basis.

The resources center which will be strengthened and supported by constituency and resource agencies will continue to provide services such as monitoring, information dissimination, referral, crisis, response, and conciliation in an effort to further develop this statewide network. The center will also provide a base in Jackson from which efforts can be coordinated to establish a working relationship with the State planning agencies and the State Department of Education.

VII. PURPOSE

To provide an information and support mechanism that will enable Black people to come into unitary school systems with integrity as contributors to the total education of the community.

To provide a mechanism of technical assistance so that the Black community can be better able to participate in decisions that affect the schools.

To provide a mechanism that will enable community people to respond to emergency situations, involving the schools.

To work for unifying efforts for educational change by facilitating communication and centralizing information within the Black community.

To carry out a program of education reform which will relate to and resolve problems having an impact on large numbers of persons.

To build better human relations and consistently and responsibly educate persons groups and communities relative to their human and cicil rights.

VIII. GOALS

A. To provide a mechanism through which consultant services and technical assistance can be made available to local community groups. To this end a wide range of consultants will be sought out and secured for conferences, institutes, and individual consultation. These services will upgrade the technical ability of local persons, heretofore isolated from the decision-making process, as well as provide the needed cross-fertilization to overcome a certain provincialism in both the community of the poor and the official educational community (especially in rural districts).

B. To develop State-wide coordinated network among those who are moving for educational change. To this end various coordinated activities will be developed for the dispersal of information and the exchange of ideas throughout the state. These services will enable a more conprehensive approach to the problems of integrating the school systems of the state with a respect for the integrity of both races.

C. To provide private alternatives to resources previously held in a monopoly by local and state educational agencies. To this end the total program will enable many persons to increase their

technical abilities, to establish independent channels of communication, and to break their dependencies on single sources of information and services.

D. To devleop models of coordination and cooperation that will strenthen the educational structures of this largely rural state. To this end it is hoped to strengthen community (parent) groups, teacher groups, and student groups, to the end that they can participate with the officials of their schools system in establishing models of good relations and involvement on a broad based level.

IX. OBJECTIVES AND PRIORITIES

A. To assist parent and community representatives on Bi-racial committees.

B. To provide information and training for community persons.

C. To develop models of programming and means of implementing models.

D. To monitor the implementation of desegregation as it effects the integrity of persons (as well as technically), providing linkage with official agencies for correction or improvement of methods of implementation.

E. To do research into educational change and ascertain the viability of concepts in the Mississippi situation.

F. To research and interpret new programs and policies of both state and federal educational agencies.

G. To provide teacher training from a Black and community perspective.

H. To assist teachers with problems of job security and competence.

I. To develop curricular ideas from a Black and community perspective.

J. To assist students to find ways of maintaining their personal and racial integrity within the context developing models of legal and peaceful relations within the unitary system.

K. To strengthen the relationships between the implementation of plans for a unitary school system and other programs. (principally those such as the poverty programs.)

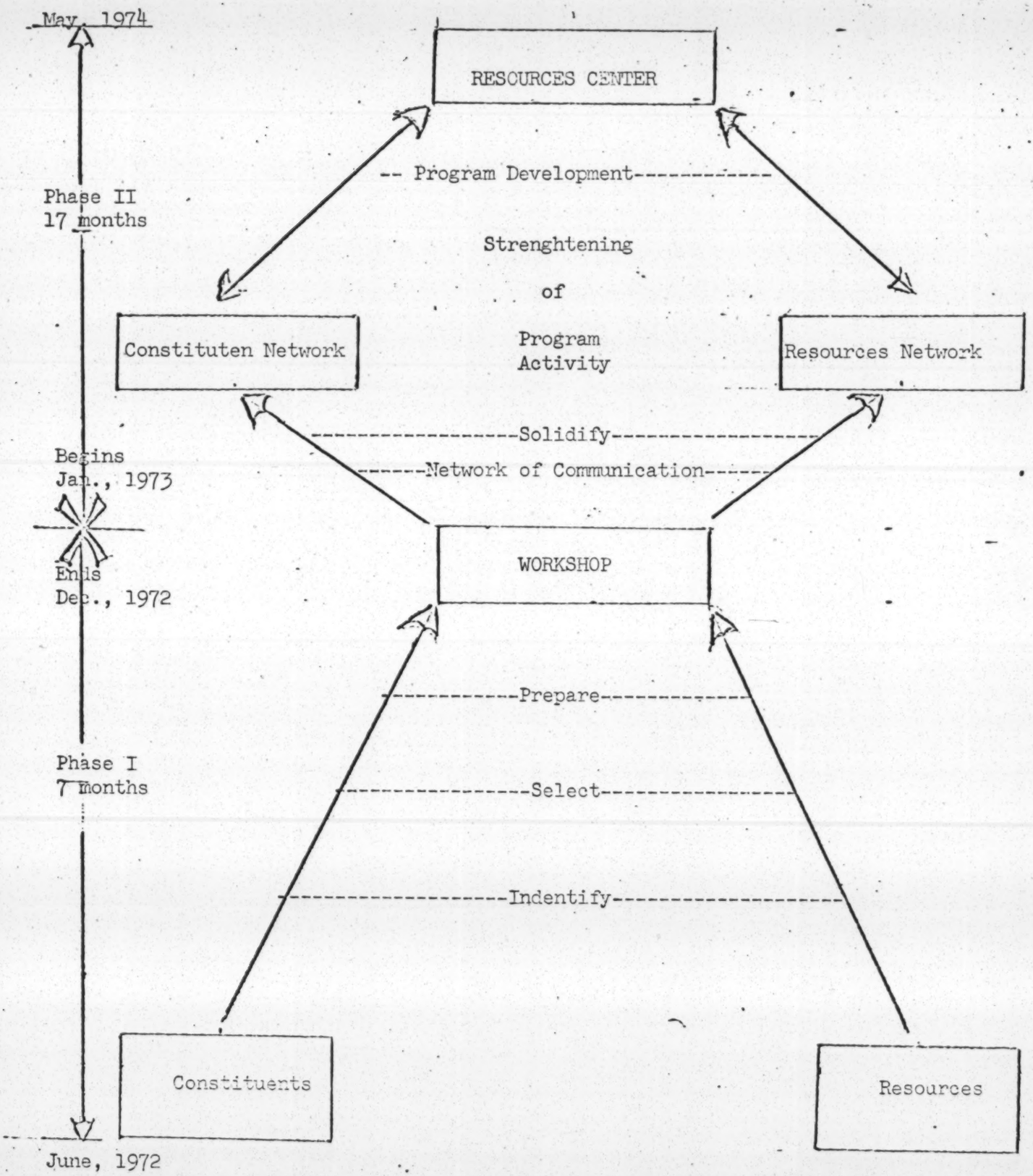
X. PRINCIPAL ACTIVITIES

The activities to achieve the above stated goals and objectives will be divided into two major phases. Phases I will concern itself with establishing statewide networks of constituency and resources agencies. The constituencies and resources will be identified, selected and carefully prepared for participation in a workshop at which the resource agencies will address themselves to the problems of the statewide constituents. As a result of this process a network will be established by which actural services and assistance will be provided to the constituents on an ongoing bases.

Through the expanded staff of ERC Phase II will concern itself with the coordination of resource agencies towards better serving the statewide constitutents. This will be accomplished through the implementation of several major perfect activities (these

project activities are listed in Phase II).

These two phases can be better understood by viewing the following process chart.



PHASE I

(1) Develop a Constituency of minority leadership which can best represent the minority community within various areas of the and who will become a supporting constituency for the Resources Center.

Strategies

1. Educational Resources Center will identify local leadership which can best represent the minority constituency on education related issues and concerns.
2. Develop new contacts through community groups in selected areas of the State, not previously contacted, to futher identify grassroot groups and leadership to be involved in this process.
3. Selection of local leadership which can best represent constituents at a statewide workshop, and work toward the objective of being part of a statewide network or coalition of minority constituents by:
    a. Assisting prime contacts in each area of community to set up area meetings to explore educational problems;
    b. meeting with these groups and assisting them in identifying and recording their problems, educational concerns, and what resources they have already tapped in an effort to solve their problems;

c. Explain the education program concept and solicit feedback regarding a proposed statewide workshop;

d. Encourage the assembled groups to select one or two representatives to attend a statewide workshop.

4. Prepare these selected representatives for attendance at the statewide workshop, and their continuing role and responsibilities following the workshop. Arrange followup conferences with each of the representatives for the purpose of orienting the leaders to the function of the workshop and helping them articulate their communities' needs, in order that they might become active participants at the workshop.

(2) Assist resource organizations on the state and local level, concerned with minority problems in education, to form an alliance or coalition which can become a network of resources for ERC to channel to various local constituent groups.

Strategies

1. Identify various resources within the State which have specific programs and a sphere of expertise and services to offer constituents by:

a. Re-establishing contact by phone and/or personal visit with community resource groups and organizations in the State.

(Most of these organizations presently offer services only in a localized area. Such resources would include established organizations, ad hoc organizations, 10% ESAP groups, funded community groups, and of course, State and local resources, which would not

be part of the ultimate coalition sought.) Among those to be contacted are the following:

NAACP	CEE	Star, Inc.
MTA*	NAP	Central Mississippi, Inc.
TTC*	FOC	Prairie Opportunities
BEO*		

Delta Ministeries
Lauderdale Economic Assistance Program (Meridian)
Tri-County Community Center (Hinds, Madison, and Rankin Counties)
Choctaw Tribal Council (Philadelphia).

And seversl orgsnizations which recently received 10% ESAP funds:

Community Coalition for Public Schools (Jackson)
Jackson Education Task Force
Tougaloo College
Jackson State College
Coahoma Opportunitiew, Inc. (Clarksdale)
Meridian Student (Meridian)
Greenwood Community Project
Tombigbee Council on Human Relations
(State College/West Point)
Greenville Committee for the Support of Public Schools
Harrison County Community Action Agency
(Gulfport)

b. Ascertaining types of services offered by each group, and scope of activities and influence. (Many of these are already known.)

c. Ascertaining interest of various groups in being a part of a statewide network or coalition of resources, and of participating in a statewide workshop on educational problems.

2. Select those groups whose expertise and programs could be valuable to a wider base of constituents if it were made possible, and get them to participate in the statewide workshop. Review problem areas of the State, both as to geographical location and types of problems, and select service groups

who have had successful experiences in dealing with these types of problems, or will at least select groups that have had experience, positive or negative, in dealing with particular types of problems (students rights, dropouts, Title I violations, seregated classroom, failure to comply with Singleton Ratio in teacher hirings, etc.)

3. Prepare these resource organizations to attend the statewide workshop bv:

   a. Sharing data regarding specific problems and needs in various areas of the State, so that each participating organization can be prepared to address specific problems.

   b. Share survey data with State and Federal resources such as State Department of Education, Titles I (Compensatory Education), IV (Equal Education Opportunity), CRD, Office for Civi Rights, HEW, etc.

   C. Hold a planning meeting, ideally to include all participating service organizations, prior to the statwide workshop. This will allow for two way input-ERCM to the organizations, and the organizations to help plan the workshop.

(3) Conduct a statewide workshop which will bring together minority constituents and resources with a view toward establishing and maintaining a strengthened resources center, which will serve as a clearinghouse of information and technical assistance to the minority community statewide.

Strategies

1. Obtain consultant resources and regional and national education specialists to assist in conducting the workshop.
2. Encourage and assist participating resource organizations from within the State to form an alliance or coalition whose services can be made available statewide on a continuing basis.
3. Encourage and assist participating constituency representatives, following the workshop, so that they can become a viable network of communication and influence and help support the Resources Center.
4. Follow up after the workshop by encouraging and assisting resource and constituent organizations to stay in contact with each other and exchange information and ideas.

PHASE II

(A) Information Dissemination. Office staff will be developing research into the various programs and functions of school systems, and putting them into the form and language most readily understandable by the groups to be served. The field staff will be developing a network of local persons through which such information can be supplied to the areas of need. Materials will be dispersed by several methods: workshops and conferences, consultations, in-depth institutes, newsletters, pamphlets, and brochures. (See appendix E for further description of information dissemination.)

(B) Leadership Development. One of the prime objectives of the program during the initial grant period will be the development of those involved in the information network so that they can provide

educational leadership within their communities. This will be carried on through in-service training, workshops, etc. Such development of informed and responsible leadership will work for the long range stabilization of the unitary nature of the school system. (See appendix C for further description of leadership development activities.)

(C) Conferences-CRS Involved. One day conferences will be developed in consultation with community based organizations. Some of these conferences will be broad based for the purpose of providing information and linkage among persons faced with similar problems. Others will be on specific problem areas of concern to a limited category of persons, but state-wide in nature (i.e. Black High School students in majority White schools, teachers with integrated classes in history, parents on bi-racial committees, etc.). Such conferences will draw upon resources both within and without the school system, within and without the state. Primary costs for such conferences will be the travel and food of participants. (See appendix C for further description of conference activities.)

(D) Institutes and Workshops. The problems of adjusting to the newly integrated schools require a more in depth approach than just conferences. Therefore, week-end workshops and vacation period institutes will be developed for small groups. Such activities will focus on narrow issues such as curriculum development, teacher training, community relations, student rights and responsibilities, etc. It is assumed that an initial series of workshops will be held on a regional basis for members of bi-racial committees to strengthen their role. The primary costs of such activities will

be travel, housing and food for participants. Highly qualified consultants will be recruited for the leadership of these activities. (See appendix C for further description of institutes and workshops activities.)

(E) Consultations. Field staff will be assigned geographically and principally function as consultants to community groups within their areas. When specific problems arise outside consultants will be brought in to assist in such consultations. It is felt that this individualized method will be of the highest specific importance to community groups. (See appendix C)

(F) To continue to engage in research and work in pertinent areas connected with the educational needs of the poor. To improve both community and family living, special attention will be given to the problem of schools that expel students who become pregnant or demand they attend a special school for expectant mothers. An organized effort will be made to educate and inform students, parents, friends, ministers, counselors and school officials of the latest court decisions and model school board policies on this matter. The needs of early childhood education (Home Start) will be examined and explored. This same effort will be applied to areas engaged in high drop out and suspension activities. It is estimated that approximately 18,000. students will either be drop outs, suspended or pushed out of school. Further breakdown reveals that:

1. Black students leave at a rate of over 3 to 1 over students of Caucasian racial stock.
2. Students who project a sense of direction and leadership by speaking out for their rights and the rights of others are among

the first to go.

3. Students singled out as regular trouble makers are also among the first to be pushed out.

4. Student attitudes, devoiced from their academic work are factors in their ability to remain in school.

5. Student push outs and drop outs have developed into a major problem facing minority people and pregnant students in Mississippi.

6. Unmeaningful archaic curriculum, unjust treatment, bad teacher attitudes, home conditions, unfair grades, and economic overkill reflect other reasons for high drop outs and high push out rates.

(G) Students Rights Center to be established within ERC.

Propose

A. To inform students of their rights under law.

B. To organize a state-wide student organization.

C. To work on the prevention of student drop out.

D. To establish an on going newsletter for student involvement in education.

E. To study school codes and provide for changes in dress codes and rigid disciplinary rules.

(H) ERC will engage in a job bank. Special attention will be given teacher employment, and teacher termination problems. An organized effort will be made to educate, inform and secure jobs for teachers through the establishment of a job bank. An equal effort will be applied to school administrators and school boards to make them sensitive to the existing aims, and objectives of the job bank, and aid them in becoming more competent and legally aware to handle the problem of jobless teachers.

ADDENDUM TO PROPOSAL

The Educational Resources Center of Mississippi

PRINCIPAL ACTIVITIES

A. Information Dissemination

1. Types of information and materials to be disseminated.

a. Community Title I (ESEA) Manual - This is already developed but will be revised to include new regulations.

b. Teachers Rights Manual - This will be a cooperative enterprise of the National Education Association.

c. Students Rights Manual - This will be developed from most recent court rulings on codes of conduct and dress, as well as experiences from recent analysis of school problems in the state.

d. Bi-racial Advisory Committee Manual - This will be developed recognizing the current court order provisions and HEW regulations, and will include provisional models of operation.

e. School System Analysis - This will include desecriptive information on the operational structures of Mississippi school systems, incuding law and custom.

f. School Finances Manual - This will assist the laymen to understand the state, local and federal sources of income for schools, as well as regulations for catagorization of expenditures.

g. Models of Desegregation - We wish to locate particularly good systems where there are models that other districts could follow.

h. Models of Community Participation - We wish to uncover districts in which communities have had the best participation in the desegregation process, so that others can follow the example.

i. Curriculum Suggestions - This will be a compilation of curricular suggestions most appropriate to assisting school desegregation, written for both professionals and community laymen.

j. Analyses of Specific School Districts - On request of local groups we will investigate special districts, provide an analysis, so that people can better understand the problems of their district and begin to find solutions.

k. Legislative Changes - We will analyse the 1971 legislative session so that local persons can understand the changes that school legislation will make on their districts.

2. Means of Dissemination.

a. Field Staff Consultation - As materials are available, community leaders and groups will be apprised of their availability, and may request field staff to help them understand and take action based upon such materials.

b. Field Staff Presentation - As materials become available, staff will make presentations to organizations with which we have a relationship at either their staff or constituency meetings. Follow up consultations may then result.

c. Community Network - Materials will be made available on a regular basis to selected persons in communities. Mailings and phone communications will be maintained.

d. Conferences - (see 'C')

e. Workshops - (see 'D")

f. Institutes - (see'E')

B. Leadership Development

1. Identification

a. ERC has been in operation under private funding with a skeleton staff and has been identifying districts and persons of leadership within those communities throughout the fall term of this year.

b. Principal means of identification have been:

- County structures of the Mississippi Teachers Association;
- Staff and Boards of poverty programs;
- Community groups associated with civil rights oriented agencies associated with ERC (i.e. NAACP, Delta Ministry, MACE, etc.);
- Through list of advisory committees on ESAP and Title I applications.

c. With an expanded staff we will develop a network of persons, keyed to their interests and the peculiar situations of their districts. Such a keyed list will facilitate communication and development of leadership patterns in which persons can find others of like mind and grow through sharing their experiences.

2. Community Workers

a. Some community workers will be selected for short term development around specific trouble spots. They will be engaged to develop fully a basic approach to the problems of their district in the hopes of building models for the solution of similar problems. These workers will receive in-service training of a concentrated nature from the field staff for the period necessary.

b. Local Research and Analysis Projects - Some community workers will be engaged to develop long term models that will enable the community to better research and analyse their problems. These persons will receive technical assistance and in-service training in their special field (i.e. Title I, School Finance, etc.). When a particularly good model appears, we will engage persons to analyse that model from a community perspective, in the hopes that they can become effective communicators of their own model.

c. Policy Development Projects - As one of the goals of ERC is to promote a greater participation in policy matters by Black teachers, parents and students we will engage community workers in districts where field staff has identified the greatest possibility of success for the building of models. Community workers will perform the on the scene organizational tasks to give the greatest continuity to the effort.

3. Field Staff Consultations (see'F')

4. Conferences, Workshops and Institutes

a. Conferences will be held to provide educational experiences for community persons on issues relevant to their school situations. Such issues orientation will help refine community approaches so that local groups can escape the mere protest syndrom.

b. Workshops will be held for identified leadership persons to provide an arena for cross-fertilization of their ideas and to further develop their expertise for positive participation in the affairs of their communities and schools.

c. Institutes will be held on a selective basis at the end of the 1970-71 school year to assess the results of the school term and to facilitate the move into year two of total desegregation through the maximum intelligent participation of community persons. It is expected that those participating in the Institutes

can provide a strong base for leadership from the community for sometime to come.

C. Conferences

1. Types of Conferences

a. Soon after receipt of funding we will call a Conference to bring together the widest possible range of persons for an assessment of the first semester of total desegregation;

b. Student affairs conference will be held to clarify for a broad based group the rights and responsibilities of students in the new school environment, as well as begin to link persons of similar situations (i.e. persons on integrated student governments, Black students in minority situations, students on bi-racial committees, etc.);

c. At the end of the 1971 State legislative session a conference will be held to apprise community persons of the changes in Mississippi law and its effect on their school districts.

d. A general conference on Professional Rights and responsibilities will be held for teachers.

e. A special conference will be attempted for those teachers who have been terminated, to discuss various alternatives open to them;

f. A conference on new approaches to curriculum and teaching (including the community relations aspect

of teacher-aids) will hopefully spotlight some of the new innovations now being tried and supplement such system sponsored efforts with a development of community support for a general upgrading of educational levels.

2. Structure

   a. Generally the conferences will be called State-wide, held in a central location (preferably Jackson) and be one day in duration. Conferences on education called by groups such as the Council on Human Relations have attracted from 200 to 500 participants. As some of our conferences will be limited in the scope of their interest, we would predict an average of 200 participants. Participants will be provided lunch (or reimbursement for lunch meal).

   b. General format will include one or two presentations of a formal nature (use of consultants), small caucuses or working groups (staff assisting), and plenary sessions with full discussions, panels of participants and possible resolutions.

3. Consultants

   a. Non-paid consultants will be drawn from the ranks of those who are working with us from day to day (i.e. lawyers, agency representatives) and from State and Federal offices.

   b. Paid consultants will be drawn, as the subject matter is applicable, from a wide range of persons knowledgeable in the field.

c. Some persons who serve as non-paid consultants will have their travel and expenses reimbursed.

D. Workshops

1. Types of Workshops

a. We currently are planning a workshop for Black school Board members, to provide information of their responsibilities and the law, as well as give them guidance as to the creative conduct of their only recently acquired office.

b. Bi-racial committee members are in special need of assistance. It is our purpose to first bring as many members together to share their experiences, to clarify the roles set down by the courts, and to make creative suggestions for building community support for schools, improving inter-racial education, and for establishing relationships with LEAs for greater community input.

c. Curriculum development is of prime importance in the new inter-racial situation. We intend to being students, teachers and parents together to develop ideas for progressive curriculums and strategies for implementation of such ideas.

d. Students are beset with new rules and regulations due to the actions of school boards following school desegregation. We hope to bring students together to strengthen their understanding of students rights and responsibilities, and to seek ways to bridge the gaps between students of both races.

e. It is imperative that we bring students, teachers, and parents closer together during this time period. Therefore we propose to have workshops that put combinations together that will enable these groups to find new relationships with one another, thus strengthening the educational process.

2. Structure - Each of the four regions will be alloted three workshops during the project period. Field staff, in consultation with the communities they serve and the director will make the decisions as to timing and structure of the workshops within their region. Meeting places will be found within the region for the workshops expected to last two days. Participants will be selectively invited from across the region, with each workshop to be of small enough size that all can receive the opportunity for maximum learning. Their expenses, including one over night will be covered by this project.

3. Consultants - Each workshop will be administered by a member of the field staff, with either the Director or his assistant in attendance as evaluator and observer. A primary resource person (consultant) will be engaged for the session. Such consultant will have to be knowledgeable in his subject matter, as well as being able to communicate with grassroots people.

E. Institutes

1. Types of Institutes

a. Teacher Enrichment - Teachers who demonstrate particular

potential at leadership ability within their profession, and appear to be in a position to help the transition period be more meaningful will be selected. The particular nature of the subject matter at the institute will be determined at a later date.

b. Student Leadership - Students who have shown special leadership capacity among their peer group will be selected. These students will receive intensive training so that their role within the school they attend will be strengthened. Priority will be given to the students on bi-racial committees and student councils.

c. Parent Involvement - Parents who have developed their leadership in community participation during the school year will be selected. Such community leaders will receive intensive training in matters relating to school policies, educational advancements, and community organization.

2. Structure - These Institutes will be of one week duration, either held simultaneously for the best utilization of consultants or separately for more in depth use of ERC staff. Each will be comprised of thirty leaders. The institutes will be held on a college campus, or similar facilities. All expenses will be covered by the program.

3. Consultants - Consultants will be engaged to hold seminars classes for the full week session to which they are assigned. It is anticipated that two consultants will be needed per

institute if held separately, but fewer if held simultaneously. The Director of the Project will be charged with prime responsibility for development and administration of this phase of the program.

F. Staff Consultations

1. Assignment of Field Staff

a. Indigenous persons will be recruited for the field positions, with an emphasis on their familiarity with the region, the people, experience in school matters and understanding of the goals of the program.

b. The State will be divided into four regions on a geographic basis. A preliminary division of the region is:

- The Eastern and Northeastern area (centered in Starkville, Columbus, West Point area) with 23 Counties. This has been an area in which teacher discrimination and tracking problems have been most severe.
- The Southeastern portion of the State with twenty counties, centered in the Hattiesburg, Laurel area, but stretching from Meridian to the gulf coast. This area contains the fastest growing municipalities.

- Central and Southwest Mississippi, comprised of 18 counties. It contains the largest district (Jackson), several majority Black districts, as well as some districts with peculiar problems due to their unusual desegregation plans.

2. Staff Competence and Division of Function

   a. One staff person will relate primarily to teachers and teacher organizations. He will, whenever possible, be an ex-teacher in the Mississippi schools. He will either have or obtain the knowledge necessary to assist teachers with problems of discrimination, curriculum, and relationships with both administration and community.

   b. One staff person in each region will relate primarily to parents and community groups. Whenever possible he will be recruited from the ranks of community leadership, with particular experience in organizations relating to educational programs. His principal function will be to assist community groups so that they can better function in roles vis-a-vis the administration of the schools to the end that the school-community gulf is bridged.

   c. One staff person in each region will relate primarily to students. This person must be young and have the ability to establish a trust relationship with students. He will be called upon to assist young people in developing their own sense of

identity, their own programs for improvement of their education, and in organizing to gain their full recognition of rights and responsibilities.

d. Together the three staff members in each region will form a team that will make collective decisions (in consultation with community persons and the director) so that the program becomes a complimentary one in which the divergent forces lead toward common goals.

3. Basis of Relationships with Local Communities

a. A principal means of developing relationships is through existing programs and agencies that operate on a State-wide basis. We are working with persons within such agencies, and will provide services as called upon by them or by their local constituencies directly.

b. We have developed a relationship with other potential grantees of emergency school assistance community projects, which leads us to believe that such relationships will continue. As they do we will provide services to compliment their programs as called upon.

c. Local leaders and groups have called upon the ERC for services as they have come upon situations with which they were having difficulty dealing. We anticipate that such "trouble shooting" at the request of local persons will continue and that it will develop into a more consistent longe-range pattern.

4. Types of Services

a. Trouble Shooting - Responding to complaints by local persons with services that include analysis, organizational assistance for the development of policy, and referral for specific problems to proper agencies if no solution is readily available.

b. Organizational - Assistance to local groups to strenthen their organization in both substance of their policy concerns and in ability to maintain cohesive efforts to bring about positive change.

c. Technical Assistance - Beginning with analysis of educational problems and school structures, we will provide the kinds of technical assistance that local groups need to enable them to more effectively cope with their individual situation.

d. Speaking - When called upon, staff will speak at various organizational functions to interpret both the models and the approaches to problems uncovered.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS IN MISSISSIPPI

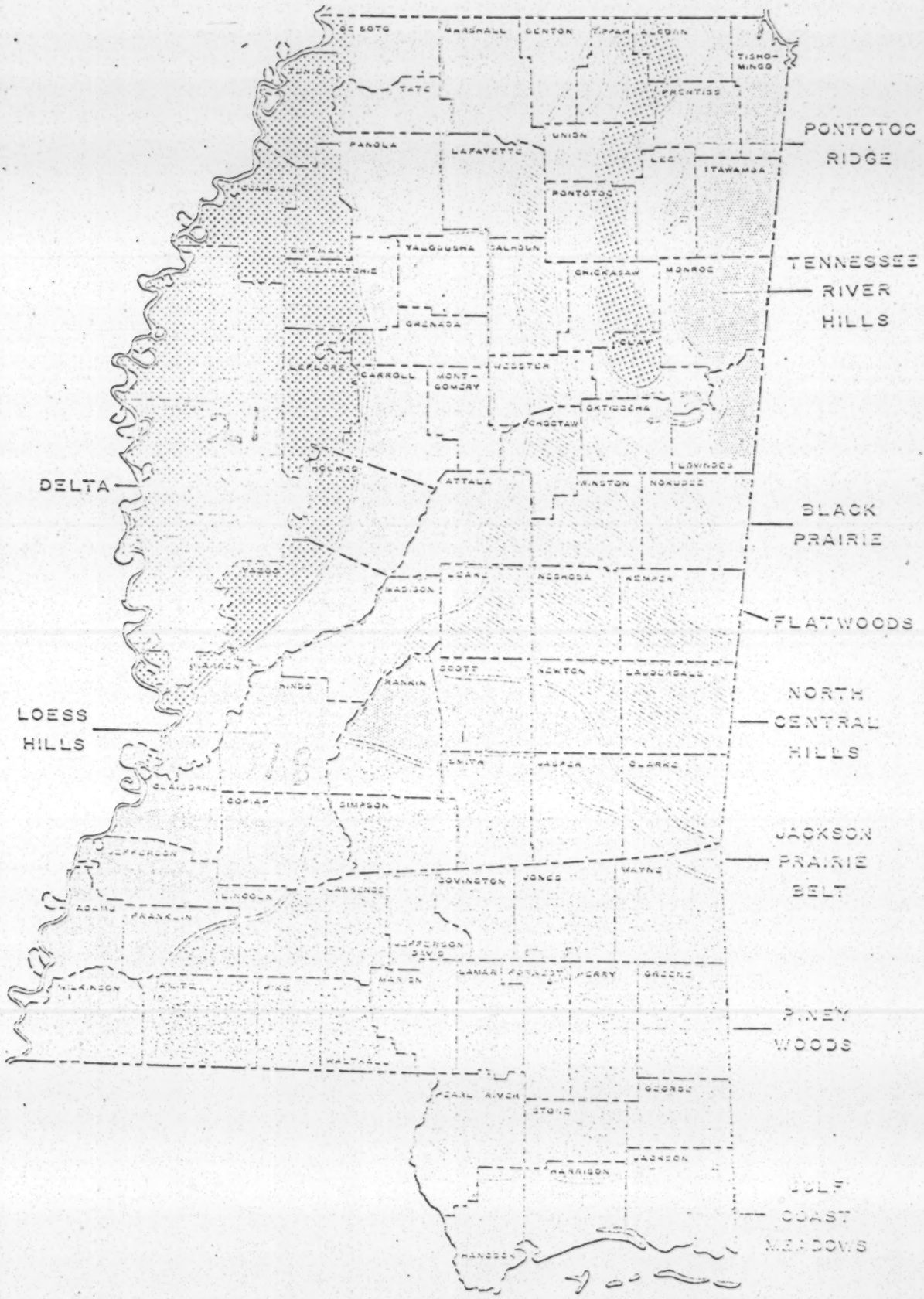


PLATE 8

B U D G E T

SALARIES	12 MONTHS
Director	$ 14,500.00
Director (Asst.) (2)	20,000.00
Field Staff (4)	34,000.00
Teacher Job Bank Coordinator	8,000.00
Secretaries, full time (3)	19,500.00
Secretaries, part time (4)	9,600.00
Fringe Benefits (10.4%)	10,972.00
CONSUMABLES	
Office Supplies	2,600.00
Training Materials	2,000.00
Mailing Supplies	1,800.00
DUPLICATING AND REPRODUCTION	
Xerox Billings and Supplies	3,600.00
Mimeographing	3,000.00
STAFF TRAVEL AND PER DIEM	
In-state @ 10¢ per mile	12,000.00
Out-of-state Travel	2,000.00
Out-of-state Per Diem	2,000.00
CONSULTANTS	
Technical Assistant	2,500.00
Staff Training and Evaluation	1,200.00
Field Programs	
Workshops, etc.	6,000.00

CONSTULANTS (con't)	
Conferences	$ 6,000.00
Audit	5,000.00
SPACE COST	
Central Office	1,920.00
Utilities	1,000.00
Janitorial	1,000.00
Field Office Equivalent (4)	7,200.00
EQUIPMENT	
Rentals	
Typewriters (5)	2,160.00
Xerox 2400 Machine	3,600.00
Purchase	
Caculator	500.00
Dictating Equipment	600.00
File Cabinets (5)	294.00
Desk (4)	400.00
Misc. Office Furniture	1,500.00
Renovation	3,600.00
TELEPHONE	
WATS Line	6,000.00
Local Lines (3)	720.00
Toll Calls	1,500.00
Installation for WATS Line	500.00
Deposit	
POSTAGE	3,000.00

OTHER COSTS

Indirect Cost	$ 30,000.00
Bonding Insurance	1,000.00
Fire and Extended Coverage	3,500.00
Theft Insurance	1,500.00

APPENDIX A

FOREWORD

The problems of Black people during the process of school desegregation brought together the Mississippi Teachers Association and several community groups to form the Educational Resources Center. Joining together we have worked to build integrity and maintain the humanity of everyone during this crisis for Mississippi schools, aided by the support of private foundations. As the problems defy superficial short-range solutions, our aim is that we can be equiped in the skills for the work of overcoming the problems brought out in this report.

This report is the product of our initial work to assess the problems we face and to seek ways for people to overcome the dehumanizing difficulties. The report relies heavily on the observations of our staff (and others who worked with us in their communities) during the early months of the school year, as well as on reports made by school officials to the Courts and HEW. We are most thankful for the guiding hand of Rims Barber, our chief consultant for this project. We present this report in conjunction with the larger South-wide analysis (in the preparation of which we participated) as a complimentary piece.

While our report zeroes in on the basic statistics of discrimination our concern is with the attitudes what they reflect. Racism is a disease that is stunting the growth of young people as they seek to fulfill themselves as a part of the human family. We here attempt to diagnose that disease by describing the external symptoms and relating some feelings of the pain inside children, where the real learning is taking place.

RACISM AND THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS

The system of public education in Mississippi was developed and nurtured by interests that served racism and economic exploitation. That system provided for absolute White control of separate and unequal schools, that prepared certain Whites for becoming "cultured" managers of plantations and businesses while training Blacks for cotton chopping and fleeing to Chicago. Desegregation is forcing some external changes in that system, but its heart is where it always has been.

This study attempts to point out some of the factual data demonstrating that racism has not died just because a court ordered school desegregation. Most of what is presented is statistical in nature, for only that sort of racist behavior can be tabulated. Such data is indicative of the underlying attitudes toward children and learning held by those who control the schools.

The tables of statistics are of value only if we see behind them the people whom the schools are supposed to serve. For them, the realities that we find are:

- there is still a dual school system, with forty percent of the Black students attending separate and inferior classes;
- there is more White visible control as principalships are taken from Blacks and given to Whites;
- Black teachers are falling under increasing scrutiny causing some to have lost their jobs and others to maintain themselves fearfully and cautiously at the expense of their teaching creativity;
- young Black people (who have grown up in a new world because of the civil rights movement) are less likely to find teaching jobs as districts give preference to White applicants;
- the integrity of Black students is compromised by rigidity of discipline and by the loss of the symbols which once indicated that they and the school belonged to each other;

- the lessening of concern by public school officials who send their children to all-White private schools;
- the lowering of financial support for schools;
- the frustration of parents who feel isolated from schools, finding the fate of their children controlled by processes in the courts and in HEW from which they are excluded.

These realities are crippling the minds of children within institutions that should be opening minds to new freedom of creative thought.

LARGE REMNANTS OF RACIAL ISOLATION

In the Spring semester of the 1969-70 school year the first "massive" integration of schools took place. There was no adequate policing of the violations of the court orders and resegregation occurred in virtually every district. Two motions for contempt were filed, but no hearings were held, and the year ended with most Black children still getting separate education.

As the 1970-71 term opened, President Nixon boasted that 97% of the schools districts in the South were desegregated. All 150 districts in Mississippi were under orders to completely desegregate. No citizens' group can take the role of the federal government to police violations. However, we have found that over 100,000 Black children are still segregated. According to our latest figure 118,101 Black students are in classes that are more than 90% Black. We feel safe in claiming (based on this partial survey and allowing for a maximum error) that over 40% of the State's 270,000 Black students are in such circumstances. The Tables that follow list school districts in which we know practices exist to segregate students. In some we have the exact figures. In others we know of the practice but have only approximations, rounded to the nearest hundred (taken from observations and previous enrollment and average daily attendance figures).

Some seven thousand students are re-segregated by U. S. Government approved provisions in desegregation plans that allow for free choice either by everyone or by Whites only (called "minority to minority transfer"). In such districts Whites are clustered in "their" schools, leaving no change in the Black schools.

Over thirty-three thousand remain in segregated schools because of zoning provisions contained in the orders to desegregate. Despite Administration rhetoric, most of these 25 school districts would not require <u>any</u> additional busing to accomplish full desegregation. (Most are small towns or rural areas that bus most of their students anyway).

White flight has caused a number of districts to become virtually all Black, while all but two retain total White control of the decision-making process. As Whites flee to private academies, they establish a new dual school system (public and private) both controlled by the same people.

The final element is one of tracking, or in some cases, arbitrary segregation within the school buildings. This type of segregation is the most difficult to uncover, but it is the most damaging to those who see the demeaning aspects staring them in the face all day long. Unfortunately we feel that the discovered districts represent a growing pattern that relegates many Black children to inferior classroom situations.

BLACK CHILDREN IN 90% OR MORE BLACK CLASSES

Free choice plans	Exact	Approx.	Total
Copiah	519		
Hazelhurse	600		
Leflore	4,138		
Vicksburg	723		
West Tallahatchie	1,026		
	7,007		7,006
Zones			
Attala		500	
Benton		500	
Biloxi	436		
Clarksdale	1,370		
Clay		300	
Cleveland	2,325		
Columbus		1,500	
DeSoto	406		
East Tallahatchie	248		
Forrest County	195		
Greenwood	1,876		
Greenville	3,762		
Gulfport	70		
Harrison		1,500	
Hattiesburg	1,447		
Jackson Municipal	5,190		
Laurel	1,442		
McComb	598	300	
Natchez	3,842		
Rankin	248		
Rosedale	1,359		
Scott	265		
Shelby	1,405		
Simpson	226		
South Pike		1,300	
	26,709	5,900	32,609
Tracking and Arbitrary Segregation			
Amory	130		
Carroll	821		
East Tallahatchie		200	
Franklin		400	
Grenda	1,102		
Humphreys	2,399		
Jeff Davis		200	
Leake	762		
Lee		500	
Louisville		1,000	
Marion	117		
Natchez		300	
Newton Municipal	42		

	Exact	Approx.	Total
Okolona		500	
Rankin		1,200	
South Panola		500	
Starkville		1,000	
Walthall		1,200	
West Point		1,000	
Winona		300	
Yazoo	1,366		
	6,739	8,300	15,039
White Flight			
Amite	1,209		
Anguilla	1,017		
Benoit	1,168		
Canton	3,744		
Claiborne	2,413		
Coahoma	4,994		
Drew	850		
East Jasper	1,843		
Hinds	5,332		
Hollandale	1,897		
Holmes	5,100		
Indianola	2,773		
Jefferson	2,573		
Kemper	871		
Madison		3,000	
Marshall		1,000	
North Panola		1,500	
Noxubee	3,350		
Oktibbeha	1,554		
Quitman County	1,184		
Sharkey-Issaquena	1,625		
Shaw		1,400	
Sunflower	3,680		
Tunica	2,975		
Wilkinson	2,640		
Yazoo County		2,200	
	52,800	9,100	61,900
plus Mound Bayou	1,547		1,547
	94,801	23,300	118,101

These isolated students represent 44% of the State's 270,000 Black students. Giving a reasonable margin of error on approximations, and on slipage from the 90% standard this represents in excess of 40%.

Mississippi also has 260,000 White students in its public schools, as well as 40,000 or more in private segregated schools. The segregation cuts two ways, with many Whites isolated from the fullness of Mississippi's society.

VISIBLE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

Most Black students formerly attended schools that were all-Black and that had Black persons as principals. To Black students they provided a symbol of leadership, of accomplishment. Moreover, they allowed Black children to grow up without facing White control everyday (although almost all of the institutions of their society are controlled by the White community), giving an opportunity for growth at an emotional distance from the discriminators.

As the school districts complied with the school desegregation orders, many Black schools were closed, putting Black students into formerly White schools. This tendency is most pronounced in areas that were trying hard to keep their White students enrolled. As a further bow to the prejudices of the White community, Black principals were removed from the positions of symbolic leadership, and Whites were installed in their place.

The Tables that follow show that half the districts surveyed have no Black principals at all, and that only 43 of the remaining 206 principals are Black. It is only in the districts that are overwhelmingly Black (over 80%) that we find more Black principals than White. It appears that the State has lost about half of its visible Black leadership from the public schools, and that most Black children will now grow up in a visibly White-controlled world. (An HEW/OCR report confirms, giving 52.9% loss of Black principals in their onsight compliance reviews).

PRINCIPALS

District	Schools	White	Black
Baldwin	3	4	0
Houston	3	1	0
Ittawamba	7	7	0
Iuke	1	1	0
Long Beach	5	7	0
Pass Christain	3	3	0
Quitman Consolidated	3	4	0
Richton Line	2	2	0
Newton	2	2	0
Stone	5	5	0
Perry	4	4	0
South Panola	4	4	0
DeSoto	9	4	0
Amory	4	4	0
Iamar	7	7	0
Jones	13	13	0
Bay St. Louis	4	4	0
Smith	3	3	0
Columbia	4	3	0
Pontotoc Municipal	2	2	0
George	6	3	0
Union Municipal	1	1	0
West Jasper	3	2	0
23 Districts	98	90	0

5 have ⅓ to ½ Black Students

2 have ½ to 80% Black Students

PRINCIPALS

District	Schools	White	Black
xJefferson	2	1	1
Webster	4	1	1
xKemper	4	2	1
Gulfport	17	16	1
Winona	2	1	1
Chickasaw	2	3	1
Forest Municipal	3	2	1
Lumberton Line	2	1	1
*Western Line	3	2	1
Water Valley	4	3	1
Pascagoula	14	13	1
11 Districts	55	45	11
West Jasper	3	4	2
Jeff Davis	4	2	2
Brookhaven	6	4	2
Warren	8	7	3
4 Districts	21	17	9
East Jasper	2	1	2
*North Panola	7	3	5
*Leland	2	2	3
*Rosedale	6	2	4
xIndianola	5	2	3
xSunflower	7	1	4
xAnguilla	2	0	2
7 Districts	31	11	23

* = 80 - 90%
x = over 90%

45 Districts Totals 21% Black
163 White to 43 Black

THE INSTITUTIONAL POINT OF CONTACT: TEACHERS

The treatment of teachers under the new desegregation plans give key indications as to the manner in which education is regarded and transmitted to students. Teachers have historically been in pivotal point of the educational system.

Under the old segregated system of education teachers were recruited by the principals of the schools, both Black and White. Black principals had their own recruiting system in the all-Black colleges; Whites had theirs. According to a State Department of Education publication Teacher Supply and Demand, 1969 the Black colleges in Mississippi supplied 897 new teachers and the White colleges supplies 903 new teachers. These teachers were recruited by principals for the schools of their perspective races and merely approved by the Superintendents and Boards. Similarly, the principals at the end of each school year passed to the Superintendent the list of persons he wished to have retained for the following year, and contracts were issued.

The control of teacher recruitment and placement, as well as the determination of contract renewal, is now in the hands of the Superintendent. His actions are presumably governed by the Court orders and compliance agreements under which his district is desegregating. The standard provisions in both court orders and compliance agreements are:

> "the district shall assign the staff so that the ratio of Negro to White teachers in each school, and the ratio of other staff in each, are substantially the same as each such ratio is to the teachers and other staff, respectively, in the entire school system.....the school board will develop or require the development of non-racial objective criteria to be used in selecting staff ... staff members will be hired, assigned, promoted, paid, demoted, dismissed, and otherwise treated without regard to race, color or national origin."

In our survey of districts, we found that those school districts which have over 90% Black students are in a category by themselves. In these areas, most White teachers have left, although a few have remained (a number of these

remaining White teachers have their children in private schools, which calls into question their commitment to public schools and to the children they purport to be teaching). Most of these districts had increases in the number of Black teachers, and heavy losses in White teachers. Their faculties averaged 74% Black before desegregation and now average 86% Black. Only one has an all Black faculty.

We also found that those districts that had under 20% Black students were peculiar in nature. Only one of them hired any new Black teachers. All had a smaller percentage of Black teachers than of students. The systems were almost entirely White, being very selective about their Black employees.

The major portion of our survey, therefore, concentrated on those districts that had from 20 to 90 percent Black students. We looked for statistics on:

a- loss of Black teachers;

b- how many Black teachers left the school system and how many were hired new;

c- how many White teachers left the system and how many were hired new;

d- the relationship of Black to White in school districts;

e- the relationship of Black teachers to Black students.

On the average, from our cross section, there was a loss of 11.3% of the Black teaching force. In 43 districts with 1,839 Black teachers in 1969-70, there were only 1,630 in 1970-71. That is a net loss of 209. In thirty-three of those districts, for which we have full figures, 237 Black teachers left the employ of the district and 161 Black were hired new. This is a net loss of 76 teaching positions (32%) of Black people.

Analysis to eliminate the districts which either gained Black faculty or lost White faculty, yields 17 districts which gained 282 White teachers while losing 90 Black teaching positions.

Nine districts hired more Blacks than they let go, while 24 districts eliminated 107 of the 193 slots vacated by Black teachers. In the nine districts that gained Black teachers (31) there was a gain of 78 White teachers.

Seven districts lost White teachers (58), Gulfport absorbing half of those losses. The corresponding districts lost 17 Black teachers. Not counting Gulfport, the losses were proportional to the racial ratios of the districts. The losses by those districts mean that the other 26 districts actually gained 360 White positions.

Seven districts failed to hire any Black teachers, while no district failed to hire some Whites. Even in the majority Black districts there was a loss of Black teaching positions (43) while there was a White gain (8).

There is a differential between the racial make-up of the student body and the racial make-up of the faculty. In majority Black districts the percentage of Black teachers in every case is less than the percentage of Black students. The differential ranges from 1% to 29%, with eight of the 13 having a differential of over 10%. A similar differential of 10% appears in districts from 34 to 49 percent Black students. In the under one-third Black districts there appears the only one district that has the same percentage of students as teachers, and the only one that has a higher percentage of Black teachers than of Black students. If we were to add enough Black teachers in these districts to make the ratio of Black teachers to Black students the same as the overall pupil-teacher ratio we would have to hire 487 teachers, or an additional 29% to the already existing 1,691 Black teachers.

Beyond these factors, we found several strong tendencies:

- In districts with schools that are racially indentifyable, Black teachers are assigned to Black schools out of proportion to their district-wide ratio;
- In districts with tracking Black teachers are isolated in all-Black and lower tracks branding them (as well as their students) as "inferior";

- Evaluation standards and racial prejudice tend to make Junior High faculties less highly rated than Senior Highs. They also tend to make Junior Highs more Black in faculty composition than High Schools. (A survey of 13 districts showed High Schools with 29% Black faculties and Junior Highs with 40% Black faculties.
- Several of the reports appear to have listed Black substitutes teachers in their racial breakdown of faculties.
- When White teachers refuse to transfer to formerly all-Black schools they are not forced to do so, either changing the ratios in the formerly Black schools, or enabling districts to employ Black substitutes in positions they are holding open for White applicants.

* on the following tables, some districts did not have 1969-70 figures available, and 1968-69 were used in their place.

District	BLACKS			WHITES		
	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New
Rosedale	68	12	11	43	12	15
West Tallahatchie	80	28	25	34	22	19
Leland	78	20	22	51	17	17
Montgomery	52	17	8	39	12	8
East Tallahatchie	77	22	12	50	20	6
Jeff Davis	81	8	5	72	27	25
West Point	73	29	3	90	27	54
South Panola	84	19	9	89	24	44
Franklin	54	22	4	51	13	4
Okolona	29	12	7	29	12	17
Newton Municipal	36	5	3	37	8	6
Starkville	59	28	0	129	29	30
Quitman Consolidated	60	14	5	81	15	4
Over 50% Totals	831	236	114	795	238	249

District	BLACKS			WHITES		
	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New
North Pike	25	5	2	32	11	7
West Jasper	32	5	9	47	5	13
Winona			1			9
Laurel	97	10	3	148	29	35
DeSoto			6			72
Brookhaven	62	4	4	94	25	21
Forest Municipal	25	3	5	47	7	10
Pass Christian	25	5	4	53	25	20
Water Valley	24	13	7	32	5	11
Chickasaw	9	1	1	37	3	4
Houston	31	4	1	96	16	17
Columbia	35	7	7	77	29	25
Lincoln	41	11	3	75	14	16
Warren	47	5	8	134	9	53
Lumberton Line	12	0	0	28	5	10
Pontotoc Municipal	10	2	6	45	9	11
Rankin	125	73	40	318	103	105
33-49% Totals	576	148	100+7	1263	295	358+81
			107			439

	BLACKS			WHITES		
District	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New
Perry	18	3	11	45	9	22
Amory	25	8	3	63	12	23
Baldwin	13	1	0	44	0	6
Stone	23	0	2	60	8	12
Union Municipal	8	1	0	27	3	8
Webster	20	3	8	67	11	15
Richton Line	10	4	0	30	5	5
Picayune	58	25	6			23
Gulfport	95	21	20	350	121	92
Jones	69	24	1	230	18	58
Tupelo	66	3	4			25
Bay St. Louis	19	7	0	72	15	15
Monroe	8	1	0	81	10	26
20-33% Totals	286	73	45	1075	212	283
	+146	+28	+10			+48
	432	101	55			331
Total (20-90%)	1693	457	259	3133	745	890
	+146	+28	+17			+129

District	# Black Students	# Black Teachers	# Total Students	# Total Teachers	Total P-T Ratio	Black to Black P-T Ratio	# Black Teachers needed to equalize
Oktibbeha	2150	72	2787	115	24:1	30:0	17
Amite	2493	92	2835	118	24:1	26:1	11
Rosedale	2248	67	2638	110	24:1	33:1	26
W. Tallahatchie	2235	79	2657	111	24:1	28:1	14
Ieland	2331	80	2794	131	21:1	29:1	31
South Pike	2099	77	3185	131	24:1	27:1	10
Vicksburg	3548	158	5460	302	15:1	22:1	78
Jeff Davis	2199	78	3368	148	20:1	28:1	31
S. Panola	2354	71	4178	172	24:1	33:1	28
Newton Municipal	801	34	1511	69	22:1	24:1	2
Starkville	1762	331	3397	1319	24:1	53:1	40
Quitman Consol.	1337	51	2601	120	21:1	26:1	12
50% - 59%		892					301
W. Jasper	908	35	1995	87	23:1	26:1	5
Winona	757	22	1526	65	23:1	34:1	11
DeSoto	3855	126	8185	318	26:1	30:1	22
Brookhaven	1787	62	3823	152	25:1	29:1	9
Forest Municipal	903	27	1662	77	21:1	33:1	16
Pass Christian	713	24	1581	73	22:1	30:1	8
Simpson	1863	74	4324	182	23:1	25:1	7
Water Valley	661	18	1558	56	28:1	36:1	7
40% - 49%		388					85
Scott	1661	60	4249	180	24:1	28:1	8
Chickasaw	346	9	905	42	21:1	38:1	7
Houston	734	28	1935	87	22:1	26:1	5
Columbia	876	35	2332	108	21:1	25:1	5
Warren	1905	50	5504	226	24:1	38:1	29
34% - 40%		182					54
Gulfport	2156	94	8919	417	21:1	23:1	9
Jones	1567	49	7003	319	22:1	32:1	22
Tupelo	1285	67	5737	265	21:1	19:1	0 (-
Bay S. Louis	420	12	2055	84	24:1	35:1	5
Monroe	460	7	2350	104	22:1	65:1	13
20% - 25%		229					49(47
TOTAL		1619					489(48 29%

BLACK FACULTY

District	% Black Students	69-70 Numbers	69-70 %	Left System	Hired New	70-71 Numbers	70-71 %	Net Change Numbers
Benoit	100	56	78	8	7	55	84	-1
Anguilla Line	99	48	60	7	8	49	100	+1
Claiborne	99	86	79	0	18	104	94	+18
Jefferson	99	82	79	20	36	98	94	+16
East Jasper	95	64	73	1	4	67	78	+3
Sunflower	94	143	79	12	18	149	83	+6
Shelby	93	74	71	6	13	81	86	+7
Indianola	92	11	70	13	17	116	87	+4
Kemper	90	86	67	12	11	85	79	-1
Amite	88	92	58			92	79	0
Rosedale	85	68	61	12	11	67	59	-1
W. Tallahatchie	84	80	70	28	25	77	71	-3
Leland	83	78	60	20	22	80	61	+2
Oktibbeha	77	77	69			72	62	-5
Montgomery	71	52	57	17	8	43	55	-9
South Pike	66	76	59			77	59	+1
E. Tallahatchie	65	77	60	22	12	67	65	-10
Vicksburg	65	153	54			158	52	+2

BLACK FACULTY

District	% Black Students	69-70 Numbers	69-70 %	Left System	Hired New	70-71 Numbers	70-71 %	Net Change Numbers
West Point	60	73	45	29	3	47	30	-26
Franklin	54	54	51	22	4	36	47	-18
Okolona	54	29	50	12	7	24	41	-5
Newton	53	36	49	5	3	34	49	-2
Starkville	53	54	46	28	0	31	24	-28
Quitman Consol.	51	60	42.5	14	5	51	42.5	-9
North Pike	49	25	44	5	2	22	44	-3
W. Jasper	49	32	39	5	9	36	39	+4
Winona	49				1	22	34	
Laurel	48	97	39	10	3	90	37	-7
DeSoto	47				6	126	30	
Brookhaven	47	62	39	4	4	62	41	0
Forest Municipal	45	25	34	3	5	27	35	+2
Pass Christian	45	25	31	5	4	24	33	-1
Simpson	43	77	39			74	35	-3
Water Valley	42	24	39	13	7	18	32	-6
Scott	39	61	33	11	10	60	33	-1
Chickasaw	38	9	21	1	1	9	21	0

Atl. Journal
2/27/73 Education

Poverty Focus Rapped For Special School Aid

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Sending out federal money for the disadvantaged in education on the basis only of poverty figures is going wide of the mark, Rep. Albert H. Quie, R-Minn., said.

In the text of a Chicago speech for the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, which Quie released in advance in Washington, he said, "Many children who need services are not getting them, because the distribution formula assigns federal aid on the basis of figures which measure a poor substitute for educational need, and then compounds the error by using 14-year-old figures."

He said one study showed only 21 per cent of the children doing badly in reading are in families making less than $3,000. About 44 per cent were in families making $3,000 to $6,000 and the remaining 35 per cent were in families making above $6,000 Quie said the study showed.

In math, the distribution is quite similar, Quie said. "We are probably not even reaching the minimum figure . . . of 21 per cent of the children with deficiencies in reading and mathematics."

QUIE SAID he will introduce legislation next week to change the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to target the $1.6 billion for the "educationally disadvantaegd" on the basis of a system of testing. Giving tests to a nationwide sampling of children would "establish relative needs among the states" and show where the most money should go, he said

Atl Journal
2/ Administration of Justice
+ Education

1-WAY STOP

Youth Slain In Gun Battle In School Hall

RICHMOND, Va. (AP) — A 17-year-old boy was killed and a 14-year-old girl wounded today when caught in a gun battle between two youths in a high school corridor, police said.

Authorities said the shooting started during a quarrel between two youths just before classes were to have begun at Armstrong High School.

Police said the dead pupil, Wayne Phillips, 17, had been struck by a bullet in the back of his neck.

Felita Julia Gardner, 14, was struck in the left leg but was not believed seriously wounded. She was taken to a hospital.

Witnesses told police that the gunfire began after two black youths, believed to be pupils, became embroiled in a quarrel just inside the entrance to the predominantly black school.

Authorities said the youths — one standing just inside the school door, the other 15 feet away in the corridor — suddenly drew pistols and began firing.

Police said as many as five or six shots may have been exchanged. Frightened students scurried out of the hallways.

Witnesses said the two youths responsible for the shootings then fled out the school's main entrance. They were being sought.

Police said Phillips, a white pupil, was standing near the entrance and may have been hit by more than one bullet. He was dead when officers arrived.

The Gardner girl, a black, reportedly was walking in the hallway about 25 feet from Phillips when she was hit.

Classes began as scheduled, although some parents came to the school to withdraw their children temporarily.

BLACK FACULTY

District	% Black Students	69-70 Numbers	69-70 %	Left System	Hired New	70-71 Numbers	70-71 %	Net Change Numbers
Houston	38	31	32	4	1	28	32	-3
Lincoln	37	41	35	11	3	33	30	-8
Columbia	37	35	31	7	7	35	32	0
Warren	34	47	26	5	8	50	22	+3
Lumberton	33	12	33	0	0	12	33	0
Pontotoc Municipal	33	10	18	2	6	14	23	+4
Rankin	33	125	28	73	40	92	22	-33
Perry	32	18	29	3	11	26	31	+8
Amory	30	25	28	8	3	20	21	-5
Baldwin	30	13	30	2	0	11	24	-2
Stone	30	23	27	0	2	25	29	+2
Union Municipal	30	8	22	1	0	7	18	-1
Webster	29	20	23	3	8	25	29	+2
Richton	28	10	25	4	0	6	17	-4
Picayune	27	58	24	25	6	39	25	-19
Smith	25	37	27	12	0	25	19	-14
Gulfport	24	95	21	21	20	94	22.5	-1
Jones	23	69	22	21	1	49	16	-20

BLACK FACULTY

District	% Black Students	69-70 Numbers	69-70 %	Left System	Hired New	70-71 Numbers	70-71 %	Net Change Numbers
Tupelo	22	66	28	3	4	67	25	+1
Bay St. Louis	20	19	21	7	0	12	19	-7
Monroe	20	8	9	1	0	7	7	-1
Biloxi	19	59	14	16	11	54	13	-5
N. Tippah	17	5	9	0	0	5	8	0
Prentiss	14	14	8	2	2	14	2	+1
Pearl River	9	0	0	0	1	1	2	+1
Iuka	8	1	2.5	0	0	1	2.2	0
Ittawamba	7	7	5	0	0	7	4.7	0

BEING IN THE MINORITY

The increase in visible control by Whites and the assimulation of Black students into schools that are majority White, poses problems for many Black children across the State.

Many students merely find themselves in a new world with no Black anchors to hang onto, as they try to adjust. They are faced with new standards, new teachers, new rules, new curriculums. Even if the Whites are non-racist in their treatment, Black students have a hard time adjusting.

For many the adjustment is made more difficult by other losses. Student leaders are by-passed. Black students can participate only as minority members in activities that have a White tradition. In some cases, they are even excluded as new rules keep them from participation in extra-curricular activities. For others, they must learn to sing "Dixie" (both actually and symbolically) if they wish to participate in what they consider a normal part of school life.

For most students the discipline is tighter, as almost all districts used new discipline regulations as part of their sales pitch to Whites, whom they hoped to keep in the public schools. Such measures materially change the educational atmosphere.

In a different sense, there are Whites that are now in the minority in schools. It is a hopeful sign that numbers of poor Whites, unable to attend private schools, are now going to schools that are eighty and ninety percent Black. While this offers some long range hope, there are current problems for these students. They must face an adjustment to their new world, knowing that while they are White they have no direct representation on governing bodies. (Our survey uncovered no poor Whites on bi-racial committees; no parents of students attending 90% Black schools on school boards).

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

While there is no overwhelming pattern we found that many school districts in which White flight was taking place also were lowering their local taxes for schools. Millage rates dropped in most majority Black districts, with Wilkinson County dropping the most (9 mills) making it the lowest in the State. However, the State provides most funds for current expenditures. It appears that schools will have to rely more and more on State and Federal funds for their continued support. In the long run this shift in financial support can do little else than cause schools to become a low priority with the average tax-paying citizen.

SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

- It is not enough to find that Superintendents of schools are not acting with affirmative good faith to create schools where all have their integrity preserved and their common humanity enhanced so that Black and White children may grow together;
- It is not enough to find that the Federal establishment has done material damage to the minds and spirits of children (both Black and White) by conspiring to put off the possibilities of such learning;
- It is not enough to condemn the court system for its failure to deal forthrightly with failures to meet a constitutional standard of law and justice in a manner that would insure the rights of all.

We therefore make the following recommendation:

1. That a rule of law be established that no device may be employed by any district that allows schools or classrooms to vary more than 10% from district-wide student ratios;
2. That no school or teaching level may vary in its ratio of teachers from the district-wide student ratio;
3. That conditions of employment and advancement be subjected to EEOC regulations, and that a Philadelphia Plan for educational employees be enacted;
4. That students rights to participate meaningfully in the decisions affecting their education be legally recognized and enforced;
5. That new procedures be developed to insure that all unrepresented groups have their share in the affairs of the schools (not merely given advisory status) so that the schools can belong to and serve the total community.
6. That both the Courts and HEW treat school officials as "civily guilty" and require payment of their debt to society in strong affirmative actions;

Ed Cobb

May 26, 1972

Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Watters, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Glenda and Patt:

On behalf of the education coalition please accept our thanks for editing "It's Not Over in the South". We appreciate your efforts in undertaking this assignment given the difficult constraints of time.

We are getting request for the report and have mailed out over 1,000 copies in this first week. We are very pleased with the printing job and are grateful to you for your efforts which helped make this such an attractive looking report.

Again our thanks.

Sincerely,

Winifred Green, Director
Southeastern Public Education Program

WG:of

cc: Rims Barber
Virginia Frank
Jean Fairfax
Ruby Martin
Hayes Mizell
Nancy Spears
Emory Via

~~Ko C Ed~~

Ark Council HR

Edgemont, Arkansas 72044
July 6, 1972

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

JUL 10 1972

Dear Emory:

Here, finally, is the manuscript I promised to send you. After I talked to you, saying that it only needed re-typing, I grew unhappy with what I had and ended up revising it extensively.

I passed along to Elijah your request that he not rush into print until you have a chance to make suggestions. I shall appreciate being saved from any boners.

If you hear of anyone who wants to buy the movie rights, just let me know.

Best regards to Margaret and David.

Sincerely,

Ed

Ed Stanfield

WASHINGTON RESEARCH PROJECT
1763 R STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20009
(202) 483-1470

July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM

TO : Education Coalition

FROM : Cindy Brown

RE : ESAP II Continuing Resolution

JUL 2 1972

Congress, at the request of HEW, has voted a continuing resolution from July 1 through August 18 for ESAP II. HEW tells me between $12 and $14 million will be available for extending both LEA and Community Group (CG) programs which run out prior to January 31, 1973. All ESAP II projects are eligible as long as they don't or won't have any money left when their grant expires. They all should have received telegrams informing them of this. This money will be available only for personnel and minimal operating expenses. LEAs and CGs must submit new amendments to their old project applications by July 28. Time is so short because OE must have the money obligated by August 18. (There may be another Continuing Resolution, but they can't operate on that assumption.)

George Rhodes told me that this extended funding is a pretty technical procedure. All projects should get more money as long as they clearly are out of money and there has been no prior move by OE to suspend or terminate their funds. There will be a review panel consisting of two program officers and a grants management office.

There is one snag which you will see in paragraph (2) on the first page of the enclosed material. Grants which have gone beyond their ending date (and this probably includes those ending June 30) are eligible for continued funding but will be hard put to justify continue paying for its staff. Seems a bit contradictory and confusing so we will have to see how they interpret it.

Enclosed is a copy of the OE stuff sent to all the Regional Commissioners. This should be a fairly routine affair. Let us know right away if it isn't.

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

TO: Regional Commissioners DATE:

THRU: Assistant Commissioner
Regional Office Coordination

FROM: Herman R. Goldberg
Associate Commissioner, Equal Educational Opportunity

SUBJECT: Program Policies and Procedures for Continued Funding of ESAP II Projects under the Continuing Resolution (H.J. Res. 1234)

Background. Congress at the request of the President has provided for continued funding of ESAP II projects. The purpose of the funding is to conserve valuable staff personnel and program momentum that could otherwise be lost before these grantees could be considered under the new ESAA program.

Eligibility. Only ESAP II projects that have not been legally terminated are eligible. The Continuing Resolution does not authorize any new activities. Those ESAP II projects that have gone beyond their ending date, i.e., a six-month project started in December 1971, are eligible but the criteria for continued funding of on-board ESAP II staff would be difficult to satisfy in these cases.

Compliance. The regulations and assurances of ESAP II still apply and are binding on requests for amendment. OCR will have a signoff requirement for all applications.

Need for Assistance. Applications for amendment shall be reviewed to determine the need for additional Federal funds. The extent to which grantees utilized funds to achieve their stated objectives in 1971-72 school year should be carefully considered. The Regional Commissioner shall be responsible to insure that these amendment funds are not being used to supplant other sources of funding.

Authorized Activities. The Notice for the Federal Register especially the quote from the committee report accompanying H.J. Res. 1234 should be reviewed. The intention of this amendment procedure is to provide continuity of ESAP II staff personnel through January 31, 1973. Only existing staff and those existing essential operating expenses that are necessary to properly utilize those continued personnel will be considered for funding. Regional Commissioners should assure themselves that the grantee does not have any residual funds to continue the project prior to recommending the granting of FY 1973 funds. Any questionable expense should be resolved in favor of the minimum expenditure of FY 1973 funds.

Application. Grantees should be encouraged to submit applications as soon as possible. The application instruction booklet encourages them to submit prior to July 28, 1972. Because of the shortness of time, no specific cut-off date should be set. You are urged to process any application received in time to allow you to have it in OE/Washington by COB, Thursday, August 10, 1972. A checkoff list of all ESAP II grantees should be used to record those that have applied. Those grantees that have not applied by July 28, 1972, should be contacted and indication made on the list of their status. A copy of this list should be submitted to OE/Washington by COB August 10, 1972.

Handling Procedures

1. Five copies of application received by Regional Office Control Unit (ROCU)

2. ROCU does following:

   a. Checks for original signature

   b. Marks off grantee on receipt list

   c. Assigns ESAP II project number with "-A"

   d. Distributes copies

      (1) Case file

      (2) Regional Contracting Officer (w/signature)

      (3) EEO Program Office Review Member

      (4) EEO Program Office Review Member

      (5) To SPO for later signature by Regional Commissioner and transmittal to OE/Washington

3. OCR shall provide the SPO with a list of all ESAP II grantees in the region. This list shall be marked for each grantee whether in compliance or not. This list shall be delivered as soon as possible, but no later than COB Monday, August 7, 1972. Any changes after that date shall be made to OCR/Washington for transmittal to OE/Washington.

4. A review panel, composed of, as a minimum, a representative of the Regional Contracting Office and two EEO Program Officers, shall review each application for amendment. This review panel shall agree on a common

budget figure for the grantee. By such procedure as the Regional Commissioner sets, this common budget figure shall be forwarded to the Regional Commissioner.

5. The Regional Commissioner shall deliver to OE/Washington before COB, Thursday, August 10, 1972, the following:

   a. A checkoff list of all ESAP II grantees (see above)

   b. A copy of the OCR compliance/noncompliance list

   c. A copy of each application with the recommended budget figure and the Regional Commissioner's signature (only pages 1 and 2)

   d. A summary list by State of the recommended funding amounts. This list shall include:

      (1) Name of applicant

      (2) Dollars recommended

      (3) Number of full-time employees covered

      (4) Recommended dollars per employee

      (5) Summaries of items (2), (3), and (4) for each State

   e. PGIS forms as indicated below.

6. Two copies of PGIS Form 688 will be supplied to the Regional Offices prior to August 1, 1972. The Regional Office is required to correct the three items starred on the attached sample form (hand printing is satisfactory):

   a. Date received

   b. Starting and ending date requested

   c. Amount requested

   The form with these three items will accompany the package to OE/Washington no later than August 10, 1972.

7. The Regional Commissioner shall forward, by phone, to OE/Washington no later than Monday, August 7, 1972, the projected amount of funds needed for each State. OE/Washington will transfer funds to cover those projections during that week.

8. OE/Washington will notify the Regional Offices of the decision on approval of the Regional Commissioner's recommended funding levels by COB Monday, August 14, 1972.

9. The Regional Commissioner will be responsible for Congressional Notification and notification to the applicants of the action taken on their application. The Regional Contracting Officer should have the funds obligated prior to August 18, 1972.

10. During the week of August 21, 1972, the second PGIS Form 688 shall be sent to OE/Washington with the following information (x-ed items on attached sample):

    a. Amount of grant award

    b. CAN number

    c. Approval starting and ending date

    This information may be hand printed as was the first PGIS form.

TAB A -- PGIS Sample Form

TAB B -- Commissioner's ACTION MEMORANDUM to the Secretary

TAB A

PR: T290105 CONTRACTED NEW ERIC: CONTRACT: OEG-4-72-1303
RELATED CONTRACT:

PRIMARY PROGRAM: T90000000
FINANCIAL PROG IDENTIFICATION:

BROOKS COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

RECEIVED: 10/20/71

TITLE VI NO: C00000

PROJECT DIRECTOR:
J. HUBERT WELLS
999999999
DIRECTOR
P O BOX 511
QUITMAN GA 31643
PHONE: 9122637531 TIME: 100%

PROJECT SUM: YES CONG NOTIF: NO

APPLICANT: 000000
BROOKS COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

P O BOX 511
QUITMAN GA 31643
CONG DIST: 02 REGION: 04
BROOKS
SIGNEE: J HUBERT WELLS
PHONE: 9122637531

PROJECT OFFICER:
ROOM: BLDG:
PHONE: CODE:
REQUESTED START: 10/20/71 END: 09/30/
APPROVED START: 10/20/71 END: 09/30/
NEGOTIATED START: 10/20/71 END: 09/30/
FROBOX:
CLOSEOUT:

KEY PERSONNEL:

0% DIVISION: EEO
0% BRANCH:
0% PROJECT OFFICER:
0% PANEL:
STAFF:
FIELD READERS

RATING RECOMMENDATIONS

TAXONOMY AND PPB CODES:
G111 F72534 F31733 F21133 T230 M000 B130 N3334 D140 I000
H00000 E20060 E30040 R20067 R40033
A43560 A46540 U0194 Z000 C000 J001 W13080 W14020
1003 2025

FY	REQUESTED OE SUPPORT	GRANTEE SUPPORT	LEA SUPPORT	SEA SUPPORT	OTHER FEDERAL SUPPORT	OTHER NON-FEDERAL SUPPORT	TOTAL PROPOSED COST	NUMBER OF PARTICIPAN
72	$ 101,925						$ 101,925	
T	$ 101,925						$ 101,925	0

SCHEDULE OF FUNDING

FY	AMOUNT	STATUS	PROGRAM IDENTIFIER	CAN NUMBER	START DATE	END DATE
72	$ 101,925	COMMITTED	T90000000	2041100	10/20/71	09/30/72
72	$ 101,925	OBLIGATED	T90000000	2041100	10/20/71	09/30/72

MEMORANDUM

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

TO : The Secretary

THRU : ES _____
CN _____

FROM : S. P. Marland, Jr.
U.S. Commissioner of Education

SUBJECT: General Notice for the Continuation of Emergency School Assistance Program FY 1972 (ESAP II)
ACTION MEMORANDUM

Enclosed is a proposed General Notice for the Federal Register that will provide for the continued funding of currently operating ESAP II projects under H.J. Res. 1234, the Continuing Resolution.

Two program limitations are set forth in the notice:

1. Only ESAP II projects (those funded in fiscal year 1972) will be eligible for continuation funding. (450 LEA's, 140 community groups)

2. Only minimum funding will be approved, primarily personnel, to carry the project from its expiration date until January 31, 1973, through the first semester.

TAB B

Discussion. On June 29, Congress passed H.J. Res. 1234 to allow continuation funding of ESAP II projects in existence in FY 1972. We interpret Congressional intent as consistent with the statement in the General Notice that only those ESAP projects funded in FY 1972, i.e., ESAP II, will be continued. The ESAP I (FY 1971) projects that still have active grants due to delays and extensions (no additional funds in FY 1972) will not be eligible.

The grantee's request for an amendment will be reviewed by the Regional Office with clearance by OCR and forwarded to Washington with a funding level recommendation

by the Regional Commissioner of Education. Present projected expenditures are less than $18 million; how much less will depend on the financial status of the ESAP II grants at the end of the 71-72 school year. Expectations are that funds will be available in the ESAP II grants as originally issued due to inability to immediately go to full staffing levels last fall and winter. These "extra" funds will be used to extend the grantee before any new FY 1973 Continuing Resolution funds are obligated.

The Continuing Resolution expires August 18, 1972. Even though an extension is likely, continuation grants under the resolution will be completed prior to that date in an effort to ease the uncertainty of the personnel situation.

Because of the tight time frame in which we are operating, public participation in the formulation of the rules in the Notice is deemed impracticable.

Recommendation: It is recommended that you sign the attached General Notice and that it be placed in the Federal Register as soon as possible.

Concur CR _____

Concur C _____

Concur GC _____

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education

Notice of Continuation Funding Under the

Emergency School Assistance Program

The Commissioner of Education hereby gives notice to local educational agencies and community groups which were awarded grants under the Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP) in Fiscal Year 1972 that, pursuant to the authority under P.L. 92-334(H.J. Res. 1234 (July 1, 1972)), and in accordance with the regulations in 45 CFR Part 181, the Commissioner will consider applications for amendments to such grants to support program activities through January 31, 1973.

During fiscal year 1972, the Commissioner carried out a program of assistance to desegregating local educational agencies to assist such agencies to meet special needs during the 1971-72 academic year incident to the elimination of racial segregation and discrimination among students and faculty in elementary and secondary schools (45 CFR 181.2). If local educational agencies and community groups receiving

ESAP grants in fiscal year 1972 were unable to continue projects during the period prior to the implementation of the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA (Title VII of P.L. 92-318), valuable staff personnel and program momentum would be lost before consideration could be given to continuation of these projects under the new legislation. Moreover, the critical need of these agencies (and related groups) for ESAP assistance will continue during the interim period. Commenting on the general responsibility of administrators under the Continuing Resolution, the committee report accompanying H.J. Res. 1234 stated:

> Officials having responsibility for managing programs during such interim periods are not - certainly should not be - unaware that the whole thrust behind these measures is to do only the minimum necessary for orderly continuation of activities . . . Continuing resolutions have by design always been drawn rather broadly, counting heavily on administrators to follow a prudent and cautious course . . .

(see 118 Cong. Rec. H. 6184, daily edition, June 27, 1972).

Assistance under the resolution will be limited to local educational agencies and community groups which received ESAP grants in FY 1972 pursuant to 45 CFR Part 181 for projects which will expire prior to a reasonable opportunity for consideration of applications for the continuation

of such activities under the new legislation. Applications for project amendments should be focused on essential project components involving staff continuation needs.

Applications for amendments will be processed in the order in which received. The continuing resolution expires on August 18, 1972; accordingly those wishing to continue such activities should submit applications therefor as far in advance of that date as possible in order to be assured of consideration.

In view of the necessity to consider and process applications for assistance prior to August 18, 1972, public participation in the development of this notice is considered impracticable within the meaning of 5 U.S.C. section 553(b).

Effective date. This notice shall be effective 30 days after publication in the Federal Register.

Dated: July 10, 1972

U.S. Commissioner of Education

Approved: July 10, 1972

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Instructions for Submitting Project Amendments to the Fiscal Year 1972 Emergency School Assistance Programs

July 1972

Local Educational Agencies
Community Groups

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education

July 11, 1972

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states that "No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

INTRODUCTION

At the President's request, Congress has passed a Continuing Resolution for continuation funding of the fiscal year 1972 Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP II). This action will allow the U.S. Office of Education to amend those ESAP II projects, both LEA and community group, that were funded in the 1971-72 school year. Under the Continuing Resolution those ESAP II grantees whose projects expire prior to January 31, 1973, may apply for an amendment to allow continuation of those minimum essential needs in existing ESAP II programs until January 31, 1973.

The funds available under the ESAP II Continuing Resolution are not to be confused with the funds expected to be available under the new Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA). Money has not yet been appropriated for ESAA.

Activities funded under this ESAP II Continuing Resolution will focus on retaining present ESAP II staff personnel and those existing essential operating expenses that are necessary for proper utilization of those staff personnel. New activities, additional staff, capital outlay, and use of consultants will not be funded under this Resolution.

ESAP II grantees desiring to submit a request for an amendment should submit five (5) copies of the application to the Regional Office as soon as possible and no later than July 28, 1972. Applications received after July 28, 1972, may not have sufficent time for complete processing by USOE prior to the expiration date for the Continuing Resolution.

Applicants are reminded that this is an amendment to their original ESAP II grant; it is not a new program. As such the regulations and assurances that applied to the original program are still in effect. These regulations and assurances are considered binding on these amended programs.

These amendment funds are intended to conserve valuable staff and program momentum that would be lost before the ESAP II

projects could apply for projects under the new ESAA legislation. An applicant should not feel that requesting or failure to request this amendment will have any bearing on his eligibility for consideration under the new ESAA program. Nor should an applicant expect that approval of this ESAP amendment request is any indication of an intent to fund that applicant under ESAA. ESAA is a new program with new regulations and new criteria for application review.

Amendment forms and other materials are available to ESAP II grantees upon request from your nearest Regional Office:

REGION I - Boston (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont)
Mr. Theodore Parker ---------- 617/223-6896
Senior Program Officer
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities
John Fitzgerald Kennedy Federal Bldg.
Government Center
Boston, Massachusetts 02203

REGION II - New York City (New York, New Jersey, Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands)
Mr. Jack Sims ---------- 212/264-4420
Senior Program Officer
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities
Federal Building
26 Federal Plaza
New York, New York 10007

REGION III - Philadelphia (Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia)
Mr. Edward Cooper ---------- 215/597-9021
Senior Program Officer
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities
401 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19108

REGION IV - Atlanta (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee)
Dr. John Lovegrove ---------- 404/526-3076
Senior Program Officer
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities
50-7th Street, N.E., Room 550
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

REGION V - Chicago (Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin)
Dr. Morris Osburn ---------- 312/353-7200
Senior Program Officer
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities
300 South Wacker Drive, 32nd Floor
Chicago, Illinois 60606

REGION VI - Dallas (Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas)
Mr. Thomas Kendrick ---------- 214/749-3084
Senior Program Officer
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities
1114 Commerce Street
Dallas, Texas 75202

REGION VII - Kansas City (Iowa, Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska
Mr. Robert Farning ---------- 816/374-2276
Senior Program Officer
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities
Federal Office Building
601 East 12th Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64106

REGION VIII - Denver (Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming)
Mr. Albert Macias ---------- 303/837-4844
Senior Program Officer
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities
1961 Stout Street
Denver, Colorado 80202

REGION IX - San Francisco (Arizona, California, Hawaii and Nevada)
Mr. Alfredo Villa ---------- 415/556-7750
Senior Program Officer
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities
50 Fulton Street
San Francisco, California 94102

REGION X - Seattle (Alaska, Idaho, Oregon and Washington)
Mr. Marco McElwain ---------- 206/442-0450
Senior Program Officer
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities
Arcade Building
1319 Second Avenue
Seattle, Washington 98101

SECTION I APPLICANT INFORMATION

The application represents a request for funds and must be certified by the Superintendent of Schools or his authorized representative; or, in the case of community groups, the authorized official of the eligible sponsoring agency. This official is responsible for the accuracy and completeness of the information contained in the application.

Item 1. Enter grant number assigned by Regional Contracting Officer in initial ESAP II grant.

Item 2. Enter the legal name of the applicant agency (Local Education Agency) (Community Organization).

Item 10. The contact person is that person designated by the applicant agency to serve as liaison in negotiating the request for Federal funds.

Item 12. Enter the amount of funds requested in this amendment, not the initial ESAP II request.

Item 13. Starting date will normally be the date of the day following the expiration date of your current approved ESAP II project as it has been extended in prior negotiations with the Regional Office. Ending date will be no later than January 31, 1973.

Item 14. Enter date that your agency sent a copy of this amendment request to the State Education Agency. This must be done by both LEA's and community groups. This is for information only to SEA's about amendments to already funded ESAP II projects. Approval of amendments is the responsibility of the U.S. Office of Education.

Item 15. Review by Advisory Committee. Advisory Committees for both LEA's and community groups shall be given ample opportunity to comment on these amendment requests. Comments shall be attached. If the Advisory Committee refuses to supply comments, the authorized official signing in Item 17 shall attach a statement explaining why, and stating the number of days that the Committee had available for comment.

Item 19. Full-time employees are as defined by the individual applying agency.

SECTION II AMENDMENT NARRATIVE

Top priority for amendment funds will be given to continuation of staff presently employed under ESAP II projects. Essential operating expenses that are necessary to properly utilize continued staff personnel will be considered next. It is in this section, the Amendment Narrative, that the applicant must justify these latter expenses. Activities by the continued staff directly involving LEA students will be the focus of this area. Applicants are cautioned that the Office of Education views these amendment funds as extremely narrow in scope, therefore, the applicant should arrange the items in this narrative in order of the applicant's priority.

The amendment narrative will be reviewed by USOE Program Officers and Contract Officers. The narrative must be limited to no more than two (2) pages.

SECTION III BUDGET PREPARATION

Section III of the amendment form contains a program activity budget outline which presents a summary of amendment requests stated in terms of general cost categories and activities.

Timely completion of successful budget negotiations and issuance of an amendment award document will depend, in large part, upon the adequacy and clarity of the grantee's individual cost items and amounts. This must cover every negotiable line item in the most recently approved project budget.

Section III is divided into two subsections. Subsection A is for local educational agencies. Subsection B is for community groups.

Subsection A (LEA)

LEA's should complete the summary budget page for the sum requested in this amendment.

The cost categories listed along the left side of the Budget Outline are taken from Handbook II, Financial Accounting for Local and State School Systems (OE-22017). Applicants are advised to refer to Handbook II in developing their budget breakouts.

Each of the seven activities across the top of the Budget Outline for which funds are being requested should have a separate breakout of the expenditures in the various cost categories. Those accounts that have expenditures falling in more than one program activity should prorate the costs. Detailed breakouts should be provided for each cost category. These breakouts should be on the forms provided.

The budget breakout forms provided are to be submitted on each program activity (those seven (7) general areas across the top of the budget outline page) that has a presently authorized figure. Note that this will require preparation of lines on some items for which an amendment is not being requested but this is necessary for USOE to properly evaluate the total additional funds that will be required to carry the approved items until January 31, 1973.

Subsection B (CG)

The community groups should list the sums requested in this amendment following the same guidelines used in the original ESAP II request. Detail breakout of these sums should be on the forms provided (see following comments).

Budget Breakout Forms (LEA and CG)

Both LEA's and CG's should fill out the detail budget breakout sheets.

Activity. Complete the blank with the name of the activity from the ESAP II budget page. Example: Special Community Program or Facilities Rental. Use separate sheets per activity. Where necessary, continue on other sheets, totaling only activity totals. On a final sheet, summarize the activity totals.

Column I Budget Line Item. List the account number, noun name, and line items. Example:

200 Instruction
213 2 Teachers
214 5 Teacher Aides
Instructional Supplies

List items in the same order as previously submitted and approved.

Column II Current Approved Budget Amount. List opposite the appropriate line items the latest figures approved by the regional contracting officer. All items must be accounted for as the total of Column II must equal the 1972 ESAP II grant award.

Column III Unencumbered Funds Balance As of 6-30-72. List opposite the appropriate line items the unencumbered funds (funds not spent or obligated) as of the above date. For salaried personnel, list only funds spent as of 6-30-72.

Column IV Total Funds Required to Carry Line Item to End of Presently Approved Grant Period. Estimate the total funds per line item that will be necessary to complete the activities in the present grant period.

Column V Balance Anticipated at End of Grant Period. List per line item the anticipated balance of unencumbered funds at the end of the present grant period. Minus figures should be in parentheses. Example: (125.00)

Column VI Total Needed to Carry Line Item from End of Grant Period to 1-31-72. List the cost per line item to carry program activities desired through the above date. Minus figures should be in parentheses.

Column VII Requested Supplement. Subtract Column V from Column VI and record the difference. Minus figures should be in parentheses. The total of Column VII should equal the total of Column V from the total of Column VI and be the same as the amendment funds stated as requested on page 1, Section I, Number 12 of the application.

OMB # 51-S72039
exp 12/31/72

APPLICATION FOR AN AMENDMENT UNDER THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, AS AMENDED AND REVISED UNDER CONTINUING RESOLUTION

LOCAL EDUCATION AGENCY OR COMMUNITY GROUP

FOR U.S.O.E. USE ONLY
PROJECT NUMBER
1. GRANT NUMBER

SECTION I - APPLICANT INFORMATION

2. Name of Applicant Agency		3. Telephone	Area Code	Number
		4. Address Number and Street (if applicable)		
5. City	6. State	7. Zip Code	8. County	9. Congressional District
10. Name of Applicant Agency Contact Person		11. Telephone	Area Code	Number

12. Federal Funds Requested (Amendment)	13. Period of Amendment						Assurances Signed in the Original ESAP II Application are Binding on this Amendment
	Starting Date			Ending Date			
	Month	Day	Year	Month	Day	Year	

14. Date Copy of This Amendment Request Supplied to State Education Agency _____

15. The Bi-racial or Multi-racial Advisory Committee Has Been Given Ample Opportunity to Comment on This Amendment Request

/__/ Comments Attached

/__/ Explanation for Lack of Comments Attached

16. Print or Type Name of Superintendent or Authorized Official	17. Signature of Superintendent or Authorized Official	18. Date

19. Total number of full-time staff employed by this project _____

Total number of part-time staff employed by this project _____

SECTION II - AMENDMENT NARRATIVE

Attach no more than two (2) pages explaining why any nonsalary funds requested under this amendment are necessary to properly utilize ESAP II staff personnel.

FOR U.S.O.E. USE ONLY

Recommend funding level for this amendment _____

Signature _____ Date _____
OE Regional Commissioner

OE FORM 309 7/72

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY

SECTION III - EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM AMENDMENT BUDGET OUTLINE

ACTIVITY / COST CATEGORY	SPECIAL COMMUNITY PROGRAMS (1)	SPECIAL PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICES (2)	SPECIAL CURRICULUM REVISION PROGRAMS (3)	TEACHER PREPARATION PROGRAMS (4)	SPECIAL STUDENT-TO-STUDENT PROGRAMS (5)	SPECIAL COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING (6)	OTHER (7)	TOTAL ALL ACTIVITIES (8)
ADMINISTRATION #100								
INSTRUCTION #200								
ATTENDANCE AND HEALTH SERVICES #300 & #400								
PUPIL TRANSPORTATION SERVICES #500								
OPERATION OF PLANT #600								
MAINTENANCE OF PLANT #700								
FIXED CHARGES #800								
FOOD SERVICES #900								
STUDENT BODY ACTIVITIES #1000								
COMMUNITY SERVICES #1100								
CAPITAL OUT-LAY #1200								
TOTAL FEDERAL FUNDS REQUESTED								

COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING BUDGET ITEMIZATION.

CATEGORY	AMOUNT	CATEGORY	AMOUNT
1. Employee Salaries, Services and Benefits	$	6. Equipment Purchase	$
2. Travel and Per Diem		7. Contracted Services	
3. Office Supplies and Materials		8. Other Costs (specify)	
4. Facilities Rental			

Voc - Tech Ed

UNIONS and COMMUNITY COLLEGES

RWDSU

Vol. 26 #2 2/73

By ALEX BILANOW

Trade unions are playing a growing role in the nation's community, or two-year, colleges.

Craft unions in Coos Bay, Oregon, for example, got together and founded Southwestern Community College to remedy a shortage of skilled workers in that area.

Genese Community College in Flint and Macomb County Community College in Warren, both in Michigan, are now operating apprenticeship training programs in cooperation with the United Auto Workers.

The International Association of Machinists has close ties with City College of Chicago. IAM officials serve on the college's advisory board and a number of skilled IAM craftsmen serve on the faculty.

At Coolidge, Arizona, Central Arizona Community College offers training courses for heavy equipment operators. The school uses members of the Operating Engineers to teach them.

In Los Angeles, that city's trade union council works closely with LA Technical College, providing curriculum know-how and instructors for courses in carpentry, painting, masonry and other construction crafts.

In other cities across the country members of the Teamsters, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Painters and many other unions are involved, in one form or another, with the community colleges in their areas.

If the involvement is not by having union leaders serve on the colleges' advisory boards, or having members of the unions working as instructors, then it is by enrolling union members themselves, as well as their sons and daughters.

Of the 2.7 million students enrolled currently in the nation's 1,120 community colleges, the bulk come from the families of workers. These young people are striving for a better way of life by "going to college." Usually, their parents are unable to pay charges at four-year institutions.

Most community colleges charge $250 to $350 per year tuition and in some states, like California, tuition is free.

At the same time, the two-year institutions provide an open door into the four-year colleges. The American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC), based in Washington, D.C., estimates that about one-third of the students who graduate from a two-year college go on to enroll in a four year university.

Labor Involvement Encouraged

The AACJC, whose membership includes nearly all public and private two-year colleges, wants to see more labor involvement.

"When you think of unions representing working people, you can say that community colleges serve the working man. We have that in common with unions," said Andrew Korim, an occupational education specialist with the association.

"There is a definite role for unions to play in the training and education programs of community colleges, and we would encourage labor to expand that role," he added.

Another AACJC official, William Harper, pointed out that community colleges stand today as the fastest-growing part of the nation's educational establishment. An estimated 20 to 30 new community colleges will be founded during this year. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education estimates that at least 230 more two-year colleges will be needed by 1980.

"With that kind of growth on the drawing boards, we'll be needing all the help we can get from unions and union members," Harper said.

"That help can take many forms—duty with college advisory boards, technical assistance in setting up training and apprenticeship programs, helping enrollments through establishing trade union scholarships, and even, as voters, in supporting bond issues to finance the colleges," Harper explained.

The two-year college, he noted, is an American invention. It is hardly new, having been around since the turn of the century. But for years, it languished in the shadows of the four-year universities. In rank, it hardly stood taller than the average high school.

The first public community college, according to AACJC historical records, was organized in 1901-02 in Joliet, Ill. Joliet College was built on the campus of the University of Chicago.

Educators at the University of California, meanwhile, were promoting a new educational reform—establishment of post-graduate studies in public high schools. This was gradually carried out. However, rather than stressing technical education and training, the schools tended to focus on liberal arts.

The community college movement grew slowly until the 1950's and 1960's. In 1920, there were 207 such institutions operating, only 70 of them publicly-supported. The total grew to 673 in 1960, with an enrollment of 660,216. In 1965 there were 771 community colleges, enrolling 1,292,753 students. Five years later there were 1,091 community colleges with a combined enrollment of 2,499,837. While the explosive pace of the growth has ended, the growth is nevertheless continuing, although at a slower rate.

Community colleges are now located in every state. In a number of states, like California, Kentucky and Florida, they are the keystone of the state's higher education systems.

Florida Adds Something New

California now has 93 community colleges. Florida has 27 and Kentucky 22. In Florida, something new was added several years ago—a two-year college offering a student his third and fourth years of schooling.

Florida now has four so-called "senior" colleges. Another 26 have been established in other states.

Community colleges pride themselves on their open enrollment—anyone is allowed to enter, usually with or without the "good grades" from high school that most colleges make an entry requirement.

"We feel that if a kid goofed off in high school—perhaps he was more attentive to playing football than he was to studying—then he deserves a chance for another try, if he's got the stuff," Harper said.

The institution also makes it a point to be a "part of the community" in which it is located. It tries to sink roots deep among the local populace.

If a group of citizens approaches their local community college and asks that a certain course be set up, like welding, or auto mechanics, or art or even cooking, then it can usually be done, and in a reasonably short time, too, say AACJC officials.

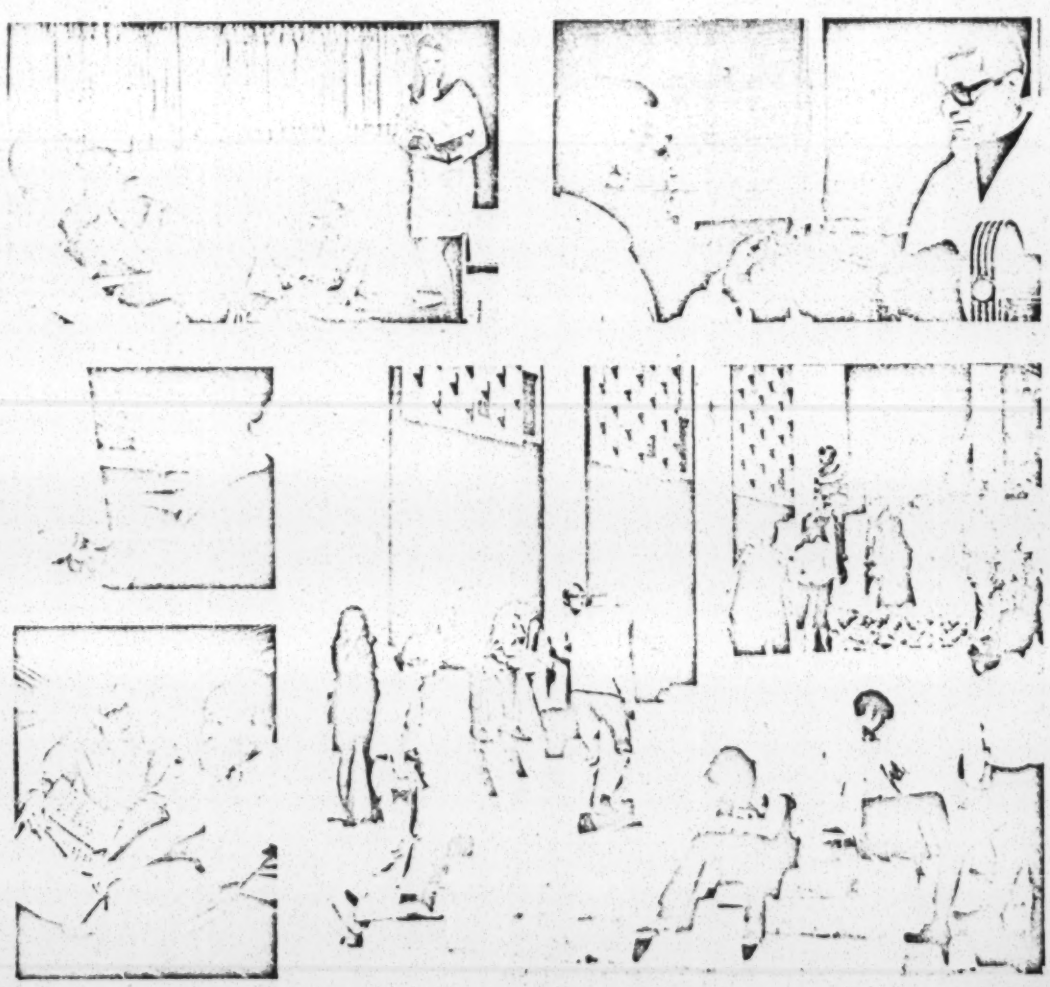
One North Carolina community college president recently set up a program of classes in remedial reading and writing when a local poverty agency asked for help in reaching out to some town residents who had never been to school.

"We brought in one of the people from the community to teach the class. He knew the people and their problems, and they trusted him. It was an enriching experience for all of us," he said.

Some community college leaders urge that such colleges be established within a commuting bus ride of any resident in a city. That is one of the goals of the AACJC. With the help of the Higher Education Act recently passed by the Congress, the goal may become a reality.

The Act authorizes $275 million in Federal grants to community colleges over the next three years to start new institutions and enable existing ones to expand. It is the first time community colleges have been targeted for such a large chunk of aid. It is perhaps recognition by Congress, at last, of the crucial role community colleges are playing in opening opportunity's door to plain, ordinary people.

That's more reason why more labor organizations, and union families—both parents as well as children—should get "involved" in their local community college. It is union-brand democracy in action.



PAGINATION INCORRECT BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. OFFICE of ED

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY MARCH 7, 1973

Nominee as U.S. Education Head

John Renaldo Ottina

By EVAN JENKINS

The man nominated by President Nixon yesterday to be United States Commissioner of Education has a reputation among those who know him and his work well as a good manager, an honest boss and a decisive executive.

He is also considered, by detractors and at least some admirers, to be lacking in the kind of knowledge about education and grasp of its major issues traditionally associated with the commissioner's role as a spokesman for learning.

Man in the News

The nominee, 41-year-old Dr. John R. Ottina, has been acting commissioner since his predecessor and enthusiastic supporter, Dr. Sidney P. Marland, was made assistant secretary for education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare last year. Dr. Ottina's appointment as commissioner, which requires Senate confirmation, has been expected.

Except for two years as a teacher in the public schools of his native Los Angeles, Dr. Ottina was not directly involved in education before he went to Washington as a deputy commissioner in December, 1970.

Educational Background

His own education is reflected in bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of California, Los Angeles, and a doctorate in educational psychology from the University of Southern California.

After the teaching stint, he worked for a time as a mathematical analyst for the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation and later for the Systems Development Corporation, a nonprofit research concern in Santa Monica.

Puts stress on his "on-the-job training."

His last post before he joined the Office of Education was board chairman and president of Worldwide Information Systems, a subsidiary of the King Resources Company of Los Angeles.

That background, distinctly different from the careers in education that have been typical of Federal commissioners, produced antagonism toward Dr. Ottina's expected appointment among education interest groups such as the National Education Association.

An associate who in general applauded the nomination had a similar reservation.

"We're in need in the nation today of an advocate for education," the source said. "I don't think he's an education statesman, and he doesn't have the contacts in the educational community that commissioners have usually had."

The associate praised Dr. Ottina, though, as a quiet, effective executive, "not afraid to bite the bullet" in difficult decisions, and one who "doesn't try to pass himself off as having any strengths but the ones he has —in research and management."

The source used a phrase that cropped up in several interviews about Dr. Ottina —"good manager." He added that the appointment seemed excellent to him at a time when Administration shifts and cuts in education spending required managerial skills in an agency whose record in that regard has been spotty.

Dr. Ottina's own response to the criticism about his lack of experience in professional education is that he finds it understandable. But he points to his early work as a teacher and to his research background, much of it related to educational concerns.

'On-the-Job Training'

"I guess the most positive thing I can add," he said, "is that I've had two and a half years of on-the-job training."

If he is confirmed in the $36,000-a-year post, Dr. Ottina will preside—under Dr. Marland and Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare—over an agency with a staff of 2,700 and a budget of more than $5-billion.

John Renaldo Ottina (pronounced Oh-TEEN-uh) was born Nov. 5, 1931, to Louis and Mary Maga Ottina, who still live in Los Angeles. He attended public school there before entering U.C.L.A.

His wife, whom he met after graduation from high school and married while they were college classmates, is also a former teacher.

The Ottinas live with their son—John Michael, 11; James Laurence, 10; and David Louis Lee, 8—in a four-bedroom, split-level home on a acre in Reston, Va. Mrs. Ottina described her husband as easygoing, an assessment shared by his colleagues, and handy enough around the house to partition the basement and finish part of it off as a poolroom.

Firm Finds New Quarters Give It Added Responsibility

NEWARK, N. Y. (AP)—Some 4,000 geese a day are getting a free food handout, thanks to a company that inadvertently found itself playing host to the birds.

When Sarah Coventry built its new headquarters here two lagoons were included in the landscaping. The following winter, officials discovered they were in the middle of a north-south flyway for Canadian geese.

Asa a result the company provides more than 10 tons of birdseed per year for the geese, which congregate in the lagoons for a rest period before continuing their southern flight.

We've worl
best office pla
taken us yea
because we've
men just start
It's not th
than anyone e
if all you wa
that's all we'l
If you wan

290 Madison A

©ITKIN BROS. INC., 1973

Montana Project

L.A.

Menace ill repat —
we are so unhappy as to pull out

Could not sell consistently —

Too many wrongs —

Richard Siegel — "crippled"

"junk" — trivial

Charleston mis-represented

PW

Rec. are good summary of repat
Avg. ch. mod. probably turned off —

"Community says" who speaks for "it"
L through out
Botched waiting & editg job

CW

What was purpose —
To see who gets what & how from fed funds
(The hidden agenda)

This report does not touch on a number of important areas, such as the ~~in~~ the implications of the increasing polularity ~~o/f~~ of systems of alternative education; or the widespread presence of school boards and school officials ~~more sympathetic to private schools than to~~ whose alliegance is to private seg. ~~ac~~ academies rather than to the public schools (now all Black) they serve; or texts and curriculum that do not recognize Black history ~~and/non-western/civilization/and/contributions/~~ and contributions of Black civilizations and individuals (this ommission is greater in school ~~sch~~ that have achieved a racial balance, in most urban areas, since the majority then is white); or the implications of permitting cross-district transfers. Maybe many of these are rural phenomena, rather than urban.

Minority history in such a way [illegible]

~~As~~ Also, one wonders if the conclusions really can be documented, or if they are merely what we'd <u>like</u> for them to be. Do they plan to include specifics?

~~OF THE TWO SECTIONS MOST DIRECTLY ABOUT DISCRIMINATION WITHIN THE SCHOOLS, SECTIONS 7 and 8, DON'TREALLY~~

SECTION 8 IS PARTICULARLY NON-SPECIFIC IN THE SOURCE TO WHICH THE RECOMMENDATION IS DIRECTED, AND IT IS ONE OF THE ONLY TWO ~~RECOMMENDATIONS PERTAINING TO~~ SECTIONS PERTAINING TO DISCRIMINATION IN THE SCHOOLS.

Of a number of things I wonder about, apart from the proposed recommendations I attached, this seems most important: "In none of the districts included in this survey were the myths and fears about 'busing' found to have much foundation. The primary problem is one of inconvenience." Is this taking into account Black fears about busing, in urban areas in which Black people constitute a minority, that are based more on the implications of racial balancing than they are on the bus trip? (Under section 3.)

I don't supposed it should be noted under Section 6, on "ability grouping", that even the Brooke-Mondale ~~ES~~ ESAQIE bill now being killed in Congressional conference would permit "bona fide ability grouping"; whereas, if ESAP's assurances has be enforced these past two years, <u>no</u> grouping that results in separation of Black and white students <u>for</u> a substantial portion of the day would have been permitted. "Bona fide," of course, will would be given loose interpretation by many schools.

~~Under 8, on discipline, they recommend a promulgated statement~~

In various references to the desirability of racial balance in all schools, I wonder if ~~what/is/a~~ the meaning--desegregating Black schools on the same basis as white schools--comes across. And I wonder if <u>racial balance</u> is really what we desire, considering what this does <u>to schools in</u> urban areas that are majority white. Wouldn't standards defining substantial integration, applied equally to all schools in an urban area, but which would permit some majority Black some majority white schools be fairer than all majority white schools? Can they really ~~prove~~ prove that racial balances have resulted in more successful desegregaiton?

I would like very much to see this addition to the Recommendations:

Under No. 7

We recommend that HEW establish an office and make staff available on a continuing basis for the express purpose of soliciting, receiving, and investigating complaints directly from students who experience racial discrimination within desegregated schools and that, when investigation proves students have been discriminated against because of race by school officials, in school practices, or in school procedures (including disciplinary sanctions), Title VI be enforced.

(The idea, of course, is to protect students from acts of prejudice other than those present in school procedures--from the personal acts against minority students, such as the principal who displays a gun and guard dog. Both employment and voting rights for minorities are protected, ostensibly, beyond the initial stages of opening up jobs and registration, into the day to day assurance of observance of these rights, by a specific federal watchdog agency; why shouldn't the student's right not to be discriminated against be protected beyond mere placement in a desegregated school, also by a specific federal watchdog agency?)

Also under No. 7, I would like to see this addition to the Recommendations:

We recommend that school districts be required as a part of their plan for desegregation to institute in each secondary school (OR IN EACH SCHOOL DISTRICT, LEON?) a bi-racial committee of students, much as school districts now must establish adult bi-racial committees as part of the desegregation plan. School districts would be required to insure that these student bi-racial committees be representative of the student body, of equal racial proportions in composition, that they be active, and that they be constituted so as to serve as a channel for the expression of student grievances and and as a vehicle through which students can offer their opinion about fair school procedures and policies.

VOCATIONAL & TECHNICAL EDUCATION

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: The Bridge Between Man And His Work

(General Report of the Advisory Council on Vocational Education, 1968).

November, 1968 220pp.
Catalog No. FS 5.280:80052
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402
$2.25

OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION TEACHERS, A Handbook For Teacher Educators.

Information Series No. 40 VT013 044

BEASLEY, Gary and SMILEY, James

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

27pp. $.30

DOOR TO OPPORTUNITY, Title V, Economic Opportunity Act.

A Summary Report of the Work Experience and Training Program, 1964-1969.

February, 1970 64pp.

Stats, Jeanette, Consultant

U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

CAREER EDUCATION

1971 Copyright 10pp.

U. S. Government Printing Office
Dept. of HEW Publication No. ()E) 72-39
Washington, D.C. 20402

$.20

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: INNOVATIONS REVOLUTIONIZE CAREER TRAINING

1971 Copyright 64pp.
Stock No. 411-12780

National School Public Relations Association
NEA,
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

$4

COUNTY BUSINESS PATTERNS
(County Business Patters -70-12 Georgia)

June, 1971 145pp.

U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

$1.25

REVIEW AND SYNTEHSIS OF RESEARCH ON VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION FOR THE RURAL DIS-ADVANTAGED

August, 1971 Information Series No. 44
VT 013 374

OAKLIFF, Charles

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20036

$.40

BIBLIOGRAPHIES---GENERAL

THE LOW ACHIEVER IN MATHEMATICS

WOODBY, Lauren G.

1964 (Report of conference March 25-27, 1964)
Bulletin 1965, No. 31 96pp.

U. S. Dept. of HEW
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

$.35

EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

1966 U. S. Dept. of HEW
Catalog No. FS 5.238:38000 33pp.

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

$.45

EDUCATION PARKS, APPRAISALS OF PLANS TO IMPROVE EDUCATIONAL QUALITY AND DESEGREGATE THE SCHOOLS

October, 1967 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 104pp.

Clearninghouse Publication No. 9

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

$.35

RACE & PLACE, A LEGAL HISTORY OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

WEINBERG, Meyer

1967 Copyright 103pp.
Catalog No. FS 5.238:38005

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

$.45

THE SUPERVISOR: NEW DEMANDS. NEW DIMENSIONS

LUCIO, Wiliam H., Editing

1969 Copyright 107pp.

Association for Supervision and Curriculum
Development, NEA
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

$2.50

HEW AND TITLE VI, A REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE ORGANIZATION, POLICIES, AND COMPLIANCE
PROCEDURES OF THE DEPT. OF HEW.

1970 U. S. Commission on
Civil Rights 73pp.
Publication No. 22

Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

$.45

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: LOUISIANA AND
MISSISSIPPI, Report of the NEA TASK FORCE III

October, 1970 43pp.

CONFIDENTIAL

A POSSIBLE REALITY: A Design for the Attain-
ment of High Academic Achievement for the
Students of the Public, Elementary and
Junior High Schools of Washington, D.C.

June 30, 1970 83pp.

Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc.
(MARC)
60 East 86th Street
New York, New York 10028

A POSSIBLE REALITY (APPENDIX)

June 30, 1970 192pp.

Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc.
(MARC)
60 East 86th Street
New York, New York 10028

YOUR SCHOOL'S DESEGREGATION--HOW REAL?
A Checklist for parents and interested citizens.

1971 Copyright 11pp.

Integrated Education Associates
343 Dearborn Street, South
Chicago, Illinois 60604

$1

STATISTICS OF PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS, 1968-1969.

GERTLER, Diane B. and BARKER, Linda A.

1971 (DHEW Publication O. (OE) 72-25). 62pp.

Catalog No. HE 5.220:20191
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

$.65

ETHNIC ISOLATION OF MEXICAN AMERICANS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE SOUTHWEST---REPORT I

Aprile, 1971 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 102pp.

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

$1

A DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCHOR TEST STUDY

1972 U. S. Dept. of HEW
Educational Testing Service 15pp.

DHEW Publication No. (OE) 72-102

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS PROGRAM: 1971 EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOL PROJECTS, THREE EDUCATIONAL PLANS.

1972 U. S. Dept. of HEW 151pp.
DHEW Publication No. (OE) 72-42

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

$1.25

AMERICAN EDUCATION,
Volume 8, Number 5

June, 1972 U. S. Dept. of HEW
Office of Education 37pp.

Published 10 times yearly.

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

Single Copy $.40

EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1972

May 22, 1972 Ordered to be Printed
92nd Congress, 2nd Session - - Senate

Report No. 92-798

229pp.

BIBLIOGRAPHY----BUSING STUDIES

FACT BOOK ON PUPIL TRANSPORTATION
(MARC Document #2)

1972 Copyright 92pp.

Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc.
60 East 86th Street
New York, New York 10028

"IT'S NOT THE DISTANCE, IT'S THE NIGGERS"
(Comments on the controversy over school busing)

1972 Copyright 45pp.

NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund, Inc.
Division of Legal Information
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

$1

YOUR CHILD AND BUSING

May, 1972 36pp.

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Publication No. 36
Washington, D.C. 20036

GOVERNANCE & RELATED

THE ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS

CAMPBELL, Roald F., CUNNINGHAM, Luvern L.
MCPHEE, Roderick F.

1965 Copyright 551pp.

Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc.
Columbus Ohio

DECISION MAKING AND SCHOOLS FOR THE 70's

PHARIS, William L., ROBINSON, Lloyd E.,
WALDEN, John C.

1970 Copyright 82pp.
Stock No. 381-11940

National Education Association
Publications-Sales Section
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

$1.50

SCHOOLS AND THE LAW

REUTTER, JR., E. Edmund

1970 (Third Revision) 119pp.

Oceana Publications, Inc.
Dobbs Ferry, New York

Legal Almanac Series No. 17

FREEDON, BUREAUCRACY & SCHOOLING

1971 Copyright 284pp.
Stock No. 610-17508

Association for Supervision and Curriculum
Development, NEA
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

$6.50

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE EDUCATION OF THE MINORITY CHILD

1970 Copyright 494pp.

WEINBERG, Meyer

Chicago Integrated Education Associates
343 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

A SELECTED GUIDE TO CURRICULUM LITERATURE:
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

TYLER, Louise L., Associate Professor of Education, University of California at Los Angeles.

1970 Copyright 135pp.

NAtional Education Association
Center for the Study of Instruction
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

$2

NEA CATALOG: PUBLICATIONS AND AUDIOVISUAL MATERIALS, 1971-1972.

June, 1971 62pp

National Education Association
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

CATALOG FOR MEMBERS AND THE PUBLIC

Spring, 1972 15pp.

League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1730 "M" Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

STUDENTS RIGHTS

Today's Education: NEA Journal, "Discipline In The Classroom."

1969 Copyright 124pp.

National Education Association of the U.S.
Publications-Sales Section
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

$1.50

CODE OF STUDENT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

1971 Copyright 42pp.

Developed by the: NEA Task Force on Student Involvement

NEA of the United States
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

REMOVING BARRIERS TO HUMANESS IN THE HIGH SCHOOL

SAYLOR, J. Galen, SMITH, Joshua L. (Edited)

1971 Copyright 83pp.

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

$2.50

THE STUDENT'S DAY IN COURT: Review of 1970

1971 Copyright 106pp.

Research Report 1971-R8

Research Division--NEA
1201-16th Street
Washington, D.C. 20036

THE TEACHERS' DAY IN COURT: Review of 1970
An Annual Compliation

1971 Copyright 79pp.

School Law Series, Research Report 1971-R7
Research Division
National Education Association
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

$1.75

NEA COMMISSION ON PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

REPORT OF TASK FORCE SURVEY OF TEACHER DISPLACEMENT IN SEVENTEEN STATES

December, 1965 60pp.

Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the NEA of the U.S.
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION: OKLAHOMA- A Statewiede Study of Conditions Detrimental To An Effective Public Educational Program.

February, 1965 50pp.

National Education Association
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION: FLORIDA- A Study of Political Atmosphere As It Affects Public Education.

March, 1966 198pp.
NEA of the United States
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION: WILCOX COUNTY, ALABAMA: A Study of Social, Economic, And Educational Bankruptcy.

June, 1967 112pp.

National Education Association
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

NEA COMMISION ON PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, cont'd.

REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION: KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE: When A City Government Fails To Give Full Support To Its Schools.

March, 1967 42pp.

National Education Association of the U.S.
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION: DEKALB COUNTY, GEORGIA: A Profile of Paternalism In Public Education.

July, 1968 92pp.

National Education Association of the U.S.
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION: HYDE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA: School Boycott And The Roots of Conflict.

September, 1969 55pp.

National Education Association
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

A SPECIAL STUDY: Central Issues Influencing Community Relations in Atlanta, Georgia.

Augsut, 1969 58pp.

National Education Association
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, COMMISSION ON PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, cont'd.

BEYOND DESEGREGATION: THE PROBLEM OF POWER, A Special Study in East Texas.

February, 1970 59pp.

National Education Association
1201-6th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION: KENTUCKY: Education In Kentucky: A Legacy Of Unkept Promises.

May, 1971 141pp.

National Education Association
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

REPORT ON THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP) has, through the nature of its flexibility, provided diversified approaches attempting to identify and devise solutions to problems arising from desegregation.

The original funding of $1,150,989.00 was divided into general categories established in the proposal, e.g., Community Relations, Pupil Personnel Services, Special Curriculum Revision. The funds in each category were then apportioned to schools based on three groupings (A, B, and C) dependent upon the amount of integration of the student body which had taken place during the 1969-70 school year and projected for 1970-71.

Community Involvement

Each school in the system received $525 to be used in community relations and parental involvement. Eighty-five schools have proposed some type of action to include members of the community. The approach has often been an indirect one to get people working together on a problem of common interest. These programs have involved such diverse activities as get-togethers, workshops on community beautification or the new math, and the employment of a person to work door to door answering questions and combating rumors.

Special Pupil Personnel Services

Four dollars for each first grade child in the group A and B schools were provided for behavior modification. In addition, some schools asked to utilize funds originally allocated to Supplies and Materials to assist in behavior modification. Various techniques were proposed in 16 schools. Two workshops in behavior modification techniques were held using consultants from the Georgia Mental Health Institute for a period of six weeks. In the Area V Workshop, two-thirds of the teachers were new white teachers teaching in predominantly black schools, and one-third of the group was black teachers teaching in predominantly white schools. All had expressed dissatisfaction with their

teaching because of disciplinary problems. The second workshop was held by teacher in-service training in the spring, whereby 55 additional teachers were released to work on improvement of classroom management in the integrated classroom.

Special Curriculum Revision

Each of the 12 schools in group A and the 25 schools in group B were provided funds for the improvement of communication, in addition each high school in the system received funds to help devise courses dealing with problems of desegregation, and further, all schools received a sum to be used to purchase materials and supplies and equipment for the lower academic one-third of the student body. The latter ranged from $166 for the smallest of the C elementary schools to $6,480 for the largest A high school.

The heaviest concentration of expenditure by schools has been in the purchasing of materials, supplies, and equipment. One hundred twenty-five of one hundred fifty-seven schools have utilized their funds primarily in the purchase of material items to enhance Communication Skills Laboratories, individual instruction, and provide multi-ethnic books.

Experimental work in curriculum development and individualization of instruction based on the Duluth Model will be carried out in several schools this fall.

Teacher Preparation Program

Some funds in this category were allocated to all schools and most often the funds were used to supplement usage of funds in other categories.

Teacher preparation projects have been planned in 59 of 157 schools. In 24 schools, students' services have been employed in connection with various project plans such as helping new teachers become acquainted with the school community via walking tours. A citywide Communication Skills Laboratory

workshop has recently been completed.

To develop teaching teams and improvement of instruction through the use of team teaching across ethnic lines, five schools are holding a workshop which started in June and will continue into August.

A special citywide workshop for teachers new to the system has been planned for late summer.

Seven schools in Area IV participated in the Instructional Development Institute Workshop. This is a system of instructional development in which the first stage is to define the problem and identify it, analyze the setting, and organize the management process. The second stage of development incorporates identifying objectives, specifying methods and constructing prototypes. The third stage is evaluation, calling for teaching prototypes, analyzing results and implementing and recycling where necessary.

Dr. Robert Waggoner, Coordinator of Music, has planned a city wide workshop for music teachers in late August to emphasize the background materials for black studies in music, whereby black music will be studied in more diversity than just "spiritual" and "blues" music.

Special Student To Student

There were 16 proposals establishing direct student-to-student tutoring programs. Often these tutorial programs were conducted by high school students with their feeder elementary schools in order to establish better rapport and quell rumor and fear in the community. The major portion of the activities of the ESAP team during May was expended in the establishment of the Sky Lake Camp project as a student-to-student activity.

This modular, problem solving, fourth-quarter course of which the camp community experiment is an integral part, calls for two days in which the class

meets in their respective middle or high schools. The classes of twenty students, accompanied by their teacher, then go to Sky Lake by chartered transportation for a ten-day period in a controlled environment, after which they return to their respective schools to further refine the solutions they proposed for the problems relating to the desegregation process. Parents are encouraged to join into the community for the weekend their son or daughter is in camp. Of the 29 middle and secondary schools, all but three are participating in the program.

The structure of the program in the controlled environment calls for classes in human relations, leadership, problem solving techniques, problems across ethnic lines and individual school problems. Other classes in science, art and swimming are also provided. Physical activities such as canoeing, tennis, softball, basketball, volley ball and table tennis are also provided. Provisions for teacher training in value identification and problem solving techniques are built into the program while the students are involved in their classes with the camp staff and the teacher is "free".

Adjustments were found to be necessary in curriculum on almost a day-to-day basis to deal with needs reflected by the camp population. The effectiveness of the program will not be immediately measurable, but problem areas are being identified and correction made. Feedback from the sessions has provided the basis of a continually revision so that each session has proceeded somewhat smoother than those preceding it. Discipline problems which some adults had originally feared, have not materialized.

Follow-up on the schools participating in the program will continue through the summer and into the fall.

The lack of lead-time provided by the government for the establishment of the fourth-quarter course proved a serious defect. Selection of a corps of camp staff personnel highly qualified in their respective areas, and provisions

for the logistical support for the camp was accomplished only by the cooperation of the Purchasing, Personnel and Administrative Services Departments.

FOR INFORMATION

2-Pats Discr. ad students & staff
Problems of Voc. Ed.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND INSTITUTIONAL BIAS IN ARKANSAS

"As far as blacks are concerned, the vo-tech schools in Arkansas are just about where public schools in general are. They are run by whites, with no blacks at the higher levels. They are at the point of meeting guidelines rather than educating kids. Blacks who wish to attend them must be willing not only to go to what is essentially a 'white' school, but also to 'become white' -- to adopt the standards, values, and mores of white, middle class culture."

The quoted observer, who asked not to be identified, is a black intellectual, a professional man, decidedly not the angry, embittered sort which comes to the minds of many whites when they hear the word "militant." He spoke quietly, sadly. He is familiar with Arkansas's education enterprise, both academic and vocational.

What he was describing is commonly called "institutional racism." For the purposes of this report we choose to designate it "institutional bias," a term less threatening and perhaps more accurate.

For the built-in discrimination we have discerned in the vocational education set-up in Arkansas, while it is <u>always</u> racial, is not <u>purely</u> racial. Rather, it is a bias against all persons, black and white, who do not fit the white middle class norm. It might be called inertial bias, because it is a systemic perpetuation of discriminations historically conscious and overt, but now continued with or without additional thrust from any individual's current, personal prejudice.

"Institutional bias," with reference to education, means that individual teachers and administrators may be as fair and even-handed as they can be, working within the institution, yet students still are the victims of prejudice. The trouble is that the educators are working in the context of a system that is weighted against both "non-whites" (a significant designation) and whites who, because of cultural or economic background, are not academically inclined and proficient. White is one part of the norm and middle class is the other part of the norm. Blacks may measure up partially, but never fully. Whites may measure up fully, but may also be prejudicially disqualified.

Ready for more than you are saying?

unclear

?

A History of Racial Segregation

The General Assembly's Act 328 of 1957 designated the State Board for Vocational Education, with the same membership as the State Board of Education, as "the agency of state government to receive and administer any and all federal funds made available to this State for the purpose of assisting the State and/or local school districts in providing for the extension of vocational education...." The act specified vocational-technical education of less than college grade and for persons sixteen years of age and over.

Thirteen post-secondary, area vo-tech schools have been built and equipped. In addition operation of Little Rock Vo-Tech has been taken over by the State Board at the request of the Little Rock school board, and technical divisions have been established at Westark Junior College in Ft. Smith and Phillips County Junior College in Helena. The value of fixed

assets exceeds $12 million. As of March 17, 1972, 5,731 students were being served "on campus," including day and night students, but not those taking extension courses.

Act 328 of 1957 included the following provision, which was not repealed until 1965:

> Section 2. The Board is hereby empowered to make such plans, rules and regulations as are necessary in order for the State to meet requirements of any law enacted by the Congress of the United States or any supplementary Federal regulations pertaining to such legislation, provided the federal statute and/or supplementary regulations do not conflict with the Constitution and/or statutes of the State. It is the specific intention of this Act to prohibit the State from accepting Federal vocational funds under conditions which make it mandatory that the State and/or local school districts integrate the races as a condition for the receipt of such funds. Area Vocational-Technical and Adult Education schools established as a result of this Act shall operate under the same policies with reference to white and Negro students as practiced by the local public school board in the district in which said schools are located.

Nevertheless a few black students were admitted to the first area vo-tech school, at Pine Bluff, as early as 1963. In 1965 both of the schools then in operation reported some black students. Petit Jean Vo-Tech indicated that there were ten Negroes among 224 students, and Pines said only that "a number" among their 246 day students and 60 in night school were Negroes. [1]

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed by Congress in July of that year, and the Arkansas General Assembly repealed the Section of Act 328 quoted above in January, 1965. When repeal legislation was before the legislature Representative John Bethell, who sponsored both Act 328 and repeal of Section 2,

said that he had no objection to the repeal, because he had only introduced Act 328 just as it had been written by the staff of the State Board of Education. They had written in the prohibition of integration, he said, and it was all right with him if they wanted it taken out. [2]

Black Students: Admission Without Acceptance

Enrollment figures as of March 17, 1972, indicate that non-white enrollment in the 13 operating vo-tech schools (one was still under construction) and the technical divisions of the two junior colleges is roughly proportionate to the non-white population of the state. They indicate, further, that with notable exceptions the non-white enrollment in each school approximates the proportion of non-white population in the county in which it is located. (See Appendix A.)

In some instances the percentage of non-white students reported was even higher than the ratio of non-whites to whites in the county. Delta Vocational-Technical School at Marked Tree, for example, had a student body that was 12% non-white, while the population of Poinsett County is only 8.8% non-white. Foothills Vo-Tech at Searcy enrolled 16% non-whites, but the non-white population of White County is only 3.5%. Ouachita Vo-Tech at Malvern and Little Rock Vo-Tech also reported larger percentages of non-whites in their student bodies than in the counties in which the schools are located. The schools do not, of course, serve only the counties in which they are situated, so the percentage-of-population figures for those counties only suggest the racial composition of the area.

The most notably low percentages of non-whites are at Southwest Technical Institute, Petit Jean Vo-Tech, and the technical divisions at Westark and Phillips County Junior Colleges. Southwest Technical Institute draws students from all over the state and is the only vo-tech school which houses them. It offers more advanced courses and courses in more sophisticated technical subjects than the other schools do, and it offers an associate degree in those subjects. It is the only one of the schools with courses in advertising and commercial art, aviation mechanics, instrumentation, and accounting. Petit Jean Vo-Tech is a more advanced institution also, it being the only area school to offer surveying, carpentry, or landscaping, the only one besides Red River to offer heavy equipment operation, and the only one other than Southwest Technical Institute to offer civil drafting.

The low non-white enrollments in schools offering more sophisticated courses raise a question about the meaning of the relatively good non-white percentages at the other schools. In interviews black vocational students and black community leaders asserted that black enrollees frequently are steered toward occupations in which blacks have traditionally been acceptable in the South, away from those traditionally reserved for whites. They also said that stricter standards of student performance are applied to blacks than to whites in training for traditionally white occupations, so that all but "super blacks" are weeded out.

Observation at several schools during a typical day reveals a number of blacks in classes in office practices, radio and TV

electronics, and practical nursing, as well as in auto mechanics, body repair, welding, diesel mechanics, cooking, and the like. It is apparent that some blacks are admitted to any course offered.

On the other hand, blacks report a consistent pattern of "delays" on admission of black applicants to certain courses and discouraging treatment of those who are admitted. One black young lady, described by her counselor as "very bright," tried for two years to enroll as a Licensed Practical Nurse candidate before she was admitted. Another student who was thoroughly tested by the Employment Security Division and approved for an L.P.N. course reports that vo-tech school personnel tried to get her to switch to a nurse's aide program or to cooking. The cooking course, with a black instructor, had only two whites in a class of about twenty. (Testing and screening of applicants for admission to the vo-tech schools is done by the Employment Security Division. Most blacks consider the E.S.D. racially discriminatory, and therefore that no black person would be approved for a course unless he or she were unquestionably qualified.)

A young black woman, one of three blacks out of 33 students in an L.P.N. class, came home discouraged and wanting to drop out almost every day. Only the constant urging of her family kept her from withdrawing, and she was the only black to survive the course.

Five blacks enrolled in an office practices course. One, a young man, had to withdraw because of too many absences. A young woman attended faithfully and did well in her work, but

got a bad evaluation on her dress. Her instructors said her skirts were too short, that she was "sloppy," that she could "do more for her hair," etc. She became discouraged and dropped out. The remaining three are so disheartened that they are kept from withdrawing only by constant emotional support from a former teacher who had urged them to enroll. They are scrupulously well groomed, the more so in view of the criticism of their companion, but report that whites get away with tabus like wearing tennis shoes. The instructor answers questions from white students, they aver, but blacks are usually referred to the textbook. Whites are not reprimanded for tardiness, they allege, while blacks are. One black girl was sent home and "docked" two days for wearing a short skirt while another was sent home for wearing a "maxi," and nothing at all was said to a rather stout white girl in a "mini."

In at least one situation blacks in the community vigorously question enrollment figures reported by the local vo-tech school. Pines Vo-Tech reported that, as of March 17, 1972 (near the beginning of a quarter), 199 out of 601 students were black. Even that percentage is a little low, being 33% black in a county that is 41% black. But blacks familiar with the school insist that black enrollment is not that high. "They may have admitted that many," one person said, "but, if they did, they proceeded to eliminate a great many of them. I just don't believe there are that many black students at Pines -- not for long."

Charges of this kind are easily denied, of course, and difficult to substantiate. Statistical data are insufficient,

naturally, to cause less obvious forms of prejudicial treatment to show up in compliance reviews. Nevertheless, it is a fact that many black students feel that they are discriminated against.

The nature of the complaints strongly suggests that the instructors are evaluating students on the basis of assumptions and criteria of the white middle class to which they, the teachers, belong. In doing so they may not be motivated by conscious, personal prejudice. They may see themselves as acting in the best interest of their black students. Vestiges of insouciance about clocks will not be tolerated by a white middle class employer. Flamboyance, even mild non-conformity, in a secretary's grooming is not acceptable to most white businessmen and their customers. In Arkansas a black woman is more apt to be employed as a nurse's aide than as an L.P.N.

The instructors, still with good intentions, may enforce the white middle class virtues more strictly with black students than with whites, knowing that their biological distance from the "ideal" makes the acquirable virtues doubly important for blacks.

Black students see this, of course, as the racism it is and react with anger, frequently heightened to helpless rage by the impersonal quality of it. The teacher personifies the system's racism, whether it is his own or not, and becomes the object of this hostility.

Black Instructors: Employed on the Fringes

A complaint about the vo-tech schools heard universally from blacks is that the schools employ few of their race as teachers or administrators.

Last fall the Arkansas Council on Human Relations sent a brief questionnaire to the vo-tech schools, asking the approximate number of teaching personnel employed, the number of administrative officers, and the number of blacks employed in each category. There was also a question about problems in recruiting black personnel.

Eight of the schools responded. The results are charted in Appendix B. For the schools responding only 5% of the teachers and 10% of the administrators are black. We may assume that the percentages are not better, and probably are lower, at those schools not responding.

As with the reported figures on black enrollment, the statistics on black teachers and administrators are subject to question. Pines Vo-Tech, for example, reported two black instructors and one black administrator. Local black leaders familiar with Pines were aware of only one black instructor, who teaches cooking. They knew of no black administrator at Pines. Crowley Ridge Vo-Tech at Forrest City reported two black instructors and one black administrator. In reality there are only two blacks in jobs other than menial ones at Crowley Ridge. One is Supervisor of Special Programs, which means, he says, "that I work with the disadvantaged." The other black works on the road in charge of a mobile machine shop, one of the special programs. So one of the instructors and the one black administrator at Crowley Ridge are the same man.

Delta Vo-Tech, which employs only one black among 20 instructors and administrators, reported that they had "no problems thus far" in recruiting black personnel. Most of the others

listed "lack of qualified applicants" or "insufficient salary scale" or both as problems in recruiting staff personnel, black or white. The response from Southwest Technical Institute, which employs no blacks on its professional staff, had the following statement attached:

> Southwest Technical Institute requires instructional staff members with a high degree of technical training and experience. These people are difficult to find in either the white or black community. So far we have had to depend upon retired military service personnel or people retired from industrial jobs. We cannot compete with industry and business on our pay scale for the services of technical people.
>
> ...We would like to employ black instructors if they are qualified to do the job....

The salary scale is doubtlessly a problem. Starting salary for vo-tech teachers is a little over $600 per month. The lowest grade instructor must have at least a high school diploma, two years of advanced training, and four years of experience in the field or vocation to be taught. All administrators must have a Bachelor's degree and three years of experience in vocational education. In most cases a person qualified to teach in the vocational or technical fields can make 50% more money practicing his skill instead of teaching it. It is not at all uncommon for graduates of the vo-tech schools to earn more than their instructors their first year on the job.

And, if the salary scale is so low that vo-tech schools have to recruit retired persons, most of the teachers will be white. Given our history of employment discrimination, how many black skilled workers and technicians will have reached retirement age in the 1970's? Thus, historic bias gets institutionalized and perpetuated.

These explanations are unconvincing to many blacks. If white instructors are found, blacks reason, whether from among retired people or from among those with a bent and dedication for teaching, black instructors can also be found, if they are really wanted. One black observer, upon hearing the "no qualified applicants" explanation, said simply, "That's a dodge."

One of the most important roles of any teacher is as a model. Probably more important than what he says or transmits verbally is what he is. What the society wants modeled are the values, attitudes, dress, speech patterns, and all other behaviors of the white middle class. It follows that the paucity of black teachers in new vocational schools, like the reduction of black teachers in desegregated academic schools, is not accidental but deliberate and functional. If the law requires hiring some blacks, a few who most nearly approximate the middle class norm (except, of course, for skin color), are hired to teach cooking or to be directors of "special programs."

All Students: Training for the Marginal Middle Class

As we have suggested, the malignant effect of institutional bias in vocational education in Arkansas is not limited to blacks. Black students are in double jeopardy, to be sure, but "socioeconomically handicapped" whites are also in jeopardy.

"The problem," says Calvin Dellefield, executive director of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, "is that vocational education is for someone else's children." [3] The average citizen, when he thinks of vocational education, is likely to recall makeshift buildings out behind the local high

school in which "manual training" and "home economics" were offered to "the dummies." As the Arkansas Advisory Council for Vocational-Technical Education has said,

> ...No change can be effected which will upgrade the quality and quantity of vocational programs under the present system. As long as vocational education remains subservient to the academic disciplines, we will make no progress. The time is now for vocational education to be recognized as honorable, worthwhile, and as demanding of one's intellect as are academic programs.[4]

Our national mania for upward mobility, "upward" toward the white middle class, prescribes an academic career, leading preferrably to a professional, managerial, or entrepreneural career, for all youth who want "to amount to something." The nation puts $14 in public money into higher education for every $1 it invests in vocational training of any kind.[5] Yet, of students now in high school, only three out of ten will go on to academic college work, and one of those three will not be graduated from college. Therefore, eight out of ten students now in high school should have occupational training, but only two of those eight are in fact getting such training.[6] In Arkansas, not only do 60% of all high school students receive no vocational training, only 5.8% are being trained in skills other than agriculture and home economics.[7]

In the 1970-71 fiscal year, $49 million of state funds alone was spent for higher education. $239 million in state and local funds was spent for the public school system. But only $4 million in federal, state, and local money was spent for vocational training at any level.[8]

The State Department of Education ~~has~~ had a ~~total annual~~ 1971-72 budget of about $120 million. Of this only $6 million ~~is~~ was allocated to

the Division of Vocational, Technical and Adult Education. Less than one-third of that $6 million ~~is~~ was for vocational education in the public school system.[9] Thus only about 1.7% of the total funds available at the state level for public school education are devoted to preparing high school students to enter the world of work. More than 70% of those students will go directly from secondary school into the job market, military service, or home making. Some 45% (20,000 dropouts each year) will enter that world of work without a high school diploma. The vast majority of public school students in Arkansas, then, get at best only rudimentary career preparation and marginal economic benefit from a system which spends 98 percent of its money on higher education, elementary and secondary schooling aimed principally at preparing its charges for further schooling, and efforts by the system to remedy its own failures.

Clearly the children of the more affluent and culturally privileged families, who can forego earning an income for longer periods of time and who have more chance of succeeding in academic pursuits, are receiving far and away the largest slice of the educational pie. That is not discrimination against skin color alone, but against the poor and against any variety of talent, intelligence, life style, and value system which differs from a mythical "ideal" assumed by the educational system. Its victims are all of those of whatever race who do not fit in fact or in prospect the affluent, white, verbal, abstract-conceptualizing model.

This anti-vocational bias appears to be blindness -- although, as we shall see, it may not be blindness at all. Fifty

percent of the jobs that will open up in the 1970's will require training beyond high school, but not a college degree. Meanwhile there is a glut of Ph.D.'s looking for jobs, and perhaps 65,000 engineers in the United States are out of work -- while each daily newspaper lists column after column of sub-professional and technical jobs available and going begging.

The nation is expected to be short 400,000 sub-professional health workers, trained or not, by 1980. 1.5 million more secretaries will be needed in the next four years.[10] Only half of entry-level jobs available each year are being filled by the products of public vocational training programs; the other half are filled by job seekers with no occupational training of any kind. Nationally, only 35 percent of the need in technical fields, such as computer programming and laser technology, is being met by public vocational training programs.[11] The rest of that need is filled, apparently, by proprietary schools, for those who can afford to attend them, or by companies willing to provide in-service training for unprepared personnel.

We have high, stubborn unemployment rates even while the gross national product is increasing and technical jobs go unfilled. "It is increasingly clear," observes Grant Venn, "that no attainable rate of growth can in and of itself solve this nation's employment problems....The unemployed are the under-educated and underskilled, and in the years ahead economic growth, increasingly a creature of technological advance, will not substantially increase the number of jobs for such people."[12]

"What this means in terms of educational needs is obvious," said former Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz:

> We simply cannot any longer afford to let boys and girls leave the educational system unprepared to use their minds as well as their muscles. We must, in one way or another, see to it that they have what today's -- and tomorrow's -- labor market requires. The margin for educational error or failure, which is what the unskilled jobs in the old work force constituted, has been taken up by the machine. [13]

One part of Wirtz's statement should be underscored: "We simply cannot any longer afford to let boys and girls leave the educational system unprepared...." In point of fact, 22% of Arkansas's children leave the educational system prior to the ninth grade, and 44% never complete high school. More than 20,000 Arkansas youths, undereducated and unskilled, must be absorbed into the labor market each year. And that rate of educational failure is projected to continue and increase. [14]

Arkansas's post-secondary system of vo-tech schools does virtually nothing for these drop-outs. A profile of the student body at Pines Vo-Tech revealed that 80% of the students were high school graduates. Pines enrolls more college dropouts than high school dropouts -- 25% of the students have had some college work. 31% of Pines' students are veterans of military service. 43% are 21-29 years of age and 20% are over 30. Such figures are not readily available for the other vo-tech schools, but these seem fairly typical. At Crowley Ridge, for example, 70% of the students are high school graduates.

At the same time, except at Southwest Technical Institute, where enrollment has been improving but is still below capacity,

the course offerings of the vo-tech schools are more vocational than technical. The students are post-secondary, but the curriculum, by and large, is not. The area schools principally serve some of the one-tenth of high school students who get a diploma and then try for college and don't quite make it, plus those who, having finished high school, have the stamina, resources, and commitment to the values assumed by the school system to take another year or two to get what high school could have provided, but did not.

Arkansas's Advisory Council for Vocational-Technical Education has contended, rightly we think, that vocational subjects which can be taught at the high school level should not be delayed to the post-secondary level.

> ...We feel that any postponement of vocational programs that can be taught in high school to a post-secondary institution simply means an added expense to the student as well as a year or two of foregone earnings. Furthermore, the lack of such programs in the high schools contributes to the dropout problem as many students are unable to see the relevance of formal academic education and how it relates to their earning a living as adults. It is therefore a continuing thesis of the Council that a sound and extensive vocational education program in our secondary school system, coupled with orientation, familiarization, and exploration in our elementary and junior high schools, is essential if the people of Arkansas are to realize their full potential.[15]

For every dollar spent for vocational education at the <u>secondary</u> level in Arkansas, ten dollars are spent for <u>post-</u>secondary training in the area schools, MDTA programs, and other programs essentially remedial in nature. About $4 million goes for high school vocational training each year, while $40 million is spent on such remedial programs.[16] By devoting the bulk of available funds to these programs and doing so little

yes as var. of stanch (preferred)

to staunch the flow of educational failure at the secondary level, we allow the need for remedial programs to be increased by the resources they drain.

Moreover, although there clearly is a need for true post-secondary technical training, neglect of vocational preparation in junior high and high school makes it next to impossible for the area schools to function at a genuine post-secondary level. "Just as higher education complements a much more massive effort at the secondary level," the Advisory Council reasons, "post-secondary vocational courses should be an extension of the same effort at the secondary level. Post-secondary education of any kind cannot supplant secondary education." [17] "Consequently," says the Council, "these agencies, other than Southwest Technical Institute, are giving instruction in vocational training which could be offered at the secondary level, and which leaves the area vocational-technical schools anything but post-secondary technical institutions." [18]

The State Board for Vocational Education has, in effect, steered a course precisely between the crying need for advanced technical training on one side and the equally urgent need for minimally adequate career preparation in the public schools on the other -- with the result that neither need is being met.

On the one hand, the needs of the "socioeconomically handicapped" are not being met. The controversial 1969 report of the Upjohn Institute stated that Negroes are not attending the vo-tech schools in numbers that reflect the population ratio, and should be more avidly recruited. It also pointed out "a definite need" for high school equivalency testing and educational make-up

programs for those attending vo-tech schools who have not completed high school. There also should be remedial education, according to the report, for adults excluded from the area vo-tech schools because of educational deficiencies.[19]

On the other hand, the area schools cannot offer sophisticated technical training of the kind the future jobs will demand, not only because of the inadequate high school background of many Arkansas young people and low faculty salaries, but also because of relatively unsophisticated demands of job openings currently available in the state and a failure to turn out vocational and technical teachers.

As Venn has pointed out, the problem of gearing vocational and technical programs to both the present and the future world of work is vexing:

> On the one hand, the choice among occupational offerings is in the hands of local boards and administrators, who are under pressure to tailor the program to the more immediate manpower needs of local (tax-paying) industry. On the other hand, the industrial complex of the nation is being made and re-made so swiftly, and plant and worker mobility are so high that narrow, local training may have short relevance for the new worker. This again points to the importance of a more broadly based vocational-technical education, one consonant with long-term regional and national manpower demands.[20]

One of the most pressing needs is for training of vocational teachers. The colleges and universities of Arkansas are not training an adequate number and variety to meet the expanding and changing demand. Nationally, 35,000 new vocational teachers will be needed in the next five years, and about 7,000 of them should be industrial-technical teachers. The greatest needs are in electricity and electronic technology, power mechanics, automotive and diesel technology, drafting and design technology,

wood technology, data processing, air conditioning technology, industrial plastics, welding, equipment repair, metals technology, civil technology, industrial technology, educational media, audio-visual media maintenance, and medical technology.

But the University of Arkansas, the school with the most comprehensive vocational teacher training program in the state, offers only agriculture education, business education, distributive education, home economics, and industrial education.[21]

There is reason to suspect that Arkansas's vocational education scheme is not planned, either on the basis of immediate and long-range needs of the state's young people or even on the long-term requirements of industrial development, but simply follows the paths of least political and economic resistance. As of the end of 1971 the State Board of Education had heard presentations from about 100 delegations from communities seeking one of the area vo-tech schools. Many delegations were led by members of the General Assembly from the area. In reply to the 1969 Upjohn Institute report, which called among other things for more vocational education in high schools, J. C. Ruppert, Coordinator of Area Vocational-Technical Schools, said that Economic Development Administration funds were available to build additional post-secondary schools and not for vo-tech training in high schools. Besides, he added, post-secondary schools are what the state legislature provided for.[22] At the same time the Legislative Council voted to keep the present system on grounds that there is "no concrete evidence" that the approach is wrong and, besides, "this is what there is federal money available for."[23]

How are we to make sense of this strange allocation of resources, this educational drift? Peculiar behavior, of institutions as of individuals, usually makes sense, if one can get into the operative frame of reference.

An able anthropologist and educator, looking at America's schools, has this insight:

> We say that the schools educate. But if we forget what we say, and look at what we do, we see that the schools have much more important and much more pervasive functions than educating....
>
> The schools are the major institution in this society for the selection of individuals (and groups) for entry into the middle-class, and for training in the values and behaviors of the middle class. We are the screening mechanism in this society. It is we who determine, more than any other institution, who moves up and who stays back.
>
> ...It is our function...with each new generation... to ensure that those too greatly different from the middle-class norm will be rejected, and those who have enough similarity, biological and acquired, will be admitted.
>
> This is what the dropout is all about. The dropout is the major means, in this society, of telling an individual that he has not conformed, or cannot conform enough to our ideals to make it into the middle-class....[24]

In the light of that insight, Arkansas's area vocational-technical school system makes sense as a modest refinement in -- and not a change of -- the class-training function of the academic school system. It is designed to serve only the most middle-class-oriented blacks and only those whites who are marginally middle-class-oriented. It is not designed to affect the dropout rate, because the dropout is functional -- is necessary. The vo-tech schools give some of the "poorer" white students and some of the "better" black students one last chance at entry into the favored middle class.

Let it be stressed again that this is not necessarily the conscious intent of administrators and teachers in the system. Indeed, nearly every one of them we interviewed lamented that the bane of vocational-technical education is the public's attitude toward it. The insight seems to be generally lacking, however, that the public bias is reinforced by the system within which they work and that they are, therefore, working against themselves.

15 Which attitude? Worth it to be invisible close or seeing as dropping grand

Obviously the needed changes would be radical and would involve the whole system of public education -- not just the vo-tech schools. Those changes would be expensive, as well as extensive, and inevitably would meet strong resistance from the tax-paying electorate, which invariably demands of educators not the optimum result but the minimum expenditure.

In the long run, however, whether you approach the matter from the standpoint of education quality or human rights and human relations, the existing system is ruinously expensive. We must choose to be investors in a program of comprehensive education which includes -- for all youth -- the vocational and technical training required to equip them for work in the modern world, or else we shall have chosen by default to be consumers -- at terrible cost -- of unemployment, alienation, welfare dependency, and all of the other "sins" we so decry.

A system that brands 45% of its students as failures and labels another 35% as second-rate is creating attitudes and patterns of failure with which they do not deserve to be burdened and which the society cannot afford.

? vs. exciting, experimental quality!

Recommendations:

1. A program of required vocational exploration should be instituted in junior high schools. Seventh or eighth grade students might be given brief, rudimentary courses in commercial art, drafting, electronics, distributive education, auto mechanics, etc.

2. Planners of elementary and secondary curricula should seek to relate subject matter more clearly to occupational concerns.

3. A full program of vocational training should be made available to all high school students in a system of comprehensive career education. A reasonable goal would be to establish one vocational training center in each county to serve high school students in the county. Metropolitan High School in Little Rock and Sequoyah Technical High School in Fayetteville are examples.

4 to comprehensive school.

4. A program of in-service retraining of high school guidance counselors, to familiarize them with vocational-technical needs and opportunities, should be given high priority.

5. The University of Arkansas and other teacher training institutions of the state should expand their programs for preparing vocational and technical teachers.

the problem of needs to be stated Legis

6. The General Assembly should provide for a salary scale for instructors in the vocational-technical schools commensurate with the required qualifications.

7. A vigorous effort to recruit non-white administrators and instructors for the vo-tech schools should be instituted.

8. More black persons should be appointed to the State Board of Education (there is only one black on the Board at present), and black representation at all administrative levels of the whole education enterprise should approximate the population ratio.

9. Special training should be given teachers in the existing vo-tech schools to enable them to relate more effectively to non-middle class students in general and those of the racial minority in particular.

and for Teacher Training Insts. Therefore.

10. Until more adequate vocational exploration and training are available at the secondary level, the area vo-tech schools should have exploratory programs in cooperation with high schools in the vicinity. Mobile units, such as the traveling machine shop in use by Crowley Ridge Vo-Tech, might be utilized.

11. The area vo-tech schools should have their own testing and screening facilities and personnel, and that function should be removed from the Employment Security Division.

yet this might be devoted to keep Vo-Tech job related. and does testing itself need to be reviewed

12. Until the post-secondary program is adequately backed by vocational training at the secondary level, remedial education should be provided for adult enrollees whose high school background is deficient.

13. As the level of student ability is increased course offerings at the post-secondary schools should be determined in the light of national needs, as well as in-state needs, and job placement efforts should extend beyond the borders of Arkansas. Equipment of young people for fulfillment of their potential should be the goal, not meeting immediate needs of local industries.

Why conditioned by this

NOTES

[1]Arkansas Gazette, September 10, 1965.

[2]Arkansas Gazette, January 14, 1965.

[3]Quoted in "Blue-Collar Training Gets a White-Collar Look," Business Week, July 31, 1971, p. 76.

[4]Arkansas Advisory Council for Vocational-Technical Education, Second Annual Report, April 5, 1971, p. 4.

[5]"Blue-Collar Training Gets a White-Collar Look," Business Week, July 31, 1971, p. 76.

[6]Marland, Sidney P., "Career Education," Today's Education, October, 1971, p.25.

[7]Arkansas Advisory Council for Vocational-Technical Education, Evaluation of the State Plan for the Administration of Vocational Education Under the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, September 1, 1971, p. 6.

[8]Arkansas Advisory Council for Vocational-Technical Education, "New Directions in Education," Arkansas Development Digest, Vol. 6, No. 1, January-February, 1972, p. 2.

[9]Arkansas Advisory Council for Vocational-Technical Education, Second Annual Report, April 5, 1971, p. 4.

[10]"Blue-Collar Training Gets a White-Collar Look," Business Week, July 31, 1971, p. 76.

[11]Marland, Sidney P., op. cit., p. 22.

[12]Venn, Grant, Man, Education, and Work. Washington: American Council on Education, 1964, p. 20.

[13]Wirtz, W. Willard, in a statement before the Subcommittee on Education, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, on S. 580, "National Education Improvement Act of 1963, April 30, 1963, p. 1.

[14]Arkansas Advisory Council for Vocational-Technical Education, "New Directions in Education," Arkansas Development Digest, Vol. 6, No. 1, January-February, 1972, p. 2.

[15]Evaluation of the State Plan for the Administration of Vocational Education Under the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, September 1, 1971, p. 2.

[16]Arkansas Advisory Council for Vocational-Technical Education, Second Annual Report, April 5, 1971, p. 3.

[17]Arkansas Advisory Council for Vocational-Technical Education, "New Directions in Education," Arkansas Development Digest, Vol. 6, No. 2, March-April, 1972, p. 2.

[18]Second Annual Report, April 5, 1971, p. 2.

[19]Arkansas Gazette, July 10, 1969.

[20]Venn, Grant, op. cit., p. 33.

[21]Arkansas Advisory Council for Vocational-Technical Education, Evaluation of the State Plan for Administration of Vocational Education Under the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, September 1, 1971, p. 10.

[22]Arkansas Gazette, April 3, 1970.

[23]Arkansas Gazette, April 4, 1970.

[24]Dickeman, Mildred, Ph.D., Racism in the Public Schools (address to the staff of Jefferson Experimental Schools, Berkeley Unified School District, Berkeley, California). Multilithed. September 29, 1971, p. 2.

APPENDIX A

ARKANSAS AREA VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Current Enrollment as of March 17, 1972

School	Total	Non-white	%Non-white	% Non-white in County
Ark. Valley, Ozark	278	8	3%	1.8%
Black River, Pocahontas	---	---	---	1.1%
Cotton Boll, Burdette	308	90	29%	27.0%
Crowley's Ridge, Forrest City	184	86	46%	48.0%
Delta, Marked Tree	392	46	12%	8.8%
Foothills, Searcy	268	43	16%	3.5%
Little Rock, Little Rock	360	113	31%	20.6%
Oil Belt, El Dorado	452	131	29%	30.0%
Ouachita, Malvern	382	74	19%	13.0%
Petit Jean, Morrilton	423	11	2.5%	18.0%
Pines, Pine Bluff	601	199	33%	41.0%
Red River, Hope	363	125	34%	33.0%
Southwest Tech. Institute, Camden	343	29	8%	36.0%
Twin Lakes, Harrison	361	12	3%	.2%
Westark Jr. College, Ft. Smith*	852	18	2%	5.7%

APPENDIX A (Cont.)

School	Total	Non-white	% Non-white	% Non-white in County
Phillips County Jr. College, Helena*	164	38	23%	54.0%
STATE TOTALS	5,731	1,023	17.8%	18.6%

* -- Junior College Technical Division

Source: State Coordinator of Area Vocational-Technical Schools

APPENDIX B

ARKANSAS AREA VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Non-White Employment *

School	Total Instructors	Non-white Instructors	Total Administrators	~~Total~~ Non-white Administrators
Ark. Valley	14	0	7	0
Cotton Boll	14	2	7	1
Crowley's Ridge	14	2	---	1
Delta	16	1	4	1
Petit Jean	25	1	8	0
Pines	27	2	5	1
Southest Tech. Inst.	28	0	5	0
Twin Lakes	21	0	4	0
STATE TOTALS*	159	8 (5%)	41	4 (10%)

* -- for eight schools responding to questionnaire

School Pushouts

Wash. Post - 4/17/72

A Commentary

By Nicholas von Hoffman

The black kid who can make it onto the school bus, dodge the Humphreys and the Wallaces, shoot through the legs of the Justice Department, squiggle out of the hands of the protesting pickets and sprint to his classroom seat still hasn't passed go. Getting to school is one thing; staying there is another. He may get kicked out.

Information being developed by the Southern Regional Council indicates that black kids are being suspended and expelled by the thousands. A survey of 127 school districts in 11 southern states shows 11,146 suspended or expelled this year alone. All told there are more than 2,000 school districts so the total number of "pushouts" as these students are being called, could be crushingly large.

These aren't easy figures to compile. The authorities are hardly likely to help, but the Council did do another survey of school incidents reported in the southern press last year, and it shows more than 4,000 students expelled in a mere 48 incidents. The numbers of pushouts and scholastic refugees who may be involved are so high you can't really focus your eyeballs on them, but Boyd Bosma, assistant director for Civil Liberties and Inter-group Relations of the National Education Association, writes that, "The estimates vary, but anywhere from 50,000 to 100,000 southern black students each year are being and, in the absence of effective remedial and preventive action, will continue to be gone from the public schools."

Your average pushout, so far as anyone can tell, is male, of course, 17 years old, and has just started his senior year in high school. From all reports he tends to be a leader, or just the kind of kid who we keep saying can most benefit from school. For that reason the National Education Association has sent out a circular letter to college and university heads asking if there isn't some way they can get these poor but promising students in their institutions on some kind of an early matriculation program.

For skeptics who can't bring themselves to believe that teachers, educators could do this to students, even if they are black, it's worth recalling what's happened to black faculty in southern schools. A recent U.S. Office of Education internal memo on that situation declares that "between the 1967-68 and 1970-71 school years more than 6,000 black educators have been displaced. Of the more than 1,870 educators who have been displaced during the current school year ('71-'72) 909 were dismissed and the remainder were either demoted, assigned out of the field or unsatisfactorily placed."

How these black teachers and school administrators get the boot is illustrated by a mimeographed flyer being circulated among white teachers in Mississippi and Alabama. Its authenticity can't be absolutely validated, but the names and telephone numbers on the bottom check out. These people hang up when they hear a Yankee accent on the long distance phone from Washington, D.C., but staff people at the Education Resource Center in Jackson, Miss., believe it's for real and claim to know one teacher who had been victimized by it.

The flyer reads in part: "$500 will be awarded to any White woman responsible for the permanent elimination of Black males from our public schools. NEEDLESS TO SAY THAT YOU MUST TAKE CARE IN NOT ALLOWING THESE PEOPLE TO LEARN OF THIS PROJECT ALTHOUGH THERE IS LITTLE THEY CAN DO TO PREVENT ITS SUCCESS. OUR ORGANIZATION HAS PUT UP $10,000 FOR THIS PROJECT AND $500 HAS ALREADY BEEN AWARDED ONE YOUNG LADY.

"RECOMMENDED PROCEDURE: Maneuver a black male into a compromising position; arrange with a friend to witness the affair. Be sure there are no other witnesses; it will not be necessary for you to participate in anything illicit, but once you have them in position, protest and run; do not call the police but go at once and report the incident to one of the persons listed below . . . When the black that you have accused is permanently discharged—teacher or principal—or expelled—student—or fired—custodian or other—your check will be put in the mail to you."

Even with the best will in the world the bringing together of people who have been separate so long couldn't be easy. When the problem is attacked with malice, it's impossible. Yet there are some ironies about this. One is that in creating this "atmosphere of terror," as Don Sutton of the Educational Resource Center describes it, the whites are giving themselves the business at the same time. They're destroying their own schools.

Last year there were six killings that we know of in these schools, eight gunfire incidents, 87 fights ranging from two people to riots involving hundreds, 41 fires and 34 bomb threats. Nice places to read Shakespeare in.

And all of this, mind you, in the public school system which was established to make nice, non-violent, non-criminal, punctual middle-class people out of dangerous lower class ruffians. Oh, the trouble we store up for ourselves.

1972 Reports

Youths Sentenced In School Incidents

Atl. Journal 1/23/73

By JOE LEDLIE

A "get-tough" policy toward campus disturbances has turned school days into court days in DeKalb County.

Moves by the county's top educators last fall to shift hard-core discipline problems from the principal's office to the courtroom have resulted in criminal cases against scores of youngsters, students and nonstudents alike.

The hard-line policy, formulated during the administration of former school superintendent Jim Cherry, hit a peak Monday when two State Court judges in DeKalb ordered stiff penalties for five defendants in three school disturbances.

The sentences ranged from six months in the county rehabilitation center for trespassing to a $100 fine for a youth charged with "affray" (fighting) on school grounds.

COURT OFFICIALS estimate upward of three dozen such cases, involving seven high schools, have been disposed of or docketed since Cherry issued his "crackdown" memo four months ago.

At that time, Cherry aides denied the memo represented a policy shift on discipline problems.

But within a few weeks, officials at Walker High School in South DeKalb signed warrants that resulted in the arrest of 30 students for their alleged role in an interracial brawl Sept. 14.

In the weeks that followed, according to the same officials, school administrators brought cases against nonstudents and dropouts at other high schools, including Clarkston, Gordon, Columbia, Peachtree, Stone Mountain and Towers.

In addition, principals and other school officials began providing details of the disturbances to the press, in contrast to earlier disruptions in which such details often were kept under cover or discounted by school spokesmen.

"You can bet plenty of parents are going to be giving warnings to their kids to stay out of trouble at school," said one court official Monday.

His comemnt followed a busy court day:

—Three nonstudents given six months "to serve" in the county rehabilitation center for "failure to leave a school campus when properly directed."

Sentenced under the new state law on complaints brought by Towers High School officials were Frank Hubbard Boykin, of 1445 Colony Hill Court, Stone Mountain; Gary Lee Nelson, of 2035 Copperfield Drive, Decatur, and James Pat Burns, 3490 Pinchill Drive, Decatur.

Another nonstudent, Barry Steven Merritt, of 1932 Austin Drive, Decatur, got an identical sentence on the same charge earlier this month.

All are 17.

ALSO MONDAY, Dennis J. Fifield, 17, of 1938 Willa Drive, Decatur, was fined $100 and given 12 months probation for "affray" at Columbia High School on Oct. 30.

Another youth charged in an incident at Columbia on the same day, Robert Charles Wade, 17, of 2384 Cresnole Circle, Decatur, had his case continued in the absence of his lawyer.

The same charge against James Owen Stallworth, 17, of 3900 Memorial Drive, was dropped.

Another nonstudent, Randolph Rivers, 20, of 2225 Bradley Ave. SE, drew a $500 fine and two years probation on criminal trespass and battery charges from Judge J. Oscar Mitchell.

THE CHARGES stemmed from an Oct. 27 incident at Walker High School in which Rivers and an unidentified companion allegedly attacked assistant principal Jamie H. Overton and coach Robert Buchler after the youths were ordered from the school and Overton attempted to get their license number.

Charges against six other youths in connection with disturbances at Walker, Clarkston and Stone Mountain are expected to be heard later this month.

Copy to LH Original for S.C. Desegregation file

GREENVILLE PIEDMONT

Wednesday, March 14, 1973

Board Talks School Discipline; 'Consequences' Should Be Known

By SAM L. ZIMMERMAN

A student's conduct is a personal matter he should keep within reasonable bounds that apply equally to all members of the community, according to a policy statement by trustees of Greenville County School Board.

However, the board warned that "students, both individually and in groups, shall recognize the authority of teachers.

"Disobedience or open defiance of the teacher's authority shall constitute sufficient cause for disciplinary action and may result in suspension or expulsion from school," said the statement.

The policy statement on student conduct was issued Tuesday at the board's monthly meeting with "intent to establish a rational position between freedom for each individual and the necessity for sufficient order to permit operation of the instructional program."

Turning again to student rights, the board said students "should have freedom and encouragement to express individuality in any way so long as their conduct does not intrude upon and endanger freedom of others.

"Especially the freedom of their peers to receive instruction," continued the statement.

The board said "respect for the individuality of pupils argues against attempts by the school to force pupil behavior into a common mold.

"Our board approved statement of school goals emphasizes the schools' responsibility for helping each pupil develop his unique abilities to the maximum."

The board called for "sensitive, tolerant, intelligent action" on the part of the school staff in implementing the policy.

It urged that emphasis be placed on growth of the student in ability to discipline himself in instances where school district employes act to "help a student conduct himself properly.

"All students, on the other hand, should recognize the consequences of their conduct," it again warned. "This refers to actions toward each other, their language, dress and manners."

It asked that teachers report at once to the principal when their authority to conduct meaningful instruction in a classroom is challenged through disruptive acts, abusive language, or threats or bodily harm.

The board also approved plans involving the shift of several thousand students next fall in drawing new attendance lines to accommodate Riverside and Mauldin high schools, now under construction.

Half the number of students involved would normally move from elementary to middle and from middle schools to high schools in the area, according to Dr. Harold Patterson, associate superintendent for program development.

All district schools will be closer to the 80-20 black-white ratio as a result of new attendance lines, he said.

Schools affected by the change include Hillcrest, Wade Hampton, J. L. Mann and Eastside high schools, along with Bryson Center.

Completions of additions and alterations at Travelers Rest High School will find county schools "operating at capacity inside the buildings," Patterson said, noting that portables will then no longer be needed for classrooms.

By JIM JEFFERSON

A Greenville woman surprised an apparent intruder Tuesday afternoon in the process of entering her home.

Mrs. R. D. Lunsford of Rt. 3, Greenville, told sheriff's deputies she was home alone about 2:15 p.m. shen she heard a car drive up. She was washing dishes and waiting for the doorbell to ring, when a youth opened the door to the kitchen and started in, she told deputies.

She said the startled youth saw her, ran up the driveway to the parked car and sped away.

She told officers she did not recognize the youth.

Crime clock for Tuesday:

7:25 a.m. — Carl Mathis, 118 Irene Circle, reported the theft of a tape player and 12 tapes.

8 a.m. — L. C. Ayers, 2 Cedar Lane Road, reported to sheriff's deputies that an office had been ransacked and a radio was missing.

8:19 a.m. — George Tide, 22 Third St., Judson, reported the theft of a tape player, three speakers and six tapes from his auto.

10:30 a.m. — Bailey Johnson, Rt. 2, Campobello, reported the theft of a tape player and 10 tapes from his auto.

10:45 a.m. — Control Systems, Inc., 22 Santuck St., reported that two offices had been ransacked and $35 in currency and a Speed Graphic camera valued at $400 taken.

2 p.m. — Mrs. Lylton Patterson, 105 Old Augusta Road, reported the theft of a stereo from her residence. Entry was gained through a window.

5:15 p.m. — Mrs. Ross Gilstrap, Motorboat Club Road, reported that a window had been opened in her home. An inventory is being conducted to ascertain if anything is missing.

5:44 p.m. — Doris Rochester, 140 Buist Ave., reported the theft of a bicycle from her yard.

6:42 p.m. — W. A. Farr of Blackberry Road reported that a house of his that is empty was ransacked. Nothing was taken.

9:30 p.m. — T. V. Howie, 14 Ponderosa Road, reported the theft of four hubcaps from his auto.

Legislators Honor Fewell

Dr. John M. Fewell, a Greenville physician, Tuesday was honored in Columbia by the General Assembly.

He was made a member emeritus of the South Carolina Mental Health Commission in

Funds Collected

Nixon Asks Death

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Lucy Watkins

DATE: April 16, 1973

FROM: Emory Via

COPIES: Harry Bowie
Page Crosland
Leon Hall
Ron Whittington
Jimmy Sammuel
Bob Anderson

SUBJECT:

Please let me have your comments on Clayton Braddock's push-out report. If at all possible, I would like to have your reactions and suggestions by the end of the day, Monday, April 16.

Many thanks.

THE PUSHOUT--1

For Southern Regional Council
Clayton Braddock
1393 Whiting St.
Memphis, Tenn. 38117

"Section 1. Be it enacted by the legislature, that every parent, guardian or other person having control or charge of any child or children between the ages of seven and fourteen years shall be required to send such child or children to a public school or to a private, denominational or parochial school."

--Compulsory attendance law, 1918

"Good discipline within a school is necessary to insure a proper learning situation. It is the responsibility of the Board of Education, the administrative staff and school personnel to take those measures necessary to provide the proper atmosphere for the instruction of pupils. Fostering good citizenship is one of the major functions of education."

--Official school board policy (revised, 1973)

"The directors of any school district may suspend any person from school for immorality, refractory conduct, insubordination, infectious disease, habitual uncleanliness or other conduct that would tend to impair the discipline of the school, or harm the other pupils."

--Arkansas State law, 1931

"Local boards of education have the authority for a program of instruction without disruption, therefore, the local board would have the complete discretion in the event a person or persons interfered with or disrupted the public school instructional program."

--Assistant state superintendent of schools, Georgia, 1973

"The rules don't make sense."

--A student

"The rules are OK, but they only apply to blacks."

--A black student

"We used to sit in the back of the room...We used to pass the (wine) bottle...I didn't care too much for it (school). I didn't feel like doing my work or anything. I wanted to go to work." [1]

--A dropout

(INSERT HERE A QUOTE FROM A STATE LAW SETTING LEGAL AGE STUDENTS CAN DROP OUT OF SCHOOL)

"Student rights!"

--A high school demonstrator

* * *

In the wide chasm between these extremes, there is a battleground where tradition fights change, race and culture confronts race and culture, youth challenges age, society presses the individual against the wall, and the law overwhelms deep emotion, anguish and frustration. Most of the casualties are on one side--the students, the young people whom the law has placed in school with little else but a requirement that they be there between the ages of 6 and 16 and a fading promise of opportunity.

The law--legislation, statute, ordinance or official policy--tells the student when he must first enroll in school and sets the minimum age he must reach before he can leave school short of graduation. In between, the law also broadly defines acceptable societal habits and behavior, thereby becoming the arbiter and defender of majority class morals and values. Opportunities to be provided by the school are left up to educational philosophers, economics, tradition and custom, the voting public, and those they elect. But the law then becomes a weapon with which to reject and banish many students who can't succeed, who can't or won't conform, including an increasing number of blacks who offend the status quo when thrust into a white majority or any school setting where the white culture dominates.

dominates. Thus, a new category of classroom exile -- the "push out" is created.

Each year in American schools, hundreds of thousands of students will give up the long uphill struggle for an elusive goal which they never saw too clearly from the outset, a goal which someone else, society, set for them--a high school diploma. They are dropouts in the race for the great American dream. A high percentage of them will give up near the summit, an act passively permitted by state laws just as clear and valid as those which compel them to attend until they reach the age limit.

A lesser number, but still in the tens of thousands, will not drop out but will be pushed out of the school system, suspended or expelled, some for just reasons, some for questionable reasons, some for no bona fide cause, all because law or policy permits this official and active step of severing contact with the student. For many of the students, the break is permanent and terminal.

"Too frequently, the school, caught between the vortex of compulsory school attendance and defiant, uninterested, hostile youth, seeks a quick and ready solution to its problem," observed Daniel Schreiber, a former dropout project director for the National Education Association. "The solution is obvious and patently simple, expeditious and painless: namely, get rid of him, regardless of his age or competence, through expulsion or suspension from school. Propelled unceremoniously, and without skills, into

the world of work, alienated youth finds that there is no place for him there either. A game of volleyball ensues--with the alienated youth as the ball." [2]

The seldom challenged, almost unquestioned authority and legal power to cast students from the schools is already being questioned, disputed and resisted by parents and students and challenged in the courts, not because of the absence of legal authority but because of the over-striding of authority, the sometimes subtle and often flagrant misuse of power in the eyes of many students, teachers and community leaders, particularly among blacks. There are strong indications that powers of suspension and expulsion have been used as weapons of discrimination, especially during times of increased integration and in some instances during protests for more general students' rights.

Always looming large in any inquiry into the disciplinary power of the schools is the often justifiable and always deeply traditional stance of most school officials and the society which generally supports them. Most observers acknowledge the need for rules and the power to enforce them. The pragmatic observer will concede that there are those individual students who finally will not or cannot conform to societal standards and instructional goals and will cut intractably or violently across the fabric of the school society just as older citizens seek to rend the fabric of the larger society of man. But what to do with the classroom incorrigible? What constitutes defiance in the school setting? Intracti-

ability? Who will decide what degree of apathy is enough to let the student slip away or how much incorrigibility is enough to cast out the perpetrator? What are the alternatives? Are they being pursued energetically? How often do racial, cultural and generation differences cloud the judgement and actions of students, teachers and administrators and make the law a dim illusion rather than a clear guide?

The Southern Regional Council, with the help of field reporters, examined the problem in four states--Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana and Arkansas--gathering state and representative district figures on the numbers and causes of suspensions and expulsions, state and district laws, policies and practices and talking with school officials and community leaders.

The survey was never intended to produce a scientific analysis or finished study of the total problem. This would have been impossible, because, if for no other reason, complete and reliable statistics are not available in most states and most of those which have tabulated them have only begun their efforts in recent months. SRC's objective was to get a substantial glimpse of at least a portion of the problem, with the view that the size of a few of the tiger's teeth will indicate the size, nature, power and appetite of the whole beast.

Absence of statistical data itself is something of an indicator that too few school officials have opened their eyes to the importance, dimensions and nature of this particular tiger. Some administrators were cooperative with field reporters

while others were more suspicous and reticent. Those more cooperative schoolmen were generally those in districts where statistical dimensions had been measured by in-house studies initiated by the schools and where some attempts had been made to establish positive alternative solutions to the problem.

xx

The most common element in the whole issue is the totality of state and local laws which bear upon nearly every facet of the student 's physical, social and moral life. The laws read like a montage of dozens of criminal codes, the aim of the total effect appearing to be the sealing of any possible --even the most minute-- loophole for misconduct. They paint a picture of the glaring eye of society, tracking the quarry down the hallway, into the restroom and even into the labyrinth of his mind.

Louisiana state law is a good example. It states that "every teacher is authorized to hold every pupil to a strict accountability for any disorderly conduct in school or on the playgrounds of the school, on the street or road while going to or returning from school, or during intermission or recess. School principals may suspend from school any pupil who is guilty of willful disobedience; who treats with intentional disrespect a teacher, principal, superintendent...; who makes against any one of them an unfounded charge; who uses unchaste or profane language; who is guilty of immoral or vicious practices...; who uses tobacco or alcoholic beverages in any form in school buildings or on school property; who disturbs the school and habitually violates any rule; who cuts, defaces or

injures any part of public school buildings...; or who writes any profane or obscene language or draws obscene pictures in or on any school material or on any public school premises; or who is found carrying firearms, knives or other implements which can be used as weapons; or who throws missiles on the school grounds liable to injure other pupils or who instigates or participates in fights while under school supervision; or who leaves the school premises without permission; or who is habitually tardy or absent; or who commits any other serious offense."

The intent of such laws are all too clear if not cmomplete without at least several hundred other offenses which are possible for students to commit. But some points are cloudy, debatable, spacious in their room for interpretation and powerful misuse:

*"Strict accountability"--which means what? And is there another ledger for the accountant?

* "Willful disobedience" and "intentional disrespect"--lese majesty was abolished with the Louisiana Purchase.

* "Unchaste language"--chastity was mortally wounded in the first battle of the sexual revolution.

* "Profane or obscene language"--Even legislatures and high courts are struggling with definitions of obscenity, if not profanity.

* "Disturbs the school"-- One teacher's disturbance is another's intellectual ferment.

* "Other implements which can be used as weapons"--How about sharpened pencils?

* "Missiles on the school grounds"--Baseballs? Footballs? Javelins?

* "Participates in fights"--self defense is accepted in courts of law.

* "Any other serious offense"--Don't breathe until a test court case has reached the Supreme Court.

Although other state laws may not embrace such detail, they generally have the same tone, intent and direction. Most of them are the essence of Mosaic law, carried intact to Plymouth Rock and hammered into a schoolmaster's plowshare in the last days of 19th Century America. The seeds of learning shall be sown -- or else! Wild oats and noxious weeds shall be uprooted and the harvest shall be good.

The weeding out process has been effective in the gardens of learning, including a heavily disproportionate number of black students suspended and expelled. The law, which grew out of the traditions of a white-dominated culture, seemed ready made for the insurgency of blacks into the school sector of that culture.

Two of the most flagrant cases of racial disproportion are in Arkansas, in Little Rock and North Little Rock. It should be pointed out, however, that one reason why these cases stand out is because school officials are concerned enough about the problem to gather statistics as a first step toward solving it. The data only shows suspensions. The term

expulsion is not used because, as one top administrator said, of "the stigma and psychological weight of the word."

In 1968-69, when there was little desegregation in Little Rock's secondary schools, there were 1,329 suspensions, including 829 black students. Blacks accounted for 62.4 per cent of the total suspended, yet the system-wide secondary population was only 28 per cent black in high schools and 35 per cent in junior highs.

The following year, when there was limited student desegregation but considerable faculty integration, the number of suspensions rose to 1,643 students, of which 1,136 (69.1 per cent) were black.

~~By 1970-71, the black percentage of secondary enrollment had risen to~~

Suspensions dropped some in 1970-71, but the black percentage continued to increase. That was the year the 10th grade was racially balanced. The total number of suspensions was 1,525, of which 1,119 (73.4 per cent) were black.

Last year, 1971-72, the secondary school population had become 33.4 per cent black in high schools and 42.1 per cent ~~in junior highs. But the suspensions jumped back up~~ in junior highs. That year marked the first year of total racial balance and massive busing at the secondary level, which put many students into new schools. There were 1,881 suspensions, including 1,504 blacks, who accounted for 79.9 per cent of the total.

No figures on the current school year were available at the time of the SRC survey, but administrators speculated that the total number of suspensions for 1972-73 would be 200-300 fewer students. However, total enrollment this year is also ~~smaller than last year.~~

smaller than last year. The black percentage of the secondary population rose to 37.5 at the upper level and 42.5 at the junior high level and the system appears headed for a black-dominated enrollment in a few years.

Out of the 1968-69 to 1971-72 figures, one fact is inescapable: the number of white students suspended fell from 500 to 377 while the number of blacks suspended rose from 829 to 1,505. The black percentage of the suspensions increased from a segregated 62.4 to a desegregated 79.9, while the black percentage of enrollment changed only slightly, from an average of 31 per cent to an average of 37.7 per cent during the same period.

In North Little Rock schools (a separate school district) last year--two years after integration was completed at the secondary level--junior-senior high enrollment was about 20 per cent black. Yet there were 611 black students suspended and 574 whites. This year, through the winter holidays, figures show 167 suspensions involving whites and 174 involving blacks, still more than 50 per cent of the total.

Elsewhere in Arkansas, statistics are not gathered or are incomplete. In Pulaski County school district, which encompasses those parts of the county which are not part of either Little Rock or North Little Rock, data gathering began this year, but the figures were not available at the time of SRC's survey. Homer L. Cox, appointed this year to the post of director of pupil personnel, was suspicious of the reporter's purposes and was reluctant to talk about race as a factor in suspensions or

expulsions, as are many other school officials who do not keep records on them. In Pulaski County School District, a separate designation for the more severe penalty is used.

Cox said there was an increase in suspensions last year as a result of greater desegregation, but he said there had been a slacking off this year. There were large-scale suspensions over the past two years but also this year, notably in October, 1972, when 71 students, black and white, were suspended in two days as a result of interracial fighting at two secondary schools. Six black and two white students were expelled, but two blacks have since been readmitted. In 1972, the school census included 22,200 whites (81.5 per cent) and 4,300 non-whites (18.5 per cent),

Cox said the average number of suspensions in senior high schools is between 15 and 25 a month and one or two expulsions. He said the number of blacks suspended was in proportion to their numbers in the system, but he could show no figures to support this. He said he made a count over a one-month period but kept no record of his findings.

Suspensions and expulsions are a serious problem in Louisiana, it is acknowledged by many school officials and state leaders, although statewide or even district records are not kept. But the problem has led to authorization by the legislature of a special task force to investigate and make recommendations.

Tens of thousands of students are suspended or expelled each year, thousands of them twice, three, four, five even six times in a single school year. In spite of the absence of

statistics, many school officials acknowledge that a larger percentage of blacks are suspended, because, as one administrator put it, "our schools are basically middle class schools with middle class rules and the black students have had a difficult time fitting in."

The most serious problem in the state, especially where the racial overtones stand out, is in the New Orleans school district, the largest in the state. In New Orleans, the student population is 70 per cent black but nearly 80 per cent of the suspensions are meted out to blacks. Out of the total of more than 46,000 students in middle, junior and senior high schools, nearly 10 per cent of them were suspended at least once in the first four months of this school year. More than 600 students were expelled in the same period.

Most damaging of all are reports from around the state which show that most students expelled never return to the classroom.

In Lafayette Parish, which has an enrollment of 28,000 students, more than 1,700 of them were suspended in the 1971-72 school year. Many were repeaters, including 19 who were suspended six times, 35 suspended five times, 71 ousted four times, 167 three times and 354 twice. The tempo is about the same this year.

~~The problem has been greater in St. Landry Parish, where there are about 28,000 students~~

~~Yet the school officials across the state, with the exception of the New Orleans area, report~~

~~Yet there are signs that the number of suspensions and expulsions might be dropping as school officials across the state report that black-white student clashes,~~

When integration first began in many Louisiana schools, suspensions increased and the percentage of blacks were far out of proportion to their numbers. "In 1969, when we in St. Landry Parish first integrated, blacks suspended from school outnumbered whites three to one," said one school system administrator.

Yet there are signs that the number of suspensions and expulsions may be dropping as school officials across the state report that black-white student clashes, a major spark for mass expulsions, have decreased sharply this year. There are, however, still frequent reports of large-scale suspensions of protesting black students in Baton Rouge, New Orleans, New Iberia, Jeanerette, Abbeville, Shreveport and other cities.

In Georgia, meaningful statistics are almost non-existant. There are some scant figures on the statewide problem but local school districts seldom keep any records. Very often, those who assemble any figures discard them at the end of the school year, leaving the numerical story to speculation or rumor. But perhaps the most significant statewide figures reveal what happens to the students who are suspended or otherwise cutoff from the schools by administrative action. The results are predictable.

In 1968-69, the number of students suspended or expelled who dropped out was 595. By 1969-70 the number was 760. The following year, the number reached 1,125 and there was a slight decrease by 1971-72 when the total number of "pushouts" was 1,017. This is only a portion of the total impact of the problem, but it indicates the severity

and the permanence of removal from the influence of the school environment. (GET INSERT "A")

Reporters attempting to measure the situation in many Georgia counties must first deal with a wide discrepancy in figures. There are some partial documented figures combined with others which local officials can only remember. These must be compared with other data from both the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Civil Rights. Different reporting forms are used and different figures are reported. The result is confusion and guesswork. But some figures come through the cloud, although they are compiled by unofficial sources and can be challenged.

An official of the Urban League of Columbus, Ga., said he visited 5 of the 17 junior and senior high schools and had tabulated 6,000 suspensions in that city during 1971-72. Officials in Columbus, one of the state's largest cities destroy data gathered each year, but the Urban League official said the number is on the increase.

In the Chatham County (Savannah) School District, one official estimate of suspensions was between 5,000 and 6,000 for 1971-72 and 3,000 to 4,000 so far this year. One junior high school was reported to have suspended 691 youngsters this year. One administrator conceded that about 60-70 per cent of the suspensions were black students.

An Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) proposal for Atlanta schools charted the suspensions for 1971-72 and halfway through the 1972-73 school year for five high schools. In 1971-72,

there were 1,209 suspensions in Bass, East Atlanta, Murphy, Roosevelt and Smith high schools. Of these, 994 were black and 215 were white. This year, there have been 810 blacks suspended and 169 white students.

In neighboring South Carolina, statistics are more available in some districts. In Richland County School District 1 (Columbia), in the first half of the 1972-73 school year, about six per cent of the district student population was suspended, losing a total of 5,208 days of school, an average of 2.6 days for each suspension.

Of the total, 1,519 of the suspended students were black and only 445 white. Blacks accounted for 77 per cent of the suspensions while whites made up only 23 percent of the total.

← Might add enrollment % days lost.

And in South Carolina, the suspension-expulsion route continues to be a well-travelled, one-way road away from the influence of the schools and the benefits of education. At the beginning of the 1972 school year, 10,761 were listed as dropouts from the previous year, including 6,339 white students and 4,422 blacks. Of the combined total, (_____ (see

~~In Charleston County, there were 923 dropouts from last year, including 390 blacks and 533 whites. Of the combined total, 136 left school because they were expelled.~~

→ blurred figure on copy of Zimmerman's narrative) were expelled.

Verify, Please!

In Charleston County, there were 923 dropouts from last year, including 390 blacks and 533 whites. Of the combined total, 136 left school because they were expelled.

Richland County reported 664 students dropped out of school, including 314 blacks. Twenty students were expelled outright. Spartanburg County School District recorded 44 expelled students out of a total of 546 who dropped out, including 188 blacks. York County School District reported 67 who quit school as a result of being expelled, out of a total of 646 dropouts, including 254 blacks.

School officials and community leaders outside the walls of schools and administrative offices often have widely different explanations for suspensions and expulsions and disparity between the numbers of blacks and whites. Yet, sometimes they agree. And sometimes, the official viewpoint reveals more than the words the administrators speak.

The official reasons, the immediate causes given for most suspensions or expulsions are common in every state and school district and are echoed in the words of nearly every school official. The reason most often assigned is given a number of different labels--disrespect for authority, insubordination, disobedience. But other reasons listed are fighting, gambling, possession of weapons, use of intoxicants, smoking, truancy, habitual violation of rules, and excessive tardiness. The list of other, more specific official reasons is seemingly endless.

But what lies behind the immediate spark which often sends the student home, out onto the streets and perhaps out of school forever?

Discipline--an emotional, often political issue in itself--is woven throughout the fabric of the problem. Don R. Roberts, assistant superintendent of administrative services in Little Rock schools, said that believers in strict discipline--teachers, parents and others in the community--were "losing faith in the schools" because they see the eruption of misbehavior without seeing the often traumatic causes behind it.

Roberts and ~~others~~ some other Little Rock ~~schools~~ officials were sensitive to the varity of ~~the~~ root causes that might lead to a student's misbehavior, citing examples such as:

* A youngster deprived of breakfast each morning because his parents ~~are~~ were at work and an older brother, who, instead of preparing the younger boy's meal, ate "everything in the house."

* A 15-year-old girl who was forced to have sexual intercourse with her stepfather. [GET INSERT "B"]

~~Racial confrontation, its fires stoked by increased integration, is an outstanding cauldron in which disruptions are heated.~~

When integration at the secondary level in North Little Rock schools was completed three years ago, suspensions for "defiance" and "disrespect" shot up along with the number of black students suspended, said Doyle Crownover, assistant superintendent for administration.

"When desegregation first occurred at the secondary level," he said, "blacks were put into a predominately white ~~a~~ setting where there were entirely different attitudes toward schedules, promptness, and so on. The segregated schools which black students had been attending were not as oriented toward time

~~[illegible] the black students ran into~~

schedules. The black students ran into different expectations (at desegregated schools). Tardiness was a major violation.

"The black students got the idea that the regulations had been instituted to persecute blacks. It took a couple of years for them to realize that the rules had existed before and for the blacks to adapt to the stricter regulations.

Crownover said that much of the problem stemmed from black students being told to expect discrimination which led to their arrival at newly integrated schools anticipating mistreatment. Although he said he didn't observe deliberate bias in white teachers, equal fault lay with their lack of experience in working with blacks, which led to teachers' failure to see and teach blacks as individuals.

The administrator also said that busing and the resulting disjointed attendance zones had contributed to disciplinary problems by weakening the relationship between the child and his school. However, he said, white students are accepting the authority of black teachers and administrators more than black pupils are accepting white authority.

"I guess they (black students) have had so much crammed down their throats that when they get a little breathing space, they tend to over breathe," he added.

Phil Kaplan, a Little Rock lawyer active in civil rights cases, has a different view.

Kaplan said there are patterns of discrimination in suspensions throughout the state. Blacks are frequently dismissed from school when they are involved in an offense, he said, whereas whites are not. He said that black students have

been expelled for "sexual reasons" (illigitimate pregnancies, marriage), for being disrespectful and questioning a teacher's authority. Dress codes, he said, are widespread, in spite of court rulings against them and that some blacks have been suspended for wearing Afro-type hair styles. A survey showed that there are no such codes in the the Little Rock-area, but Helena uses a dress code drawn up by a student-faculty committee and approved by the students. Kaplan also charged that the threat of corporal punishment is used to intimidate black students, but school officials reply that students are given a choice between a paddling or being sent home. They said that the "licks" are chosen, often with the support of parents.

The attorney charged that school administrators over-react to incidents involving black students instead of becoming more sensitive to the needs of students. "If an administrator's response is the same to both violence and 'an approach' to a white girl, then the 'crime' and the punishment will be out of proportion."

Where blacks are present in the schools in any numbers, Kaplan said, there is a strong impetus behind efforts to get them out of the schools. When the proportion of blacks is below 15 per cent, he said, the problem is less severe. It appears to be worse when the percentage is 30-40, because blacks represent a threat without being numerous enough to wield power.

The superintendent and the influence he brings to bear, Kaplan added, makes the biggest difference in how districts deal with desegregation problems. He said he had never heard of a school board reversing a superintendent's decision on an expulsion, leaving the superintendent in the all-important position in any specific case and in the eyes of the community.

Although there is strong evidence of discrimination in Louisiana, some school officials are also aware that racial conflict clouds the arena in which teachers and administrators must make important decisions in the spotlight of community opinion. Being disrespectful to teachers and principals has led to more student suspensions than any other single violation.

"The disrespect white teachers read into the actions of black students may not have been that at all," said Dr. Joseph Kite, superintendent of Vermilion Parish in southern Louisiana. He is a widely respected educator in the state and region.

"But the students are often suspended for being disrespectful anyway. And the same thing happens to white students with black teachers, said Dr. Kite. He recalled the first year Vermilion Parish schools were integrated, a time when he said teachers spent 30 per cent of every school day trying to keep order in the classroom.

However, as he searched for causes for the dilemma, he also slipped into stereotype reasoning similar to those used by administrators and others with less understanding. He

suggested that one reason blacks were more often dealt suspensions for disrespect is "because black students are less inhibited than the whites." Without thinking, he was only one step away from saying that blacks also "sing and dance well".

Whites may be more accustomed to an authoritarian atmosphere, Dr. Kite continued. When a white student is told by a teacher to do something, he is accustomed to doing it without asking why, while the black pupil often challenged the teacher's authority and got in trouble for it.

Mrs. Maxine Copeland of New Orleans, organizer for the Movement to Obtain Reform in Education (MORE), says the problem of suspensions in the Crescent City is not entirely racial.

"It crosses all color, sex and age lines," she said. But MORE reports that suspension punishment is being used increasingly since schools in the state have begun to integrate.

"Before, it (suspension or expulsion) was only for serious offenses," Mrs. Copeland commented. "But now it's for the least little thing and the terminology often does have racial overtones."

Racial overtones are an excuse and a smokescreen to one official in Candler County, Ga. _____ Samples((get his first name from Keating)), director of visiting teachers there, said that "race was just an excuse and all the discussion of race was just riding it to death." He said he felt that the problems sprang from the home environment, that the students were "acting up" in school and that the actions were symptoms of this background.

The main reasons for suspensions in Candler County, Samples said, is "a refusal of the child to accept (corporal) punishment for minor offenses. He also said a major change in policy to improve the situation, put into practice last year, was from the choice between a paddling and suspension to a choice between corporal punishment and chores for the school. Most choose punishment, because the in-school labors are in force over a long period of time. Repeated suspensions for some students have been caused by the student's failure "to co-operate" or being "disruptive in class," Mr. Samples said. While racial tension has been a cause for suspensions in the past, that has been replaced by "disruption," the visiting teacher official said.

An opposition viewpoint came from Harold Boston, a longtime resident of the area and a director of an ESAA program to aid desegregation. In most incidents, teachers and administrators choose to place heavy blame on black students. "Teachers always side with the white kids and blame the blacks." Rapport between most students and teachers is non-existant, he said, even black teachers, many of whom assume a stance with the school system. "There is increased discouragement of black kids who feel that even black teachers are against them," he explained.

In Columbus, this view was echoed by Jesse Taylor, of the Columbus Urban League, who said that many black teachers make black students "feel inferior." When confrontations occur, often the teachers, black and white, blame the black and exempt the whites. "Fighting, discipline and disrespect" are the chief reasons given by school officials for suspensions,

but he said the root causes for increased suspensions are a lack of teacher-student communication and a lack of official understanding of the great variety of deeper reasons, racial and other.

The Rev. Jim Hooten, a clergyman in Savannah, said excessive emphasis of the authoritarian concept have led to most troubles, including suspensions and expulsions. "Schools try to keep the lid on, keep order and keep discipline," he said. He cited five schools in Chatham County, only one of which was led by a principal who exercised a moderate approach to discipline.

Suspensions are a method of communicating with parents, said Lee Forehand, superintendent of rural, middle-Georgia Pike County schools. "Suspensions are a good influence on kids," he said. "The courts have locked schools in and tied our hands by eliminating corporal punishment. Suspension provides direct involvement with the parents," he added. Apparently, more communication is on the way. " More suspensions will be coming," Mr. Forehand predicted.

Conflict with authority and discipline may be a sign of many things--racial rout step, age and cultural differences, rapidly changing social values. But it's heavy emphasis ignites many young people, black and white.

"Man I ran into problems with disciplinarians," said one student in South Carolina. "I kept gittin' sent to the office and home for nothin'." But discipline, like race, as a factor cuts across all boundaries and bears on many incidents, sometimes subtlety, sometimes harshly. It

is lost in the tangle of other official reasons and causes.

It has been discovered in Richland County, S. C., such as those recorded where the main causes of suspensions was said to be cutting class, fighting, disrupting and disrespect, with smoking and leaving school grounds being reported as more minor violations.

Supt. Henry C. Cole, chief administrator of Greenwood School District No. 50 in South Carolina told the Greenwood Rotary Club in January that discipline is the number one problem in the school system.

There is no evidence and only a little speculation that points to any kind of trend in the South and elsewhere in the tempo of suspensions and expulsions as weapons against school youth in general and black students in particular. Out of SRC's survey, only a few comments from school officials and a few other community leaders showed some hope of a trend toward improvement.

Most of the schoolmen said that the number of suspensions and expulsions rose with increased desegregation in the past few years, including an increase in both physical and verbal confrontation. But some saw slight signs of a levelling off of conflict. Doyle Crownover, North Little Rock's assistant superintendent, said suspensions were now "on the decline" and that "time will calm black resentment of whites in authority." Pulaski County's pupil personnel director said there was a "slacking off" this year.

T. E. Patterson, assistant executive director of the Arkansas Education Association, lent some credence to this feeling. Patterson is the AEA's director for human relations and the only black member of the Little Rock board of education.

The situation was worse two or three years ago, he said, when school systems, including Little Rock's, would suspend black students on any pretext. Now, he said, "overt discriminatory acts have ceased." Arkansas is "one of the better states" in this respect, he added.

Phil Kaplan, the Little Rock attorney associated with civil rights causes, said, however, that it might be too early to tell, but conceded that racial conditions in Little Rock appeared to be smooth on the surface.

But trends and hopes may be a weak foundation for the future. Reforms arising from a closer community investigation of state laws and local school regulations may provide a more substantial base. Of even greater significance may be the educational alternatives exercised for the benefit of all students, especially those who wind up on the brink of disaster, where an official push will send them plunging to the social and economic rocks below.

Most school regulations and school board policies, like the state laws which give them their authority, are similar. Nearly complete discretion is given to keep order and maintain an undisrupted environment for

learning. Immediate authority varies from district to district and state to state, but usually the principal or the superintendent has the power to rule on individual cases. The right of appeal is common in many districts, including the right to take the appeal to the school board. In one, the way is open to carry the appeal to a district court, but too often parents are intimidated by the expense of hiring an attorney. Law and local regulations permit expulsion or suspension from one day to an indefinite period. In Arkansas, the law limits suspension to "the current term", which is generally interpreted to mean the semester. Most districts have some provision for involving the parents, either sending the student home with a suspension notice or a requirement for a conference.

Two of the more detailed examples of school requirements for some kind of due process are in Arkansas and Louisiana.

Suspension procedures in Little Rock schools appear to have been designed more carefully than those in other districts in the state. In Arkansas and elsewhere, the principal has the final word on most suspensions. By contrast, Little Rock administrators require that officials from outside the school be called in on a suspension case from the beginning.

Suspension is a last resort, said Asst. Supt. Roberts, and the individual school is given the responsibility of exhausting all other courses of action before that decision is made. This includes sending students home with notice to parents, followed by a conference with parents, teachers, deans or

vice principal to determine mitigating circumstances or other in-school solutions to a student's problems. Few principals suspend a student in the first instance of misconduct except for serious infractions such as threats of violence to a teacher, Roberts said.

If suspension is ordered, students are usually sent to Gateway School, established especially for suspended students, for both additional counselling or "corrective measures." Roberts described Gateway as a "short-term adjustment center" and not a place for punishment. Students are required to bring books and to continue a study program while they are there.

If a brief stay at Gateway doesn't help the student's "adjustment" to school, he is referred to Leonard L. Thalmueller, assistant superintendent for pupil services, who can extend the student's assignment to Gateway for up to two weeks, 10 school days. Principals ordinarily suspend students for an indefinite period, leaving it up to Gateway officials to decide when a student is ready to return to regular classes within that two-week period. If there are no positive results during that time, Thalmueller can suspend the student for the remainder of the semester--but only with the superintendent's approval. Students and parents have the right to appeal to the superintendent. If a second suspension occurs, the principal must decide if another trip to Gateway would be beneficial. If the special school is not viewed as a solution, the case is referred to the school's pupil personnel director who can make a decision or refer it on to Thalmueller. At this point, if the student is not benefitting from Gateway or other resources, he may be referred

to other agencies such as juvenile court.

The Little Rock District also operates the Opportunity School, primarily for students with learning and family problems rather than behavior problems.

In North Little Rock, procedures for handling suspensions (as in Little Rock, the term "expulsion" is not used) are more restrictive than in the capital city. The power to suspend for brief periods--usually three or four days--is in the principal's hands with few limitations. Conferences with parents are optional with the principal, but in serious offenses, he may require parents to meet with Crownover, the assistant superintendent. Crownover makes a decision to suspend or not before the conference, but if the student is allowed to remain in school, parents receive a stern letter "laying it on the line" about improvement in the student's actions or attitudes.

There is the right of appeal in suspension cases, but there is no requirement that a principal notify a student's parents of their right to appeal to Crownover, the superintendent or the school board. Crownover conceded that a student could be indefinitely suspended without being aware of his right to appeal, but he said that this is theoretical and has never happened.

North Little Rock schools offer no counselling or other services for students under suspension and the school board, in 1971, voted down a proposal for a school similar to Gateway in Little Rock. Crownover said such a school could

not be justified, because there were never enough students under suspension at any one time--usually 10 days or less--to warrant it. He added that most suspension offenses were not the type which required counselling and other services normally offered by such special schools.

In Louisiana, the state law provides the official due process. It states:

"Notice in writing of the suspension and the reasons therefor shall be given to the parent or parents of the pupil suspended. Any parent of a pupil suspened shall have the right to appeal to the parish superintendent of schools, who shall conduct a hearing on the merits. The decision of the superintendent of schools on the merit of the case, as well as the term of suspension, shall be final, reserving the right to the superintendent to remit any portion of the time of suspension. A pupil suspended for damages to any property belonging to the school system shall not be readmitted until payment in full has been made for such damage or until directed by the superintendent."

The law also provides that any student, after being suspended for a third time in a single year, shall, on committing a fourth violation, be expelled for the remainder of the school year. "But it is not always done," said Dudley Auzenne, a member of the supervisory staff of St. Landry Parish schools.

State law also provides due process to appeal up to a district court.

Students, parents, and community leaders are raising their voices in Louisiana and elsewhere to more firmly establish

due process, by either demanding enforcement of existing state laws and local policies or ~~to change~~ changing the laws to give more protection.

In Jeanerette, La., a rural community, 27 of 40 black students expelled in the fall for homecoming disturbances, filed suit in federal district court, claiming they were expelled by the principal, instead of the superintendent, and that they were expelled without a hearing. The expulsions were ruled illegal and ~~ordered~~ readmission of all 40 students ordered until separate hearings could be held for each one.

Last year, a group of black legislators attempted to amend state law which states that conviction of any student of a felony or incarceration of a student in a juvenile institution for reasons which would have constituted a felony for an adult shall be cause for expulsion.

Some black lawmakers, such as Mrs. Dorothy Taylor, state representative from New Orleans, want to change state law permitting expulsion after a fourth violation, particularly in cases where a student could be suspended for the remainder of the year for profanity or being tardy a few minutes.

What might have been viewed as a reasonably relaxed legislative change was resisted as political motivations were injected. Allen Bares, a white legislator from Lafayette Parish, said: "What they (blacks) were trying to do was take away some of the powers of school principals. The committee didn't think this was a good idea."

The black solons were not successful in bringing about immediate change, but their testimony about mounting

suspension problems in the state and off alleged abuses of the law by principals in the New Orleans area stirred up widespread concern. This concern led directly to approval of the statewide task force.

Student protests have been flaring up briefly for several years, but now court cases are being filed more frequently and may soon begin to have a more permanent impact on due process. In 1971, a Little Rock suit was filed, claiming that suspension of students charged with felonies was being applied to blacks only. Another suit alleged discrimination in Brinkley, Ark., schools, claiming that corporal punishment is routinely administered to black students while whites were given only reprimands. In the East Arkansas town of Hazen, a suit involved a dress code.

Perhaps the most significant court action has come in the form of a ruling in March by U. S. District Court Judge Robert Hemphill. The ruling came out of a incident in which five students at Anderson County's T. L. Hanna High School were suspended following racial disturbances.

Judge Hemphill ordered Anderson County School District No. 5 to readmit the students to school, arrangements for the students, all boys, to take examinations with books and tutoring provided by the board of education, and provisions for the students to transfer to adult education classes if they fail the exams.

With an eye to the future, the judge's order also listed four requirements for an expulsion hearing:

~~Advance notice of the hearing.~~

* Students should be given advance notice of hearings.

* Students may not be entitled to cross examine witnesses, but they should be given names of witnesses and a summary of testimony from them.

* Students should have a right to be heard in their own defense and to present evidence.

* No serious disciplinary action can be taken without substantial evidence.

The ruling is an admonition to the school boards "to be fair," said John Bishop, lawyer for the students, who hailed the ruling as "highly significant." He said the court decision assured that "a witness can no longer say 'so and so told me you did it'."

Under the new ruling, a student has the right to appear before school boards with an attorney and defense witnesses. "Before, it was largely left up to the discretion of the school boards as to whether such action was permitted or not," said Bishop. Judge Hemphill's decision "puts the onus on the school boards...to come up with valid evidence and proper proceedings or their action will be thrown out," the youthful attorney said.

The ruling may reach out into other schools in other states. Bishop predicted that "we are sort of on the edge of a new frontier with regard to student rights."

Although the impact of community and court concern over due process will be felt everywhere, there are many school and community leaders who feel that the final and best solution to the problem lies in the classroom with effective

educational alternatives to exclusion and exile for students.

One rather self-serving motive to turn in this direction may be an appeal to the personal and governmental pocketbooks of citizens and elected officials. Supt. Henry C. Cole told a group of Greenwood, S.C. community leaders that suspensions and expulsions also cause a serious financial problem, reminding them that the days the students are missing from school because of suspensions reduce the Average Daily Attendance (ADA) figures and reduce the amount of state financial aid. It is obvious that the hundreds of thousands of students expelled or removed for even a few days will result in the loss of millions of dollars in sorely needed state funds to meet pressing demands for services in the South.

There is a disparity between school districts in providing alternatives.

In Marianna, Ark., where there was a large-scale boycott of schools by black students in 1972, suspended students are sent to Rebound School, funded under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, now in its second year. In a a school district which is predominantly black, the director of Rebound School is black and he decides when the student is ready to return to classes.

Officials in Pulaski County School District, where there have been large numbers of suspensions following racial fights, have explored the possibility of a school similar to Little Rock's Gateway, but they said it was not practical because students are drawn from a widely scattered areas of the county.

Good schools and alternative programs do not always provide the solution for blacks in danger of continuing discrimination.

Little Rock attorney Kaplan pointed to two examples which fit this discription from his viewpoint. The Brinkley district, he said, had drained black students from the main high school, sending them to a special school at a former state training school and thus reducing the black enrollment at the main high school. Athletes, however, had been allowed to stay in the regular program until the end of the athletic season.

In Little Rock, he said, blacks who were good achievers have been kept out of accelerated programs under the influence of guidance counsellors. Even worse, he said, are many districts which employ no black counsellors only white counsellors who are not familiar with college recruiting programs for non-athletes black students. Generally, there is a shortage of counsellors throughout the state. In spite of a need for about 1,500 counsellors, there are only about 450 in Arkansas. Nationally, the shortage of qualified counsellors is an acknowledged educational deficiency in all schools.

INSERT "C"

INSERT "C"

There is mounting support in Louisiana for more and better educational alternatives which would help many students, particularly those who might become dropouts or pushouts.

A career education concept, started at an early age, could help, said Dr. Kite, the Vermilion Parish superintendent whose voice is heard and respected in Louisiana. Education in the state, he said, has too long been generally

aimed at the college-bound student, causing the low-achiever to lose interest in school and eventually fall into the group of "potential suspensions." The career education concept would benefit these students by providing them with areas of training in which they might excell.

This approach has the support of Gov. Edwin Edwards, State Supt. of Education Louis Michot, the Public Affairs Research Council and other groups. In spite of this backing, a more somber reflections come from many educators who say that vocational education will not solve the future problems of poor and black youth in times when the economy or society cannot redeem the promise of social planners. "What" Arthur Pearl once wrote about the poor may be applicable to the push-out prone student: "They don't suffer from a lack of future orientation...they suffer from a lack of future."

But few disagree with the need to press the search for educational solutions. Dr. Gene A. Geisert, New Orleans superintendent, has some ideas he feels are worth serious consideration.

Dr. Geisert, a man with innovative ideas on the problems of suspensions and expulsions, offers this suggestion: preventive programs such as the Conflict Intervention Team, now in operation at Abramson High School, the scene of frequent black-white student confrontations. The team works with students on individual problems without suspensions. He also suggested redefining the role of school guidance counsellors. "I would like to seem them become advocates of the students when problems arise," he said. He said other educational alternatives

for students who cannot function well in a more traditional setting could include the concepts of "schools without walls" or "street academies."

Another concept favored by both Dr. Geisert and Dr. Kite is home-school co-ordination, designed to bring together the parent, the student and the education process.

Two of the reasons for the growing number of student problems today are crowded schools and the lack of sufficient professional staff members to set up school-home programs, said Dr. Kite.

"Often the problem student is one who is not happy at home," Dr. Kite said in a long interview. "Unless you can work with this student at home and the school, your problems with him will continue. Everything the teacher does at school is forgotten by the student when he gets home."

Sometimes, problems are more easily solved in small-town or rural schools where school officials often know many of the parents personally, and an easier rapport can be established. This is more difficult in the more crowded and impersonal urban areas.

In such programs as these, the emphassis is mostly on the student rather than the educational system which is often removed from the world of the youngster burdened with disturbing personal problems. Many educators and other observers feel that the only avenue possible for success with the dropout or the pushout-prone student is a more personal approach to the individual student.

Dr. Geisert and others who share his vision may be ~~the ones who first find a way out of the tangle of~~ the ones who write the peace treaty -- or cease fire agreement-- in the suspension-expulsion war between students and the schools. Suspensions are not the answer to the school problems, he says. Adjusting the curriculum to make it meet human needs may be the answer, he believes.

"We need to review the curriculum and make it more relevant to the students' needs."

THE PUSHOUT--15-A I-N-S-E-R-T-A

Insert after "school environment" , top of pagex 15

Even when some statistics are available, reporting accuracy is so varied that nearly all figures are questionable. But some information sheds light on the official frame of mind if not the numerical view of the problem. Too often, the suspended or expelled student is written off as a responsibility of the school system. As one assistant superintendent said, "We don't use the word expulsion around here. We call them dropouts."

(((Pick up next graf, "Reporters attempting...")))

THE PUSHOUT--18 INSERT "B"

Insert after "...with her stepfather" at mid-page 18

Immediate reasons leading to a student's removal from school are often born of deeper, more complicated human factors and conditions such as racial bias, poverty, family disruptions, physical and psychological disorders, and cultural separation, both among students groups and between students and faculty, ~~and poverty~~.

Little Rock administrators have no data on income levels of suspended students, but one said there is "no question" that suspended students are concentrated in lower-income families and segments of the community. Often, he said, a small number of families contribute a disporportionate share of the students who are suspended. In some instances, several students from the same family may be caught in a web of disciplinary problems at the same time.

Student-teacher conflict, although it may be one of the major causes leading directly to a suspension, is also one which is open to interpretation as to exactly what constitutes insubordination and disrespect. This is especially true if school discipline is founded in a traditional philosphy and is supported by the full weight of the community, state law, local policy, a strong superintendent who backs his principals and a strong principal who backs his teachers to "maintain a proper learning environment." The issue of "disrespect for authority" --the brother of "law and order"--becomes explosive in the emotional heat of racial conflict.

((pick up with "When integration...")))

THE PUSHOUT--35 -- I-N-S-E-R-T (C)

Insert after graf ending "...deficiency in all schools."

ESAA director Harold Boston in Metter, Ga., echoed this complaint, saying that there are no educational programs for students out of school and that there is a critical need for counselling, especially black professionals in the field. There is no PTA in any of the three schools, he said, hampering the communications process and often leaving the parents "lost because they just don't know where to go or who to turn to."

Mr. Samples, the Candler County, Ga., administrator said there were no programs for suspended or expelled students except a reasonable amount of time to finish the work they missed after they return to school."

Mr. Taylor, an observer of the Columbus, Ga., schools also complained that there is no special education program provided for suspended students. Similar conditions were charged by officials and observers in other Georgia school systems.

THE PUSHOUT--35 INSERT C CONTINUED

Judicial recognition of the principal of educational alternatives was made by Judge Hemphill in the Anderson County, S. C., decision.

"Every effort should be made, by plaintiffs and defendants, in co-operation, to heal the wounds, to complete the educational process," the ruling stated. "Time is of the essence," Judge Hemphill wrote, adding that students may not be able to complete their education because of the time lost in their suspension. "Expulsion jeopardized the educational potential of the plaintiffs," he added.

(((pickup with "There is mounting support...")))

May 1, 1973

To: Esser, Bowie, Hall, Samuels, Whittington, Crosland, Via

From: Lucy

After consulting with Harry and considering schedules, we have come up with the ~~xxxxx~~ following schedule of working out what remains to be done before the Thursday meeting in Washington on the push-out study:

3:30 - 4:15 <u>this afternoon</u> -- meeting in the conference room to discuss conclusions and recommendations only. Please go through the introduction and draft sent to Kennedy last night, and be prepared with tightly written suggestions.

Tomorrow, probably late morning -- meeting in the conference room to discuss the joint documents. Please review the original Kennedy outline and documents along with the new blue-covered supplement that came in this morning. We will need to consider what gaps there are and what still remains to be done, and by whom.

Thursday morning -- George, Harry, and Leon will be meeting with the Kennedy people in Washington. Leon will take with him our conclusions and recommendations, as well as our recommendations for completing the joint document.

There are three copies of the original Kennedy document, three copies of the new blue supplement, and ~~xxxxx~~ three of our draft and introduction. Please see me in the conference room for copies to read, and return all copies to me as soon as you have read them.

MAY 1973

The New Word is "PUSHOUT"

"This place is prison, man, this place is prison prison, prison, prison."

By Lawrence Wright

A new word has been coined—Pushout. The word still lacks a precise definition, but it is drawing increased attention to a wide-ranging problem. In the broadest sense a pushout is a student who has been prohibited from achieving his academic potential through a deliberate denial of opportunity.

At first, pushout was used to describe only the expelled or suspended student—strictly a discipline term. Now, however, it has accrued additional meaning. Pushouts include the non-English-speaking child who founders in class and repeatedly fails tests written in English; the student who was placed on a lower "learning track" in the first grade that will keep him in second-rate classes until he graduates—if he graduates; the child who is never given the opportunity to read something that is pertinent to his situation; the child who is neglected by his teachers because he is of a different race; and the student who is alienated from the school environment because of racial hostility. Dropouts and expulsions merely culminate a history of rejection of the students' needs on the part of the schools. According to the pushout premise, poor test scores, acting up in class, disaffection from school, and severe behavioral problems don't generate each other. They are just stops on the way for a child being forced out of school—symptons caused by much deeper problems rooted in the school systems.

The Robert F. Kennedy Memorial and the Southern Regional Council are studying the occurance of pushouts in the South. The National Education Association (NEA) recently held a conference in Washington to promote its currency. No one in these organizations knows precisely where the line is drawn between a pushout and a dropout. David Levin of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial admits that even though his organization is studying the problem, they have not been able to distinguish with precision just who is a pushout. "We know what we're dealing with," he says, "but how do you define it?"

Even without a functional definition, the word is becoming popular to describe a problem of increasing concern to minorities—the distance between integration and equal education. Someday there may be a vocabulary to deal with the sophisticated nuances involved in this problem; now there is only pushout, which is less a definable word than it is a slogan.

There is a philosophy behind the usuage of this word, inspired by the liberal humanist notion that individual failings are socially determined—i.e., it is the schools which are failing the students, not the students who are failing in the schools. Dr. Arthur E. Thomas, director of the Center for the Study of Student Citizenship in Dayton, Ohio, and Ms. Mary Faber, who is compiling a report for the NEA on pushouts, agree that the following statements describe their understanding of the pushout philosophy:

- There is a common and predictable trend in each of the problems connoted by the term. In other words, if there is a high suspension rate, one can also expect a high rate of absenteeism and low academic achievement.
- These problems are to some extent ulterior to the process of desegregation, and yet one of the side effects of desegregation seems to be a rise in pushouts.
- Most dropouts are in fact pushouts.
- Most pushouts are minority students.
- The problems that constitute the term "pushout" are a bundle of symptoms that do not cause each other (low academic achievement does not *cause* a high suspension rate or vice versa); rather the root causes of pushouts are societal in origin—racism, alienation, etc.

In an April, 1972 press release, the NEA outlined the dimensions of the problem, referring to "shocking evidence of illegal student suspensions, racial intimidation, physical violence and even murder of students in an 11-state area in the South." The release also pointed to "student walk-outs, boycotts or demonstrations," and the clos-

PAGINATION INCORRECT

ing of previously black schools that "forced children into the hostile and sometimes dangerous environment of formerly white schools." All these factors create an atmopshere of tension, which is one of the forces which pushes children out of the education process, says the NEA.

An examination of the school systems in three cities in the U. S.—Boston, San Francisco, and Mobile—indicates that the problems in the schools are correlated as the NEA suggests. The relationship of the pushout phenomenon to desegregation is unclear because of the multiple ways communities desegregate their schools. However, pushouts can be more directly associated with the degree of minority influence in shaping educational policy decisions. In other words, if a child is pushed out of school, the chances are his parents have been pushed out of the school boards, too.

The three Cities: Boston, San Francisco, Mobile

In Boston recently a federal administrative judge found the school department guilty of operating a de jure *segregated system, in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and ruled the city ineligible for $8 million in federal aid. The NAACP has brought suit against the Boston School Committee for violation of the 14th Amendment by failing to provide equal education opportunities to blacks. And the State Board of Education has found the Boston schools to be out of compliance with the state's Racial Imbalance Law, and is freezing $50 million in state funds until the committee comes up with an acceptable desegregation plan.*

San Francisco is in its second year of court-ordered desegregation of its elementary schools. It is operating under one of the most stringent school plans in the country—one which calls for each school to reflect the over-all racial composition of the system, which is 29 per cent white, 30 per cent black, 14 per cent Spanish-speaking, 15 per cent Chinese, with another 12 per cent composed of Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, American Indians, and others. The elementary schools were divided into two groups. "Primary" schools accommodate kindergarten through the third grade, and "intermediate" schools house grades four through six. Every child in the system will be bused for part of his elementary school career. The community boasts that its elementary schools look "just like the United Nations."

The turbulence that accompanied integration in Mobile, Ala., two years ago has diminished considerably. There is reason to believe, in fact, that white students who fled to private schools are finding their way back into the public school system. The reason for this trend, according to Supt. Harold Collins, is that the system has "stabilized." Collins attributes this turn of events to the diligent efforts of his teachers and the community, and to good fortune. He refuses to discuss, however, the disproportionate numbers of black children who are being expelled or suspended.

Each of these systems purports to be at a different level of integration. In fact the variety of community responses, judicial decisions, and racial compositions of students prevents comparisons of integration. Integration in San Francisco is qualitatively different than in Mobile, where the racial imbalance of the schools more closely resembles the "segregated" system in Boston. In each city, however, minorities are realizing that integration is merely the first step toward achieving equality of education—and that successive steps may prove as arduous as the first.

In an all-black junior high school in Boston named after Martin Luther King, two youngsters are sitting in the principal's office waiting to go home. They have just been suspended, for 10 days, they claim (the maximum allowable in that city is three days). "Sure," says one, "I'm glad to get out of here. Shiiit. Doors locked, bars on the windows . . . this place is prison, man, this place is prison. Prison, prison, prison. . . ." The other child joins in the chant: "Prison, prison, this place is prison."

On the streets of Boston are large numbers of Puerto Rican children out of school—young children who never enrolled or dropped out early in their school careers. These children are visible to everyone except the school department's attendance officers, who count only 11 children not attending school (one black and 10 whites), according to the figures they gave the federal government.

This figure is embarrassing even to school officials, who privately estimate the number of school-age Puerto Rican children not in school to be between 500 and 1,500. Several community groups have conducted independent surveys, which place the numbers of Puerto Rican children not attending school much higher—between 3,000 and 8,000. One survey found 42.6 per cent of the children surveyed out of school, another placed the figure at 31.2 per cent. The Boston School Department has made some efforts to deal with the problem through the institution of bilingual programs, which in Massachusetts it is legally bound to do anyway. As a result of these efforts, last year 63 Puerto Ricans graduated from high school—not an impressive figure, perhaps, but the year before there were only ten. The year before that there were three. The surveys also reported that nearly half of all Puerto Rican children are one year or more behind their expected grade level.

Reporting School Violence and Bribing with a 'B'

During the first year of integration in San Francisco, suspensions in the sixth grade (for which a racial breakdown is available) rose from 491 prior to integration to 795. Of this number, 604 were black (71.2 per cent). Only 6.1 per cent of these suspensions were Spanish-

speaking and just nine students (1.8 per cent) were Asian. In the third grade 81.6 per cent of the 179 suspensions were black. However, according to a report of the Student Placement Guidance Center, suspensions have fallen by nearly half for the fall term of this year. Racial breakdowns are no longer available. In order to treat students with behavioral problems, the San Francisco system has introduced the Guidance Service Center. Presently, 101 students attend the center; 96 are black. All of the staff is white.

Dr. Lee Dolson, a commissioner of the San Francisco Board of Education and Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences of City College of San Francisco, calls the reports of diminished school violence and discipline problems "an absolutely stupid whitewash." To back up his claim he displays the school incident reports that come to his office. Many of the schools failed to report incidents at all, and Dolson considers other reports spurious. "A school administrator who neglects to send in his incident report has a tendency to play down his suspensions. By that I mean he would not report them. Also, the administrators convey to their teachers that they don't want suspensions. So, a number of teachers suspend kids in a very devious way. They bribe the child with a 'B' so he won't come back to class. Thus, we tend to promote our social problems. The message isn't lost on the kids—they use this phenomenon to get thrown out of class."

Expulsions, Receptacle Schools and Reading Scores

However, many of the San Francisco elementary school principals and teachers are encouraged by the second year of integration. For instance, last year Leonard Flynn, principal of the Le Conte School, suspended more students than any other principal in the system. This semester he has suspended less than half a dozen. He agrees firmly with the assessment of the San Francisco American Federation of Teachers president, Jim Ballard: "It's working." In fact, Flynn and some of the parents of his students have devised a plan to extend integration into the secondary schools next year. He believes integration can correlate positively with academic achievement and student behavior if the community is stirred to participate and the school board to respond.

In Boston last year there was only one expulsion. In San Francisco so far this year there have been four, all for knife attacks against other students. In Mobile last year, 67 blacks and 17 whites were expelled. The actual number of students excluded from the school system is much larger, because in Mobile a student may be suspended indefinitely—a process many lawyers believe violates the student's rights of due process. As of March 30 this year, 125 students have been indefinitely suspended. The school department would not reveal how many of those were black.

Like San Francisco, Mobile has a receptacle school to catch students considered to be misfits. According to Henry Rembert, a community critic of the schools, only one child of the 60 attending this Continuous Learning Center is white. Rembert also thinks the official figures for indefinite suspensions are inaccurate. He would put the figure closer to 500. In some cases in which authorities feel suspension or expulsion to be insufficient punishment, the children are arrested in the school, arraigned, tried, and sentenced to periods of up to six months hard labor.

In San Francisco the dropout rate (including "left without transfers") in 1971-72 was 11.5 per cent, a decrease of .9 per cent from the previous year. However, the rates are higher for some groups than for others: Spanish-speaking males dropped out at a rate of 17.4 per cent, black males at a rate of 17.1 per cent, compared to white males at a rate of 12.9 per cent. The rates for females is about one percentage point less in each case. Chinese males dropped out at a 3.8 per cent rate.

In Boston, current figures on dropouts are not available, but Dr. Geraldine Gillis in the Student Guidance Department estimates the dropout rate to be about 10 per cent in the high schools. Although she could not say what percentage was black, she hinted that perhaps a great many dropouts are. Nor did she know how many were Puerto Rican, but the last time anybody looked (1970), 90 per cent of the Puerto Rican students had dropped out by the time they reached high school.

Authorities in Mobile declined to release dropout figures, saying: a) Such figures are not kept, and b) If such figures were kept, their disclosure would serve no useful purpose.

The figures for dropout rates and suspensions seem definitely to be correlated with academic achievement—especially reading ability. An official study by the school department in San Francisco conducted in May, 1972, revealed that the average black child in the second grade was reading over three months behind the norm for the district, and nearly a full grade behind his white contemporary. What is disturbing to many blacks is that their children read less well than groups usually identified as having language problems—Spanish-speakers scored higher than blacks, and Asians scored much higher. These two groups include immigrant children. By the time he reaches the sixth grade, the average black child in San Francisco is reading on a mid-fourth grade level—over two and a half years behind the national norm and a full year behind the district norm. The average white child at that grade is already reading on a seventh grade level; the Spanish-speaker is reading just at the fifth grade level; the Chinese student is reading at a high-sixth grade level, almost at the national norm. The lowest quarter of black children in the sixth grade reads at a mid-third grade level, while the highest quarter of whites reads at a high-eighth grade level. Theoretically, the average sixth grade teacher in San Francisco must accommodate children whose reading ability ranges across five grade levels.

In Reading: Mobile is Behind, Boston is "Abysmal"

In Boston recently reading scores were released for every school in the system. Although they were not broken down by race, in almost every instance racially identifiable black schools did the poorest. However, the scores were analyzed and graphed according to four factors: pupil absence, pupil mobility (transcience), teacher experience, and teacher educational level. Each of these factors showed a definite correlation with reading achievement. The average child in a ghetto school in Boston is more often absent than his counterpart in a white school. He changes schools more frequently. His teachers are less experienced and have less education. Not surprisingly, he does poorly on reading tests. If there is any consolation for the poor black youngster in Boston, it is probably the knowledge that white schools' scores, though better, are almost all below the national norm. The average child in the Boston schools falls further behind the national norms every year he stays in school. When he finishes the ninth grade, the average child reads at a low eighth grade level—a year and a half behind the national norm.

> *The average fourth grader in Mobile is already a year and half behind the national norm in reading—a deficiency that increases to two years by the time he reaches the eighth grade. (Since different tests were used in each city, comparisons between cities are only approximate.) Statistics are not available in that city by school or race. Prior to integration, reading scores for the eighth grade in Mobile ran about a year behind national norms, dropping a full year upon desegregation—a phenomenon generally attributed to the exodus of the "cream of the crop" to private schools.*

When he released the reading scores to school administrators and the press, Supt. Leary of the Boston schools listed some of the factors that, in his opinion, contributed to "these less than satisfactory results." Later he called them "abysmal." "Various studies corroborate the general observation of negative correlation between reading achievement and such factors as pupil mobility, absenteeism, excessive teacher turnover, lower socioeconomic level, hidden or neglected health problems, and the psychological and emotional stresses that are part of the syndrome," said Leary. "These factors are intensified in the recent history of our city by the tremendous influx of young families who lack educational opportunities elsewhere [i.e. Southern blacks] or who are non-English speaking."

School administrators and minority community leaders in each city agree that suspensions, dropouts, and poor tests results are part of the same fabric. As Leary said, "In all too common progression, academic insufficiency leads to frustration, unhappiness, dislike for school, discipline problems, and frequently, withdrawal from school." Many blacks feel that the high proportion of black suspensions and dropouts, and the indications of low academic achievement expose systematic racial discrimination against their children—or, at the very least, a brutal insensitivity to the problems of the minority child.

Although no one solution has been found, there are programs that can ameliorate the problems of minorities in the schools: teacher aides, improved facilities, new curricula, ungraded schools—the list of remedies is endless. Schools that have implemented some of these measures seem to do somewhat better than other schools in comparable situations.

Two Schools in Boston: The "Best" and the "Worst"

For instance, in Roxbury, the black section of Boston, the community is served in part by two schools, each of which could serve as a prototype of all that is good or bad with a school. William Lloyd Garrison School is old and dismal, with an all-black student body, but only three black teachers out of 30. The principal, Paul Keane, suspends about one child per day. He complains that his materials are outdated and admits that the teaching methods in the school are dull and stodgy. The children are disinterested and distracted. Twelve per cent of the students are absent every day. The school is overcrowded, and Keane has just gotten the school department to build partitions in the auditorium for the three classes that are conducted in that room. Vandalism is evident everywhere.

Nearby is the William Monroe Trotter School, an experimental school, one of the most innovative in structure and philosophy in the nation. Its building excites the eye. It is divided into four "nodes," each composed of six classrooms facing a central "Learning Laboratory" stocked with audio-visual equipment and independent study carrels. There is wall-to-wall carpeting. The building sparkles with art—murals on the walls, *papier-máché* sculptures, and drawings. The teachers are all volunteers, extremely professional, who develop their own curricula. Every teacher has an aide, and parents from the community regularly volunteer their services. The children are engaged in their work, seem bright, happy, and inquisitive. The school has one of the best records in the city for pupil attendance. Arch MacDonald, the principal, has suspended only three children all year. The school is 43 per cent white, all of whom are voluntarily bused. About one-third of the teaching staff is black.

It is considered a "magnet" school: the best Boston has to offer. And yet, fifth graders at Trotter read on a fourth grade level, a year and eight months beind the national norm. Their comrades at Garrison do worse—reading at a mid-third grade level. There is a difference —a significant one to be sure—and yet the difference between what is called the best and what could pass for the worst school is six months. The only thing these two schools have in common is the community they serve—

with the exception of the 43 per cent white population at Trotter. The characteristics of that community are that it is poor and black—and these criteria, of course, are the point of departure for much of the ideology and research in American public education. Whether it turns out to be race or impoverished background that hinders black children's achievement will make little difference to the poor black child in Roxbury. He can do as much about one as he can the other. Like the whites in Boston and Mobile who have not yet conceded their intellectual inferiority to San Francisco whites (much less to San Francisco Japanese, who outscored everybody), blacks hold the schools accountable for the learning that is not taking place in Roxbury.

Highland Park Free School, Muhammed's University of Islam

There are two alternative schools in Roxbury blacks have turned to: The Highland Park Free School and Muhammed's University of Islam, a Black Muslim school. According to officials of these schools, their students do better than their comrades in public schools, although the officials would not release corroborating reading scores. Parents at Highland Park run the school entirely. They design the curricula and select the teaching staff. Octavius Rowe, director of the Muslim school, attributes the alleged success of his school to seven factors: getting a child early (Muslim students begin school at three years of age); superior course content; carefully selected and supervised teachers; no physical education courses to interrupt basic course work; no discrimination problems (the children are all black); no worry about the problems of discipline or drugs; and the "fantastic leadership of Elijah Muhammed." Rowe maintains that fifth graders at his school read on the average at an eighth grade level, and that many of them read at a ninth grade level.

In San Francisco, some blacks are pressing for the establishment of classes in Black English within the province of the Bilingual Department. In Boston, Supt. Leary announced his intentions to beef up the reading program in general, through the institution of a department of reading which would develop a reading curriculum, the construction of reading laboratories in the secondary schools, the avid pursuit of aid from local universities and the development of a monitoring system of pupil progress. In Mobile, the psychologist for the school system, Floyd Replogle, said that the textbooks must be simplified. This comment bothered the editors of the Mobile *Register*, who suggested that the emphasis should be on bringing the students to the level of the textbooks, rather than vice versa.

"The American people spend vast volumes of dollars on education each year, as they should and must in this age," said the *Register*. "But it is plain beyond all reasonable doubt that the nation is falling far short of receiving a 100 per cent return in education on the investment.

"The whole institution of public education may require a rather drastic overhaul job to bring the return closer to the level of the investment. Unless this is done, many education dollars will be lost as unproductive."

Parents, especially poor and minority parents, feel they have more invested in education than dollars and they would like to influence education policy decisions in their community. And yet, as one black parent said, "Everywhere we look, we see doors closing."

While over-represented in the public schools, minority groups are under-represented on school boards. Blacks in San Francisco constitute 13.4 per cent of the total population, yet account for 30 per cent of public school students. In Boston, blacks are 16.3 per cent of the city's population, but make up 33 per cent of the students in public schools. In Mobile, which is 35.4 per cent black, 46 per cent of the public school students are black. Only in San Francisco is there a black on the school board.

There has never been a minority member of the Boston School Committee, whose five officials run at large in a city that is 60 per cent Irish Catholic. All five members of the committee are Irish Catholics.

In Mobile the five white school board commissioners have experienced virtually no challenge to their authority from the black community. Recently, however, the suburb of Prichard, which is a part of the Mobile County school system, elected a black mayor, A. J. Cooper, who was an attorney for the plaintiffs in the Mobile School desegregation suit.

In San Francisco, where minorities constitute a plurality, there is one black and one Mexican-American (the chairman) on the school board. Black community leaders there say that the reason there are not more minority members on the school board is that coalitions have been stymied by the disparity of demands from the incredibly diverse population (elementary children in that city represent households in which 63 different languages are spoken).

A voluntary dispersal of power on the part of the school boards in order to accommodate minority representation, or a referendum to that effect in Boston and Mobile seems improbable—particularly now in Boston where the busing controversy is so prominent. The constituency of elected school boards has always been the voters, not school children, and the interests of the two are not always the same. In Boston, for instance, Committeeman John Kerrigan admitted that he has given little consideration to remedying the reading problems of children because so much of his attention is directed toward countering busing proposals.

Questions: Who Runs Schools? Who has Rights?

In the past several years there has been a spate of litigation concerning student rights in such matters as dress, corporal punishment, freedom of expression, and proce-

dural due process which has mollified discipline codes in Boston, San Francisco and Mobile. Recently, in San Francisco, a suit was filed against the school department on behalf of a child who graduated from high school a functional illiterate (i.e., he reads on a fifth grade level or below). Lawyers at the Center for Law and Education at Harvard are watching the suit carefully and may attempt a similar suit in Boston. However, in light of the Supreme Court's ruling that education is not a right guaranteed by the Constitution, minority groups seeking to affect the policies of school boards in their communities will probably have to turn elsewhere than the courts.

On the face of it, it seems that public education is paralyzed by an inability to reform itself and the failure of innovation. Many educators and administrators attribute the failure to the children served, not the schools themselves. Increasingly, parents and organizations like the NEA which promulgate the term "pushout" believe that the "all too common progression" noted by Supt. Leary—frustration, unhappiness, dislike for school, discipline problems, and withdrawl from school—is symptomatic of an insensitivity that denies the needs of the students at every turn. Their solution to these problems is greater community control of education.

The pushout controversy does not exist in a vacuum. It raises economic, political, and social issues which are at the core of education philosophy in this country. How much power should be allocated to government, school boards, principals, teachers, parents and the students themselves? Who determines the goals of education? And whose schools are they anyway? The taxpayers' or the children's? If they belong to the taxpayers, do they belong to all the taxpayers or just the white majority of taxpayers? If they belong to the children, who has the authority to bar them from that right?

TO: Investigative Reporters on Student Push-Out Problem

FROM: Emory F. Via, Southern Regional Council

Enclosed are the Following:

1. Copies of questionnaires given to a selection of teachers and students which may assist you in understanding our interest in student push-outs.

2. Suggested contacts in your state. Use as they appear useful to you. You certainly should not limit yourself to these contacts.

3. Informations we now have that relates to push-outs in your state. This may be just a "lead" that needs checking.

4. A working definition of "push-out" for the purposes of this phase of our investigation.

<u>What we are after</u>. We are seeking a balanced, objective, representative report of why students are out of school. For this phase of our investigation we are asking you to focus expecially on problems related to expulsions and suspensions. However, we encourage feedback in terms of (a) sophisticated

analysis (administration, student, teacher, community leader, scholar) as to other reasons why students are out of schools, (b) official or unofficial studies regarding drop-outs, push-outs, discipline, (e) factual information, and (d) human interest material.

For the current phase you should be securing the following kinds of information:

1. What does state law and administrative practice provide regarding compulsory school attendance, the use of expulsion, use of indefinite suspensions, repeat suspensions, due process for students who are disciplined, corporal punishment? Of course, most of these items apply to local districts as well as to the state.

2. Does the state department of education have figures on expulsions suspensions. If so, are they available? If no such figures, why not? Where figures exist is there a racial breakdown?

3. Has the state education agency conducted a study of drop-outs, suspensions, expulsions, discipline, etc.? When? Is it available?

4. In state and local figures we would like 1971-1972 school year <u>plus</u> 1972-1973 school year to date. Undoubtedly you will have to settle for a cut-off date for this year, but be certain that we know what that date is.

5. We would like to know the numbers of students suspended and expelled (do not lump the two together unless the figures are not available in any other form). What percentage of the student body do the figures represent? What is the racial breakdown? Sex breakdown?

6. Is there a way to determine if students of a given income level are more often suspended/ expelled than others?

7. What are the causes for suspensions and expulsions? Official view? Other views?

8. Are particular categories of students being suspended such as student leaders, "militants," trouble makers," etc.? What kind of militant, how militant and whose definition? The same for trouble makers. Are black student leaders especially singled out?

9. What trends are occuring? Are the numbers, proportion black, etc. going up or down? Are the causes of suspensions and expulsions changing? Did a particular system hit a peak this year, last year, year before? How does it seem to relate to desegregation? What role played by ineptness on part of school officials, bad community climate, bad in-school climate because of way desegregation issues were handled?

10. Are there cycles or ups and downs in suspensions and expulsions? Do these occur at school opening, student elections, extra curricular activities, Black History Week, etc.?

11. Are you able to discern any urban/rural differences?

12. What factors at school contribute to disciplinary problems? In what ways, if any, is discrimination manifested?

13. Are there places in the state where expulsions and suspensions are particularly high?

14. Are there places where the numbers or rate are low? Are there affirmative programs by schools or school systems to find constructive answers to school discipline problems?

15. Are there special schools for those suspended or expelled? If so, how can they be characterized? Are they a constructive contribution towards a solution?

16. Have there been cases, especially <u>this</u> school year, of mass suspensions, expulsions, student demonstrations or upsets followed by disciplinary action?

You will need to assess your state, how many systems you feel you can get reliable information on, and select a small group that you feel will be representative for the state.

After you have done your initial exploring, picked up leads and answers, made a tentative selection of school districts, run into snags, etc., please be back in touch with me so we can talk it over and you can begin to fill me in.

We are not asking for a final polished draft of a narrative so much as we are seeking the information requested. But a narrative form for your evaluations and summaries will be helpful (rough draft will do).

We are asking that you not make public use of your material until we are ready to release the whole body of material. At that time we should be able to arrange so that you can release a local story if you care to and make use of the broader study for comparative purposes and/or as a separate story.

E W

SRC QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PUSH-OUTS"

Name Robert Toporck
PLEASE PRINT

Address 14 D Franklin St

_____ Zip Code _____

County CHARleston, SC School District _____

1. Do you consider the student "push-out" problem to be serious in your area? ✓ YES _____ NO.

2. How may students do you estimate have been "pushed-out" in your school district? ?

3. Does your information about the number of push-outs come from (you may check more than one; if more than one, please rank in importance by 1,2,3,4):

_____ Press and TV reports

_____ Student contacts

✓ Community contacts

_____ A survey by an agency or an individual

4. Are there other areas where you have reason to believe that the push-out problem is serious? Please list.

	City	County	State
a.	_____	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____	_____
d.	_____	_____	_____

5. If you answered #4, would you designate your source(s) of information by circling "a", "b", "c", "d" (corresponding to the places in question #4):

Press and TV	a	b	c	d
Student contacts	a	b	c	d
Community contacts	a	b	c	d
Study or survey	a	b	c	d

6. Have you personally taken part in a study of "push-outs", or dropouts, suspensions, expulsions? _____YES ✓ NO.
A. When_____ B. Where_____

7. Do you think the push-out problem is statewide in your state? ✓ YES _____NO.

8a. Is the push-out problem in your state more severe in rural or urban areas? ✓ Rural ✓ Urban

b. Can you give a brief explanation of why it is more a rural or urban problem? _____

9a. Do you personally know student push-outs? ✓ YES ____ NO

b. Approximately how many do you know? 25

10. Do you know of places where you feel the school system is working constructively on preventing push-outs? ____ YES ✓ NO

	City	County	State
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			

11. Would you be interested and available to assist in a project to get more information on the push-out problem during the next few weeks in an effort to end unfair practices and find constructive answers? ✓ YES ____ NO

12. Would you be interested also in a longer range project which would gather information on a continuing basis and devise ways of working constructively on the problem of "push-outs"?

_____YES _____NO

✓ ✓

SRC QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PUSH-OUTS"

Name BENJAMIN J. COLBERT ASSO. DIR
PLEASE PRINT
NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE + FAND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

Address 965 HUNTER ST. N.W.

ATLANTA, GA Zip Code 30311

~~County~~ SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE ~~School District~~

1. Do you consider the student "push-out" problem to be serious in your area? ✓ YES _____ NO.

2. How may students do you estimate have been "pushed-out" in your ~~school district~~ area? 30,000 +

3. Does your information about the number of push-outs come from (you may check more than one; if more than one, please rank in importance by 1,2,3,4):

_____ Press and TV reports

✓ Student contacts

✓ Community contacts

✓ A survey by an agency or an individual

4. Are there other areas where you have reason to believe that the push-out problem is serious? Please list.

	City	County	State
a.	_____	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____	_____
d.	_____	_____	_____

5. If you answered #4, would you designate your source(s) of information by circling "a", "b", "c", "d" (corresponding to the places in question #4):

Press and TV	a	b	c	d
Student contacts	a	b	c	d
Community contacts	a	b	c	d
Study or survey	a	b	c	d

6. Have you personally taken part in a study of "push-outs", or dropouts, suspensions, expulsions? _____YES _____NO.
A. When_____ B. Where_____

7. Do you think the push-out problem is statewide in your state? _____YES _____NO.

8a. Is the push-out problem in your state more severe in rural or urban areas? _____Rural _____Urban

b. Can you give a brief explanation of why it is more a rural or urban problem? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9a. Do you personally know student push-outs? _____YES _____NO

b. Approximately how many do you know? _____

10. Do you know of places where you feel the school system is working constructively on preventing push-outs? ____YES ____NO

	City	County	State
a.	_____	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____	_____
d.	_____	_____	_____

11. Would you be interested and available to assist in a project to get more information on the push-out problem during the next few weeks in an effort to end unfair practices and find constructive answers? _____YES _____NO

12. Would you be interested also in a longer range project which would gather information on a continuing basis and devise ways of working constructively on the problem of "push-outs"?

_____YES _____NO

I am personally involved in this effort. NSSFNS is presently conducting national research project. Would like to discuss these plans w/ you

BJC

✓ SD

SRC QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PUSH-OUTS"

Name BOB MANIS
PLEASE PRINT

Address 1501 CORDELL AVE

ALBANY, GA. Zip Code 31705

County DOUGHERTY School District

1. Do you consider the student "push-out" problem to be serious in your area? ✓ YES ____ NO.

2. How may students do you estimate have been "pushed-out" in your school district? hundreds

3. Does your information about the number of push-outs come from (you may check more than one; if more than one, please rank in importance by 1,2,3,4):

   3 Press and TV reports

   1 Student contacts

   2 Community contacts

   4 A survey by an agency or an individual

* see note on last page.

4. Are there other areas where you have reason to believe that the push-out problem is serious? Please list.

	City	County	State
a.			
b.	All	across the South	
c.			
d.			

5. If you answered #4, would you designate your source(s) of information by circling "a", "b", "c", "d" (corresponding to the places in question #4):

Press and TV	a	b	c	d
Student contacts	a	(b)	(c)	d
Community contacts	(a)	b	c	d
Study or survey	a	b	c	(d)

6. Have you personally taken part in a study of "push-outs", or dropouts, suspensions, expulsions? ✓ YES ____ NO.
A. When Continuously B. Where Southwest Ga.

7. Do you think the push-out problem is statewide in your state? ✓ YES ____ NO.

8a. Is the push-out problem in your state more severe in rural or urban areas? ✓ Rural _____ Urban

b. Can you give a brief explanation of why it is more a rural or urban problem? primarily because the emphasis and attention is on Urban areas leaving the rural community barren of information and the necessary inducement and concern to ~~bring~~ deal effectively with ~~their~~ its problem.

9a. Do you personally know student push-outs? ✓ YES ____ NO

b. Approximately how many do you know? at least 35

10. Do you know of places where you feel the school system is working constructively on preventing push-outs? ____ YES ✓ NO

	City	County	State
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			

11. Would you be interested and available to assist in a project to get more information on the push-out problem during the next few weeks in an effort to end unfair practices and find constructive answers? ✓ YES _____ NO

*12. Would you be interested also in a longer range project which would gather information on a continuing basis and devise ways of working constructively on the problem of "push-outs"?

✓ YES _____ NO

At some point I would like to talk about how we might effect a long range ~~proj~~ project for gathering and involving Black communities. One immediate suggestion is to have People's Public Hearings on the Problems of School Desegregation.

(E)

SRC QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PUSH-OUTS"

Name Thelma J. Miller
PLEASE PRINT

Address P.O. Box 647

Durham, N.C. Zip Code 27702

County Durham School District

1. Do you consider the student "push-out" problem to be serious in your area? _____YES _____NO. NOT SURE

2. How may students do you estimate have been "pushed-out" in your school district? 50-75

Rocky Mount, N.C. Sr. High School

3. Does your information about the number of push-outs come from (you may check more than one; if more than one, please rank in importance by 1,2,3,4):

_____ Press and TV reports

_____ Student contacts

✓ Community contacts

_____ A survey by an agency or an individual

Personal involvement - Organizer in the area 67-69

4. Are there other areas where you have reason to believe that the push-out problem is serious? Please list.

	City	County	State
a.		Warren	N.C.
b.	Charlotte	Mecklenburg	N.C.
c.	Spartanburg	Spartanburg	S.C.
d.	Tarboro	Edgecombe	N.C.

5. If you answered #4, would you designate your source(s) of information by circling "a", "b", "c", "d" (corresponding to the places in question #4):

Press and TV	a	b	c	d
Student contacts	(a) personal involvement	(b)	c	(d) & personal involvement
Community contacts	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Study or survey	a	b	c	d

6. Have you personally taken part in a study of "push-outs", or dropouts, suspensions, expulsions? X YES ____ NO.
A. When 1969 B. Where Rocky Mount, N.C.
Was organizing in Rky Mt. & worked directly with students

7. Do you think the push-out problem is statewide in your state? X YES ____ NO. Country-wide for Blacks

8a. Is the push-out problem in your state more severe in rural or urban areas? _____Rural ___X___Urban Probably not sure

b. Can you give a brief explanation of why it is more a rural or urban problem? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9a. Do you personally know student push-outs? ___X___YES _____NO

b. Approximately how many do you know? 25

10. Do you know of places where you feel the school system is working constructively on preventing push-outs? ____YES ___X___NO

	City	County	State
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			

11. Would you be interested and available to assist in a project to get more information on the push-out problem during the next few weeks in an effort to end unfair practices and find constructive answers? ___X___YES ___X___NO

No time available however,

12. Would you be interested also in a longer range project which would gather information on a continuing basis and devise ways of working constructively on the problem of "push-outs"?

__X__ YES _____ NO

But don't have the time!

4

SRC QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PUSH-OUTS"

Name Martha Washington
PLEASE PRINT

Address 108 Micanopy St.

Wetumpka, Zip Code Ala.

County Elmore School District County

1. Do you consider the student "push-out" problem to be serious in your area? ✓ YES _____ NO.

2. How may students do you estimate have been "pushed-out" in your school district? 154 including drop-outs

3. Does your information about the number of push-outs come from (you may check more than one; if more than one, please rank in importance by 1,2,3,4):

_____ Press and TV reports

_____ Student contacts

_____ Community contacts

✓ A survey by an agency or an individual

4. Are there other areas where you have reason to believe that the push-out problem is serious? Please list.

	City	County	State
a.	Montgomery	Montgomery	Ala.
b.			
c.			
d.			

5. If you answered #4, would you designate your source(s) of information by circling "a", "b", "c", "d" (corresponding to the places in question #4):

Press and TV + Radio	(a)	b	c	d
Student contacts	a	b	c	d
Community contacts	a	b	c	d
Study or survey	a	b	c	d

6. Have you personally taken part in a study of "push-outs", or dropouts, suspensions, expulsions? ✓ YES _____ NO.
A. When Dec. 1971 B. Where Elmore Co.

7. Do you think the push-out problem is statewide in your state? _____ YES _____ NO.

8a. Is the push-out problem in your state more severe in rural or urban areas? ✓ Rural _____ Urban

b. Can you give a brief explanation of why it is more a rural or urban problem? In my area parents do not take the time to follow up children school problems.

9a. Do you personally know student push-outs? ✓ YES _____ NO

b. Approximately how many do you know? 5

10. Do you know of places where you feel the school system is working constructively on preventing push-outs? ____ YES ✓ NO

	City	County	State
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			

11. Would you be interested and available to assist in a project to get more information on the push-out problem during the next few weeks in an effort to end unfair practices and find constructive answers? ✓ YES _____ NO

12. Would you be interested also in a longer range project which would gather information on a continuing basis and devise ways of working constructively on the problem of "push-outs"?

✓ YES _____ NO

SRC QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PUSH-OUTS"

Name Robert McDary
PLEASE PRINT

Address P.O. box 132 Warwick,
Georgia Zip Code 31796

County Worth School District Warwick

1. Do you consider the student "push-out" problem to be serious in your area? ✓ YES _____ NO.

2. How may students do you estimate have been "pushed-out" in your school district? at Least 100 or More

3. Does your information about the number of push-outs come from (you may check more than one; if more than one, please rank in importance by 1,2,3,4):

_____ Press and TV reports

2 Student contacts

1 Community contacts

_____ A survey by an agency or an individual

4. Are there other areas where you have reason to believe that the push-out problem is serious? Please list.

	City	County	State
a.	Newton	Baker	Ga.
b.	Leesburg	Lee	Ga.
c.	Albany	Dougherty	Ga.
d.			

5. If you answered #4, would you designate your source(s) of information by circling "a", "b", "c", "d" (corresponding to the places in question #4):

Press and TV	a	b	c	(d)
Student contacts	(a)	b	c	d
Community contacts	(a)	b	c	d
Study or survey	a	b	(c)	d

6. Have you personally taken part in a study of "push-outs", or dropouts, suspensions, expulsions? ✓ YES _____ NO.

A. When_____ B. Where Several counties in S. W. Ga

7. Do you think the push-out problem is statewide in your state? ✓ YES _____ NO.

8a. Is the push-out problem in your state more severe in rural or urban areas? _____Rural _____Urban

b. Can you give a brief explanation of why it is more a rural or urban problem? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9a. Do you personally know student push-outs? ✓ YES _____NO

b. Approximately how many do you know? 20

10. Do you know of places where you feel the school system is working constructively on preventing push-outs? ____YES ✓ NO

	City	County	State
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			

11. Would you be interested and available to assist in a project to get more information on the push-out problem during the next few weeks in an effort to end unfair practices and find constructive answers? ✓ YES _____NO

12. Would you be interested also in a longer range project which would gather information on a continuing basis and devise ways of working constructively on the problem of "push-outs"?

✓ YES _____NO

✓ (E) In city planning

SRC QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PUSH-OUTS"

Name TOM C. WHITNEY
PLEASE PRINT

Address 5523 PERCIVAL ROAD

Columbia, S.C. Zip Code

County Richland School District #2

1. Do you consider the student "push-out" problem to be serious in your area? X YES ____ NO.

2. How may students do you estimate have been "pushed-out" in your school district? ?

3. Does your information about the number of push-outs come from (you may check more than one; if more than one, please rank in importance by 1,2,3,4):

3 Press and TV reports

1 Student contacts

2 Community contacts

4 A survey by an agency or an individual

4. Are there other areas where you have reason to believe that the push-out problem is serious? Please list.

	City	County	State
a.	Florence, S.C.	Florence	S.C.
b.			
c.			
d.			

5. If you answered #4, would you designate your source(s) of information by circling "a", "b", "c", "d" (corresponding to the places in question #4):

Press and TV	a	b	c	d
Student contacts	a	b	c	d
Community contacts	a	b	c	d
Study or survey	a	b	c	d

6. Have you personally taken part in a study of "push-outs", or dropouts, suspensions, expulsions? _____YES ___X___NO.
A. When_____ B. Where_____

7. Do you think the push-out problem is statewide in your state? ___X___YES _____NO.

8a. Is the push-out problem in your state more severe in rural or urban areas? _____Rural ___X___Urban

b. Can you give a brief explanation of why it is more a rural or urban problem? I feel that URBAN Students are more outspoken than Rural Students. Boldness in speech is one Reason for the Phenomena called "PUSH-OUT"

9a. Do you personally know student push-outs? ___X___YES _____NO

b. Approximately how many do you know? 3

10. Do you know of places where you feel the school system is working constructively on preventing push-outs? _____YES ___X___NO

	City	County	State
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			

11. Would you be interested and available to assist in a project to get more information on the push-out problem during the next few weeks in an effort to end unfair practices and find constructive answers? _____YES ___X___NO

Working in WASH. for the Summer.

12. Would you be interested also in a longer range project which would gather information on a continuing basis and devise ways of working constructively on the problem of "push-outs"?

__X__YES _____NO

Other Names
Brother Willie Ware
Brother Willie Cain
Sister Patricia Ware
Brother James Knox 803 328-0733
Brother Paul Knox ~~803 (327-7234)~~ → 803 327-7239

SRC QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PUSH-OUTS"

Name Kathleen R. Knox
PLEASE PRINT

Address 307 W. Moore st.

Rock Hill, S.C. Zip Code 29730

County York School District #3

1. Do you consider the student "push-out" problem to be serious in your area? ✓ YES _____ NO.

2. How may students do you estimate have been "pushed-out" in your school district? Can't determine

3. Does your information about the number of push-outs come from (you may check more than one; if more than one, please rank in importance by 1,2,3,4):

_____ Press and TV reports

✓ Student contacts

✓ Community contacts

0 _____ A survey by an agency or an individual

4. Are there other areas where you have reason to believe that the push-out problem is serious? Please list.

	City	County	State
a.	Columbia	Richland	S.C.
b.			
c.			
d.			

5. If you answered #4, would you designate your source(s) of information by circling "a", "b", "c", "d" (corresponding to the places in question #4):

Press and TV	a	b	c	d
Student contacts	a	b	c	d
Community contacts	a	b	c	d
Study or survey	a	b	c	d

6. Have you personally taken part in a study of "push-outs", or dropouts, suspensions, expulsions? _____YES ✓ NO.
A. When_____ B. Where_____

7. Do you think the push-out problem is statewide in your state? ✓ YES _____NO.

8a. Is the push-out problem in your state more severe in rural or urban areas? ✓ Rural _____ Urban

b. Can you give a brief explanation of why it is more a rural or urban problem? lack of money for clothes, school supplies, transportation problems and incencere of school officials; discriminatory expulsions and punitive discipline procedures.

9a. Do you personally know student push-outs? _____ YES ✓ NO

b. Approximately how many do you know? _____

10. Do you know of places where you feel the school system is working constructively on preventing push-outs? ____ YES ✓ NO

	City	County	State
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			

11. Would you be interested and available to assist in a project to get more information on the push-out problem during the next few weeks in an effort to end unfair practices and find constructive answers? ✓ YES _____ NO

12. Would you be interested also in a longer range project which would gather information on a continuing basis and devise ways of working constructively on the problem of "push-outs"?

_____YES ✓ NO

SRC QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PUSH-OUTS"

Name PATRICIA ANN COPELY
PLEASE PRINT

Address 635 FAIR STREET, S.W #1 16 C
ATLANTA, GA. Zip Code 30314

Route 1
Bowdon, Ga
30108

County CARROLL CO. School District CARROLL CO

1. Do you consider the student "push-out" problem to be serious in your area? ✓ YES _____ NO.

2. How many students do you estimate have been "pushed-out" in your school district? I can find out

3. Does your information about the number of push-outs come from (you may check more than one; if more than one, please rank in importance by 1,2,3,4):

_____ Press and TV reports

✓ Student contacts

✓ Community contacts

✓ A survey by an agency or an individual

4. Are there other areas where you have reason to believe that the push-out problem is serious? Please list.

	City	County	State
a.	Carrollton	Carroll Co	Georgia
b.	Villa Rica	" "	"
c.			
d.			

5. If you answered #4, would you designate your source(s) of information by circling "a", "b", "c", "d" (corresponding to the places in question #4):

Press and TV	a	b	c	d
Student contacts	(a)	(b)	c	d
Community contacts	(a)	(b)	c	d
Study or survey	(a)	(b)	c	d

6. Have you personally taken part in a study of "push-outs", or dropouts, suspensions, expulsions? _____YES ✓ NO.
A. When_____ B. Where_____

7. Do you think the push-out problem is statewide in your state? ✓ YES _____NO.

8a. Is the push-out problem in your state more severe in rural or urban areas? _____Rural _____Urban

b. Can you give a brief explanation of why it is more a rural or urban problem? I really don't know, but I do know that Georgia ~~that~~ has the largest drop-out rate in the nation.

9a. Do you personally know student push-outs? ✓ YES ____NO

b. Approximately how many do you know? At least 15 or more

10. Do you know of places where you feel the school system is working constructively on preventing push-outs? ____YES ✓ NO

	City	County	State
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			

11. Would you be interested and available to assist in a project to get more information on the push-out problem during the next few weeks in an effort to end unfair practices and find constructive answers? ✓ YES _____NO

12. Would you be interested also in a longer range project which would gather information on a continuing basis and devise ways of working constructively on the problem of "push-outs"?

__✓__ YES _____ NO

SRC QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PUSH-OUTS"

Name Freddie L. Williams
PLEASE PRINT

Address 203 South Pine Street

Darlington, S.C. 29532 Zip Code 29632

County Darlington School District # 1

1. Do you consider the student "push-out" problem to be serious in your area? ✓ YES _____ NO.

2. How may students do you estimate have been "pushed-out" in your school district? 6

3. Does your information about the number of push-outs come from (you may check more than one; if more than one, please rank in importance by 1,2,3,4):

_____ Press and TV reports

✓ Student contacts

_____ Community contacts

_____ A survey by an agency or an individual

4. Are there other areas where you have reason to believe that the push-out problem is serious? Please list.

	City	County	State
a.	Florence	Florence	S C
b.	Marion	Marion	S C
c.	Dillon	Dillon	S C
d.	Williamsburg Cnty	Kingstree	S C

5. If you answered #4, would you designate your source(s) of information by circling "a", "b", "c", "d" (corresponding to the places in question #4):

Press and TV	a	b	c	d
Student contacts	a	b	c	d
Community contacts	a	b	c	d
Study or survey	a	b	c	d

6. Have you personally taken part in a study of "push-outs", or dropouts, suspensions, expulsions? _____YES ✓ NO.
A. When Last year B. Where Darlington

7. Do you think the push-out problem is statewide in your state? ✓ YES _____NO.

8a. Is the push-out problem in your state more severe in rural or urban areas? _____Rural ✓ Urban

b. Can you give a brief explanation of why it is more a rural or urban problem? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9a. Do you personally know student push-outs? ✓ YES _____NO

b. Approximately how many do you know? 2

10. Do you know of places where you feel the school system is working constructively on preventing push-outs? ✓ YES _____NO

	City	County	State
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			

11. Would you be interested and available to assist in a project to get more information on the push-out problem during the next few weeks in an effort to end unfair practices and find constructive answers? ✓ YES _____NO

12. Would you be interested also in a longer range project which would gather information on a continuing basis and devise ways of working constructively on the problem of "push-outs"?

___✓___YES _____NO

[1970?]

D R A F T

PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REGIONAL INSTITUTE IN SUPPORT OF QUALITY AND EQUALITY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This proposal is to assist in the consideration of the establishment of an institute designed to facilitate the attainment of quality education for all the South's children on a basis of equality and through the public schools.

1. The institute would be regional.
2. The institute would be associated with a college or university (in all probability a predominantly black institution) but would be independent in policy making.
3. Policies of the institute would be set by a small board (probably 12 to 15 persons) who would be selected by those who join in submitting the proposal for an institute. The board would include persons actively involved in school desegregation programs.
4. Where appropriate the institute would provide supportive services such as information, materials, and technical assistance to persons active in the field. Some such persons would be employed by the institute from time to time.
5. The institute would be financed by federal funds--these funds would come from research and development funds of the Office of Education, and not from the funds for non-profit agencies provided in the emergency legislation.

The institute would be established to provide technical assistance to those working for equality of educational opportunity, to provide training opportunities, to equip others to assume duties in the changing educational picture, to evaluate selected programs designed to implement desegregation policies or otherwise improve public education, and to provde information relative to these processes to selected leaders and the general public. These areas of interest will lead to activities such as the following:

1. Support of field programs where possible in such ways and in such places as are requested as well as draw heavily on guidance from their staff for programs and priorities.
2. Consideration of establishing statewide citizens groups in all or some of those states where these groups do not now exist.
3. By invitation the institute would provide supportive services to those statewide citizens groups--such as in Mississippi and South Carolina--formed to support and push further school desegregation.
4. To identify other local groups and provide assistance for them.
5. Evaluate the results of the use of the $75 million emergency fund now to be spent through the Office of Education by state and local school bodies and make recommendations on the use of additional funds, if available.
6. Provide consultation to local school systems where feasible.
7. Consider providing materials, studies, and perhaps institutes on curriculum, the roles of teachers and administrators, the role of in-school student committees and the like.
8. Consider a publications program in the areas above.

9. Establish an intern program of such quality as to provide additional technical assistance to local groups and to provide realistic training for persons entering the field of educational transition.

10. Study methods that will reflect community need, ideas, desires, and ultimate goals in local school systems.

1 copy guidelines

MR. EMORY VIA
DIRECTOR, RESOURCES
DEVELOPMENT CENTER
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

10/6

Mr. Emory Via

Dear Mr. Via:

We were very pleased and grateful to learn that the Southern Regional Council has agreed - on especially short notice - to provide five leaders for the State meetings scheduled at our conference in Atlanta this Thursday. As you know, the conference begins at 9:00 a.m. on the 8th; State discussion groups are scheduled from 1:00 - 2:30 that afternoon.

I will arrive at the Cabana late Wednesday afternoon and look forward to hearing from you in regard to "briefing" the discussion leaders.

with thanks,

W. Lee Pierson

SOUTHERN REGIONAL TASK FORCE ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT

MONTHLY QUESTIONNAIRE

WILL YOU PLEASE PREPARE, FOR THE BENEFIT OF PARTICIPATING AGENCIES, A SUMMARY AND PROJECTION OF YOUR ACTIVITIES FOR THE MONTH OF: JAN. ☐ FEB. ☒ MAR. ☐ APR. ☐ MAY ☐ JUNE ☐ JULY ☐ AUG. ☐ SEPT. ☐ OCT. ☐ NOV. ☐ DEC. ☐

1. NAME OF ORGANIZATION: Community Relations Service, U. S. Dept. of Justice

2. LOCATION OF ACTIVITIES AREA:

CITY	COUNTY	STATE
Atlanta	Fulton	Georgia
Athens	Jackson	Georgia
Miami	Dade	Florida
Daytona Beach	Volusia	Florida
Huntsville	Madison	Alabama
Tuskegee	Macon	Alabama
Orangeburg	Orangeburg	S. C.
Spartanburg	Spartanburg	S. C.
~~CITY~~	~~COUNTY~~ (State-wide)	Mississippi

3. TYPE OF INVOLVEMENT:

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ☒ CO-OP ☐ EDUCATION ☒ COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION ☒
VOTER REGISTRATION ☐ VOTER EDUCATION ☐ ADMN. OF JUSTICE ☒ HOUSING ☒
HEALTH ☐ WELFARE ☐ TRANSPORTATION ☐ AGED POOR AID ☐ CITY SERVICES ☐
STUDENT UNREST ☒ RESEARCH ☐ OTHER ☐

DESCRIBE BRIEFLY: CRS co-sponsored with the Mississippi Teachers Association and National Education Association a training conference on education for humanism. The goal of the conference was to involve local teachers in meaningful educational changes in the interest of the black community. One principal,

3. TYPE OF INVOLVEMENT: DESCRIBE BRIEFLY (Cont'd).

three teachers, one community leader, three parents, and three students from eight target school districts and the Mississippi Gulf Coast (total 99) took part in the training conference at Saints Junior College in Lexington, Miss.

4. OUR PROJECT/PROGRAM IS: ONGOING [X] WILL TERMINATE (date)_____

5. DO YOU SEE THE NEED FOR ACTIVITY IN A PROJECT/PROGRAM AREA IN WHICH NO PARTICIPATING AGENCY IS PRESENTLY INVOLVED? YES [ ] NO [ ] NOT AT THIS TIME [X]

IF "YES," IDENTIFY:

LOCATION - CITY_____ COUNTY_____ STATE_____

TYPE OF PROJECT/PROGRAM NEEDED (DESCRIBE BRIEFLY)_____

6. DO YOU ANTICIPATE THE NEED TO MEET WITH A PARTICULAR PARTICIPATING AGENCY (OTHER THAN REGULAR MONTHLY MEETINGS) REGARDING SIMILAR ACTIVITIES AND/OR PROGRAM GOALS? YES [ ] NO [X] Unless a participating agency is interested in the successful process used at the conference described above.

IF "YES," WHAT AGENCY_____

APPROX. DATE OF DESIRED MEETING_____ TIME_____

7. DO YOU HAVE ANY PRINTED MATERIAL WHICH YOU MIGHT LIKE TO SHARE WITH PARTICIPATING AGENCIES? YES [X] NO [ ]

IF "YES," KINDLY ENCLOSE THEM WHEN YOU RETURN YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION--SCHOOL CRISIS IN MISSISSIPPI

Since September 1969, the number of all-white private schools have increased from 35 to 100 in Mississippi.

In Holmes County, 1600 white children were attending the public schools in November, 1969. There are now 900 whites in the public school system and more leave as private schools become available.

In Canton, Miss., more than 1200 of the 1300 whites formerly in the public school system attend the new private school. It is housed in an unheated former tent factory donated by Canton Mayor Jones.

In Macon, Miss., 4,000 Negro students are boycotting the public school system because of a modification of the desegregation plan allowed by the courts.

In Tunica, Miss., white enrollment in public schools has now declined to zero. The population of Tunica County is 7 to 1 with the blacks in majority. Four years ago 800 whites were enrolled in the public schools. During the first semester of the current school year, there were 441 whites and 3,039 Negroes with each going to their own separate schools. During registration on Thursday and Friday, January 29 and 30, two whites registered for classes at Dundee Attendance Center with 750 blacks. On Monday, Feb. 2, when classes were begun, not even these two showed up at the school, and as of now there are no whites in the public school system. The white students are either attending or preparing to attend a 12 grade private school in Tunica.

In Indianola, Miss., on Monday, Feb. 2, the public school system had turned "all black." The student enrollment last semester was 2,800 blacks and 911 whites. White students have all fled to private schools.

In Holly Springs, Miss., registration was started on Monday, Feb. 2. Many of the white pupils are expected to enroll in Marshall Academy, a private school. Plans are presently underway to open at least two other private schools in the county.

In Hollandale, Miss., all of the white students have withdrawn to enter three of the private schools in the area.

In Clarksdale, Miss., schools opened for regualr classes on Tuesday, February 4. That part of the desegregation plan which combined the formerly Negro and white junior high schools has brought the major reaction from the white community. On Monday, February 2, only 11 of some 300 white 7th and 8th graders were on hand at Higgins, formerly all black school, for Monday's orientation activities.

In West Point, Miss., the desegregation plan called for the closing of all Negro schools. Plant facilities at one black junior high school were fairly new and in excellent condition. The closing of these schools has meant the implementation of a dual shift at the formerly all white school. The method calls for approximately half of the enrollment to attend the early sessions from 7:45 a.m. to 12:40 p.m. The rest attend the late session from 1:55 p.m. until 6:00 p.m. The school has no bus transportation system. Bus service is available to most of the students but they must pay for their own transportation. This works a hardship on Negro students in the poor communities because they will not be able to afford bus fare and many, therefore, will have to walk.

daylight if they are attending the early session and walk home after dark if they are attending the late session.

In Adams County (Natchez, Miss.), expansion plans for a new shcool building for the Adams County Private School which will increase the capacity from the present 500 pupils to a proposed 1500 were announced this week by the school board. The planned new building will be located on a 29 acre site of land just north of the Natchez city limits.

At Brookhaven, Miss., Whitworth College (Methodist) has opened its doors and made facilities available to the Brookhaven Academy. It now appears that Brookhaven Academy will attract all white students in the system. Students began enjoying the facilities at Whitworth College last week. In order not to interrupt the operation of the college, many of the classes are being held at night. Dr. B. S. Gerald, president of Whitworth, announced that the facilities of the college had been opened to Brookhaven Academy in order to train young people for Christian lives of services. Oddly enough, an extracurricular activity in which students and faculty are showing much interest in a class in karate.

In Meadville, Miss., Franklin Christian Academy opened its doors Monday to 240 white students wishing to escape the desegregated schools.

In Alcorn County, the black high school was lowered to a junior high school. The imminently qualified black principal was moved and given a position as Title 1 Coordinator.

In Clarke County, Shirley Owens High School will be reduced to a junior high school. The principal, well qualified, has been asked to accept a position as an elementary principal for the remainder of the year, after which he is to be terminated in that county.

In Clay County, the Fifth Street High School has been reduced to a junior high school and now has a white man as principal.

In Covington County, the high school has been reduced to a junior high school. The imminently qualified black principal has been asked to accept the position of County Coordinator (whatever that title means).

In Franklin County, the Lillie Bryant Elementary School has already been taken over by a white principal.

In Hancock County (Bay St. Louis), the high school was discontinued and only two of the ten high school teachers were retained.

In Pass Christian, the Randolph High School was discontinued. Most of the teachers remained.

In Itawamba County, black schools have been discontinued. No blacks have been kept as principals.

In Monroe County, the Shivers High School has been degraded to a one through eighth schoo. A white has replaced a black as principal.

In Noxubee County, an elementary principal has been replaced with a white principal.

In Lauderdale County (Meridian), East End Elementary School now has a white principal.

In Lee County, all five black high schools were either discontinued or principalships given to whites.

In Prentiss County, all black high schools have been discontinued and white principals have replaced Negro principals over grades 7 and 8.

In Tishomingo County, the Carter School has been discontinued and black teachers are scattered.

In Marion County, the names of the black high schools have been changed. White men have replaced black men as principals for the second semester.

from Barber

PROBLEMS	LONG RANGE	SHORT RANGE
Community Isolation	Community Control (alternatives to Innis and N.Y.C)	Use of Advisory Committees P.T.A.s etc. to find greater community participation -Support mechanisms for this
Professional isolation	Responsibility to and interdependency with community and students	develop mechanisms for community -professional interaction, including professional training with a community base.
Centralization of decision making	decentralized processes, with broad involvement	recognition of competing interests - support of all - mechanism for open dealing with those diffenences
Student discrimination	interaction without dompromises of integrity	support mechanism of Black students - and legal support of Black-White student issue coalitions
Student repression and control	open, free (non-authoritarian education	Student rights support Support for student involvement in educational policy
Irrelavancy of curriculum to community	Schools committed to service and interaction with community	Planning by students and community - support and development projects technical assistance
Private Schools	?????	Legal -- and stengthening of those who use public schools poor Whites especially
Lacks of stabilization	communities of interdependancy	Legal -- and -- support of programs outside schools that tend to stablize
Isolation of districts people from each other	more uniform processes	linkage

AGENDA

Emergency School Assistance Act
Community Programs Conference

Wednesday, October 7th - 7:30 p.m. to 10 p.m.	Where
Registration	Main Lobby
Sherry Davis and Nancy Blanton Ahoskie High School; Ahoskie, North Carolina	

Thursday, October 8th - 9 a.m. to 9:30 a.m.	
Introduction	Industry East & West Rooms
Melvin L. Johnson, Program Director, Emergency School Assistance/Community Programs	
W. Lee Pierson, Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Education	

9:30 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.

Questions and Answers on Grants Manual and Program Guidelines	Industry East & West Rooms
Panel: W. Lee Pierson Melvin L. Johnson Richard E. Verville, Director Center for Community Planning, HEW Mr. Dewey Dodds, Office of Civil Rights, Region IV	

10:30 a.m. to 10:45 a.m.

Coffee Break	Castillian East Room

10:45 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.

Continuation of Question and Answer Panel	Industry East & West Rooms

11:45 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.

Break for Lunch

Intro — SRC
Don Roberts
Money — Eligible Districts

1 pm to 2:30 pm

State Meetings (Discussion Leaders from Southern Regional Council)

North Carolina - Virginia.....Peachtree Place
Tennesse - Flordia.....The Castillian West
Georgia - South Carolina.....Industry East & West Rooms
Arkansas - Louisiana.....The Rotunda
Mississippi - Alabama.....VIP Room
State Education Agency Representatives.....Suite 527 - 28

2:30 pm to 2:45 pm

Break

2:45 pm to 3:45 pm

(19) (13B)

Program Sessions - Participants are free to choose the session(s) they would most like to attend.

Subject/Given By	Place
Compensatory/Remedial Programs Mr. John Pride, Department of Compensatory Education, OE, Washington, D.C.	Industry East & West Rooms
Parent Involvement Mrs. Barbara Whitaker, Office of Child Development, HEW, Region IV	The Rotunda
Student/Youth Programs Mr. Calvin Nophlin, Office of Youth & Student Affairs, HEW, Washington, D.C. Mr. John Saunders, Center for Community Planning, HEW, Washington, D.C.	The Peachtree Place
Interracial Education Mrs. Mew Soong Li, Office of Economic Opportunity, Jackson, Mississippi Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, Education Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference	The VIP Room
Teacher Training Dr. William T. Carter, Director, Division of Program Resources, Bureau of Educational Professional Development, OE, Washington, D.C.	The Castillian West Room

3:45 pm to 5 pm

Application Procedure and General Information

Industry East
and WestRooms

Panel: Melvin L. Johnson
W. Lee Pierson
Richard E. Verville
Donald Roberts, Program Assistant, Emergency School Assistance Community Programs (from Atlanta)
Mr. Dewey Dodds, Office of Civil Rights, Region IV

Fla - $814T

Tenn - 362

Ala - 566

Ark - 219

Ga - 760

La - 702

N.C - 769

S.C - 544

Va - 473

Miss - 568

Mel Stephens } Atl. Reg Office
Cecil Yarborough }
L Atl. Contact man

Evertha Perkins (?)
office of youth & students

Jack Martin - O.E., Atl.

State Groups

Mutual problems in the State — Cooperation — Coordination

Colleges —
if across state lines — then formula will be worked out

Limited funds —
Feds have contributed to in-fighting

(?) Emphasize Coop. — where it makes sense

* Introduce O.I. program person — how much money is available —

HANDBOOK FOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE
NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS,
EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

ELIGIBILITY

PROGRAM PRIORITIES

AUTHORIZED ACTIVITIES

RELATIONSHIP TO THE LEA

REVIEW BY THE LEA

REVIEW BY THE SEA

REVIEW BY THE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

PUBLIC DISCLOSURE

OTHER DOCUMENTS ATTACHED

APPLICATION AND INSTRUCTIONS

LIST OF ELIGIBLE SCHOOL DISTRICTS

DRAFT
(Content unchanged; "Typos" corrected)

INTRODUCTION

The Emergency School Assistance Program is designed to provide financial assistance for Local Educational Agencies (the local school system, hereafter called LEA's) and to public and private non-profit organizations other than LEA's to achieve and maintain a desegregated school system. Eligibility criteria limit projects to areas where the LEA is beginning, or has begun within the last two years, the terminal phase of an approved desegregation plan. Therefore, projects must support the implementation of the desegregation plan. The funds are to be used to meet the special needs of students, teachers, school administrators, and the community-at-large during the process of school desegregation.

The total amount available to the 1229 LEA's eligible as of September 1, 1970, under the Emergency School Assistance Program is 75 million dollars. Ninety per cent of this amount, or 67.5 million dollars, is for grants to LEA's. The remaining ten per cent, or 7.5 million dollars, is for grants to public and private non-profit organizations other than the LEA. Organizations such as community groups, colleges, and universities, and other local, regional, or national organizations would be eligible. This handbook is for the use of public and private non-profit organizations (hereafter called "non-LEA's") applying for the 7.5 million dollars set aside under the Emergency School Assistance Program.

Funds are provided for non-LEA's both in recognition of the important role these organizations play in the success or failure of the desegregation effort, and because to be fully effective, the desegregation process requires community support and participation. Further, it is recognized that in some communities, organizations other than the LEA may be in a better position to carry-out some types of activities essential to a successful desegregation effort.

ELIGIBILITY

In order to be eligible for funds, the applicant must

(1) Be a public or private non-profit organization, and

(2) The project must serve only areas where the LEA has either:

(a) Submitted an acceptable plan to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and which began the terminal phase in school year 1968-69, 1969-70, or 1970-71. or

(b) Has received a final court order to desegregate from a State or Federal court, and which began the terminal phase in school year 1968-69, 1969-70, or 1970-71.

A list of these eligible LEA's is included in this information package. Additional lists are available from the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity, Office of Education, at your Regional HEW Office, or from Washington, D.C.

The fact that an LEA has not subscribed to the assurances required by ESAP regulations (181.6(a)), does not, in and of itself, disqualify another public or private non-profit agency from receiving funds under the program to aid the desegregation process in the school district of that LEA. The public or private non-profit agency may not, however, serve as a conduit for funds to the disqualified LEA. In other words, the project to be conducted must be genuinely that of the public or private non-profit agency, and not that of the LEA. In order to determine whether the public or private non-profit agency is serving as a conduit for the disqualified LEA, it will be necessary to examine the proposed project in the context of services that would normally be provided by the LEA.

PROGRAM PRIORITIES

Since there are many more organizations than can be funded under the 7.5 million dollars, some funding priorities have been developed and are described below:

(1) Priority will be given to those projects which are either inter-racial or inter-cultural and have a clear and direct relationship to successful desegregation. As is clearly described in the regulations, the thrust of this program, and of the program for LEA's, is to foster quality desegregated education.

(2) Priority consideration will be given to proposals which demonstrate the unique capabilities of community groups to assist in the desegregation effort, and which can provide models for other community groups which seek to make a contribution to desegregation efforts.

(3) Priority consideration will be given proposals from organizations which have demonstrated their ability to help achieve or maintain a desegregated school system, or have experience in improving the quality of education during the desegregation process. New organizations will be funded where there are individuals who have demonstrated experience and competence, or where the innovative character of the proposal requires the formation of a new organization.

AUTHORIZED ACTIVITIES

Two types of projects will be funded: (1) Type A - a group of 20 to 30 model projects, and (2) Type B - a larger number of smaller projects typically relating to a single LEA's desegregation plan, or for projects operating on a relatively inexpensive scale.

Type A Projects

Model projects should either (1) demonstrate the value of a particular service or technique in achieving school desegregation, or (2) apply techniques developed in previous desegregation efforts, thereby testing their value in more than one situation, or (3) coordinate existing efforts and provide technical assistance to communities experiencing desegregation. These Type A projects would ordinarily serve more than one LEA. If they relate only to one LEA's desegregation plan, they should be of high innovative potential and especially good design. Regional or multi-district groups would have the advantage of being able to demonstrate the value of a particular technique or service in more than one LEA.

Type A projects should be sufficiently focussed upon clear and limited objectives to enable in-depth evaluation as models, rather than seeking to accomplish a broad range of generally defined goals. Potential applicants should recognize that Federal officials will maintain close relationships with the projects, so that lessons can be drawn from the experience. Technical assistance from a specially selected group of consultants and institutions will also be available.

TYPE B

Type B projects will ordinarily operate within a single LEA, or would involve community relations activities of a relatively inexpensive nature. In designing the project, organizations should set goals and objectives that can be realized. Mechanisms for measuring progress must be established so that those directing the project, and those served by the project have a sense of what has been accomplished. Broad generalizations of direction and purpose lead to confusion and misunderstanding. Organizations should design the project so that it can be evaluated objectively both by the target community and by Federal officials.

Project Activities - Type A and Type B

Project activities must support the implementation of the desegregation process of the LRA, and must contribute to a lasting and educationally sound desegregated school system. Generally, projects operated by non-LEA's will be in program areas not covered by the LEA's operations or scope of direct responsibility, rather than duplicating the work of the schools.

The kinds of project activities which might be funded are described below.

1) Community Relations and Information Projects: Under this broad heading, a variety of activities operating in support of desegregation plans could be undertaken. Such activities could include, as specified in the regulations, community information programs, school-home visitation programs, and special parent programs. Publications, speakers' bureaus, films, media presentations, bilingual presentations and materials, and other information activities could be designed in conjunction with local educational agencies as a means of disseminating information which would increase mutual understanding on the part of those participating in or affected by the implementation of a desegregation plan.

2) Compensatory/Remedial: Remedial programs outside the school setting with a strong community base, or with the assistance of colleges in the region, will provide essential support for student achievement within the newly desegregated classroom. These programs should be operated on an inter-racial basis. Most typically, perhaps, these projects would include after-school tutorial programs, some of which may operate on a bi-lingual basis for students learning English as a second language. Secondary students and students of colleges and universities in or near the desegregating districts could participate in such programs.

3) Parent Involvement: The value of involving parents of students in in school-related activities to reinforce student achievement has been demonstrated in pre-school settings. The major thrust of projects under

this activity should be to get minority and non-minority parents cooperating to improve the quality of their children's education. Expansion of existing parents' organizations or establishment of new groups are allowable under this activity.

4) Student and Youth Projects: A special effort will be made, in line with the regulations requirement for student advisory committees, to solicit and provide technical assistance for programs operated by students and youth. Projects could be either curricular or extra-curricular in nature. Such projects could be aimed at conflict resolution, or could be designed to develop and implement acceptable student codes. In addition, special efforts should be made throughout the program to involve students, as the most directly affected participants in the planning and operating of all types of allowable projects.

5) Inter-racial education: For many students, the school and home environments are predominantly racially and culturally isolated. For these students, special inter-racial or inter-cultural programs should be developed. These programs would not fall under other project categories, such as compensatory or student projects. Such courses would typically be taught outside school hours under the auspices of community groups. They may involve special interest courses, for example, in the arts or academic courses not offered to these particular students in their schools, such as special science activities. The emphasis should be on innovative activities designed to promote inter-racial and inter-cultural cooperation and understanding.

6) Training and Technical Assistance: Some projects might usefully focus primarily upon training community groups to contribute effectively to desegregation planning. Such training activities could include seminars on the issues involved in desegregation, conferences featuring speakers familiar with both educational and community problems, or dissemination of information on innovative approaches to desegregation used in other communities. Technical assistance activities may be developed to respond to short-term needs of individual districts or community groups, including crisis intervention, rumor control activities, and curriculum and textbook review.

7) Activities Linked to Comprehensive Educational Planning: The regulations make clear that special comprehensive planning designed to assist in implementing desegregation planning is an allowable activity. While educational planning is primarily the function of the LEA, other agencies such as community action agencies, councils of government, or city demonstration agencies are also involved in educational planning

or in planning for programs such as housing or relocation for areas affected by the desegregation plan. Additional administrative personnel who would concentrate on desegregation problems, or programs operated by these agencies in support of desegregation would be allowable activities. The main objective of such planning efforts would be to link more closely the on-going educational planning and program activities of these non-LEA agencies to the desegregation activities of the LEA.

While many community projects will need information about the LEA's desegregation plan and implementation efforts in order to design a successful project, the Office of Education will not fund proposals which monitor LEA performance in carrying out the desegregation plan. Several agencies including the Office of Civil Rights, the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity and the Office of Program Planning and Evaluation will have the responsibility for monitoring and evaluating LEA performance.

RELATIONSHIP TO THE LEA

Projects will be much more effective in furthering the desegregation process if there is close cooperation and a two-way flow of information between the LEA and the community organization. Lack of cooperation may, in fact, hamper desegregation. For example, a community group funded for a parent involvement project will need basic information about class distribution and size, extracurricular activities, and teacher training, so that parents can participate as fruitfully as possible in school activities. Similarily, the community organization needs to be aware of LEA activities, so that projects will expand the effectiveness of the LEA's implementation of the desegregation process, rather than proposing to operate duplicate program activities. Finally, since the LEA will have an opportunity to comment on the non-LEA proposal, it is to the advantage of the applicant to seek cooperation before official LEA comment is solicited from Washington.

Therefore, applicants should consult with the LEA regarding the development of the program and its relationship to the implementation of the desegregation plan. They should seek to review the LEA's desegregation plan with the LEA staff, and should arrange for periodic discussions on the LEA's progress in desegregating. In turn, the community group should keep the LEA apprised of the project's activities and progress. The Office of Education will request LEA's to cooperate in this process.

The application should include a description of the relationship between the applicant and the LEA, including whether the LEA has agreed to consultation, and whether the LEA has permitted the applicant to review the desegregation plan.

REVIEW BY THE LEA

The Office of Education will provide the LEA an opportunity to comment on the project proposal, and on the consultation process with the non-LEA. Where a project serves a substantial number of LEA's, it will not be possible to solicit comments from each LEA. In such instances, the comments of the state educational agency (agencies) will serve this purpose.

In some cases, it will be impossible for the project to be implemented without the close cooperation of the LEA. Activities requiring the use of school property, or the presence of school personnel or students during school hours, must of practical necessity be endorsed by the LEA(s).

Review by the State Educational Agency

Most state educational agencies will also be providing services to LEA's which are desegregating. In order to insure cooperation and the coordination of these activities, state agency officials need to be aware of the project activities. Therefore, the Office of Education will provide the state educational agency an opportunity to review and comment on the project application. Applicants are encouraged, however, to inform state agency officials of their interest and where appropriate to involve them in the development of the application.

Review by the Office of the Governor

Under the Office of Economic Opportunity's authorizing legislation (section 242) used in the Emergency School Assistance Program, the Governors' offices must be afforded an opportunity to review proposals. This clearance will be the responsibility of the Office of Education. (It should be noted that this review does not apply to institutions of higher education in existence before August 20, 1964.)

Community Involvement

The success or failure of the desegregation plan is an extremely important event in the life of any community. If the project is to help in achieving and maintaining a desegregated school system, it is important that members of the target community have an opportunity to participate in and comment on the development of the program. This is particularly true if the program is an innovative one, if the techniques or services will be unfamiliar to the target population, or if the project seeks to expand community awareness of a desegregation plan. Where other activities have been undertaken by non-LEA's in helping to achieve school desegregation, an applicant should seek to develop a program which is consistent with and does not duplicate ongoing community activities.

Advisory Committee

Each project funded should have an advisory committee or board which includes representatives of the persons who are to be served by the project, and which has representatives of minority and non-minority groups. Secondary students should be represented on all such committees. (Students serving on both committees must be selected by the secondary school students served by the project.) In some cases, the applicant will need to organize such a committee. In others, existing LEA advisory committees will fulfill this function. Where a bi-racial advisory committee exists but is not the non-LEA advisory group, a communication link between the two should be developed. Each project application must include either (1) a list of the persons on the advisory committee and the means by which they were selected or (2) plans for organizing such a committee within 30 days of the receipt of the grant award.

Public Disclosure

The grantee is responsible for assuring that the community has an opportunity to participate in the development of the project. Therefore, ESAP regulations require all grantees (LEA's and non-LEA's) to:

(1) Make available within 30 days of receipt of the grant the details of the project for publication in a newspaper of general circulation, (bilingually where appropriate).

(2) Make information about the project available to the general public.

The chief elected official of the city or town affected by the project will also be notified by the Office of Education when the grant is approved.

Return to Joan Bowman

A PROPOSAL TO THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, WASHINGTON, D. C. TO ORGANIZE COMMUNITIES FOR CREATIVE RESPONSE TO PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN MISSISSIPPI.

SUBMITTED BY: The Greater Jackson Area Committee

BACKGROUND:

In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled illegal the concept of "separate but equal" public education. The ruling, intended to achieve quality public schooling by opening the doors of the schools to children of all races, touched off organizational efforts to achieve school integration in many Mississippi communities by Negroes. Black communities throughout Mississippi -- from Yazoo City in the Delta to Gulfport on the Gulf Coast -- formed committees and petitioned school boards for the implementation of the new court ruling.

In reaction to these fledgling attempts by Blacks, racist Whites quickly moved to quash these efforts, and to organize against Black integration efforts. In May, 1954, almost immediately after the court ruling, the White Citizens Council was organized in the Delta, with chapters springing up in virtually every Delta community, and many communities throughout the state outside the Delta. By 1957 the Citizens Council movement had become so powerful that every institution, public and private, was influenced by it. Repression descended in even greater strength on Mississippi -- not only upon those Blacks who attempted integration, but also upon those whites

that attempted to support them. Blacks, who were members of the NAACP, or who supported integration, were murdered, beaten, or driven from their homes and businesses. Whites, who historically had befriended Blacks, were now subjected to intimidation, and many left Mississippi permanently. Where some churches and universities had taken tentative steps toward integration, individuals in these institutions were subjected to reprisals of all kinds, such as wiretaps, the interception of their mail, threatening telephone calls, loss of jobs, evictions and harassment from public officials. Through the application of sheer terror, school integration in Mississippi was postponed until the late 1960's, when "token" integration was achieved in more moderate areas of Mississippi.

At that time, several steps were underway to prepare both races for the integration of the schools. In the White community, liberals and those progressives who feared the destruction of the public schools, formed "save the schools" committees in many communiteis in Mississippi, and undertook a campaign of public education through the mass media. This campaign emphasized not the value of integrated public education, but rather the necessity of preserving public schools if Mississippi was to end its social, economic and political backwardness.

In the Black community, sponsored by the civil rights movement, anti-poverty groups such as the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) opened HEAD START centers throughout Mississippi, to prepare disadvantaged rural Black pre-school

children for the integration of the public schools. (At that time, due to the continuing atmosphere of terror in the state, no local White children attended these centers.)

Attending these events was the rise of the Council Schools -- and other private, racist "academies" throughout Mississippi. These "academies", of course, preclude the enrollment of Negroes. Further, they deepen class divisions among Whites (they are called "academies", and instead of "principals" they are administered by "headmasters") since attendance costs up to $600 per "semester" per child. Over 65 such academies were organized since last September; altogether more than 100 are operating now and others have announced plans to open later this year. There has been a decrease of 41,156 students enrolled in public schools between September 1968 and September 1969.

Meanwhile, Whites in the South, especially poor Whites, have been almost totally overlooked by the civil rights movement. National sympathy has been aroused over the plight of Mississippi Black people and massive support in programs, money, and skilled personnel has been pumped into the Black community. Poor Whites, however, in almost the same situation, have not had the same attention, and are easy prey for the Klan and other hate groups. Even the young middle-class Mississippians, the high school and college kids, have been lumped into the category of "red-necks" and "crackers", and so have found it impossible to join forces with the movement for social change.

This situation must be changed. If Mississippi is ever to be an open society with a sane attitude towards race relations

and public education both Black and White will have to be involved in making it so. It is our view that there is a crying need now in the White community, especially among low income Whites, students, and moderate and liberal segments.

Poor White Mississippians reject school desegregation in almost the same words as our leading state elected officials. They have been told that the Black man is the cause of their problems. They fail to see the advantage of joining with Blacks to work for democratically controlled schools which might be more responsive to the needs of his children. Poor Whites traditionally have not fought for democratic control of their schools because as one lady in Jackson put it "It's a waste of time." But just as massive outreach work was required to convince Black Southerners to take advantage of their political rights, the same massive effort is required to convince poor Whites of their right to participate in the decision-making bodies which affect their public schools. A Jackson White parent observed that: "when the school board, or whoever, draws up those lines, they never consult with the people who live here. They just told my daughter to come and pick up her report card and they gave her a piece of paper telling her where she can go to school and that was it."

School boards throughout the state are similar to the one in Jackson which consists of four businessmen and one PTA leader whose husband is a successful businessman. Hardly ever does one find a Black or poor White board member. Many school boards

convene in private, and rarely are the meetings or decisions noted in the press. In those places where meetings are public the board makes clear its preference for privacy and often goes into executive sessions. School desegregation questions are almost universally discussed in executive session. The superintendent and the school board regard the schools as "theirs."

Unlike the North where many large school districts can afford to attract expert out-of-state educators as superintendents, most Mississippi districts are small and rural and hire a superintendent who obtained his graduate degrees in the state and is very close to the mores and customs of the middle class constituency he feels accountable to. He distrusts the outside community and tries to stay on the best of terms with his board.

High school principals are, as often as not, former gym coaches who are concerned first with discipline and order, and try to make sure the local PTA doesn't get too involved about the operation of "his" school. Young teachers quickly learn the necessity of survival and realize they will suffer bitter ostracism if they raise "unnecessary questions". They know that until their principal, superintendent and school board deal with the question of school desegregation honestly and openly, their jobs are on the line.

The local Title I advisory committees established throughout the country concerned with "a comprehensive compensatory education program" with at least half the members composed of parents of disadvantaged children, have generally failed through-

out Mississippi. Their members are hopelessly unprepared to act agressively vis-a-vis the school superintendent; generally because they are handpicked by him -- not elected by the people -- therefore they have become nothing more than rubber stamps in most school districts, and nobody, not even the press pays them any attention.

The PTAs in most states have been impotent and irrelevant to the fundamental issues of education. As Hayes Mizell, a South Carolina observer puts it:

> The PTA usually excels in its assigned role of having bake sales, discussing how to stop smoking in the rest rooms, and sponsoring the seventh grade fashion show to raise money to buy books for the school library. They never ask why they must raise the money to buy books . . (New South, Winter, 1969).

Since the desegregation orders, many PTAs no longer meet or meet rarely. One rural Hinds county group met once last semester and the meeting lasted for 15 minutes.

The desegregation decisions made by the school boards reflect a class bias against poor Whites. In school district after school district poor Whites are zoned into schools with Black majorities while affluent Whites are zoned into schools with a white majority. For example, in Northeast Jackson and new South-west Jackson, the most affluent parts of town, there are six all White elementary schools which were allowed in a recent desegregation plan, while most poor Whites in mixed neighborhoods had their children assigned to majority, and in some cases 90% Black schools. Very often upper income school board members who implement court ordered public school desegre-

gation, send their children to private academies. National television demonstrated this last semester in a story about the Woodville, Mississippi school situation.

Poor whites who must send their children across town to predominately Black schools are often faced with a lack of transportation for their children in cities like Jackson, Greenwood, Hattiesburg, Meridian and Biloxi where no transportation is provided for students who live inside the city limits. One Jackson parent said: "I couldn't take my daughter to school, because I have to work and if she had to walk it would have been about seven blocks... right through colored all the way." She was not against sending her child to a desegregated school but kept her out for lack of transportation.

There is a terrible lack of support, emotional as well as financial, for parents such as those who feel caught in a terrible vise. Black leadership, understandably, has little interest in begging or persuading poor Whites to remain in the public schools and in many cases, poor Whites are seen as conspirators with the white power structure by the Blacks. Who then, can help humanize this situation so that poor Whites and Blacks can begin to relate to one another from a nonracist orientation?

For considerations such as these a state-wide consultation was held on November 22, 1968, by eighty Mississippians to seek out some possible solutions. Out of this consultation a consensus was reached to help local, Mississippi White people build progressive structures of their own to affect the politi-

cal and social climate in the state, and particularly the city of Jackson. An organization with this purpose formally emerged in January of 1969 and named itself the Greater Jackson Area Committee (GJAC). A partial list of GJAC members' affiliations include: Mississippi Council on Human Relations, Church organizations, Millsaps College, League of Women Voters, National Welfare Rights Organization (WRO), Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (FDP), Mississippi College, Tougaloo College, Jackson State College, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Commission of the Delta Ministry, Loyalist Democrats, Community Service Association (CSA), Systematic Training and Redevelopment, Inc. (STAR), Friends of the Children of Mississippi (FCM), Mississippi Action for Progress, Inc. (MAP), Hinds County Head Start, Southern Patriot, National Federation of Settlement Houses, Hinds County Legal Services and the federal court appointed Bi-racial committee on the Jackson public schools.

GJAC stated as its ultimate goal, a coalition with Black people but emphasized its "present thrust will be in the White community with those of low and middle-income, and with students... We hope that our project in the Jackson area will be a model which can be used in other areas of the state."

GJAC raised funds from several private foundations and church groups and hired staff, spon-off several projects in the White community including community centers, newsletters, local and state-wide conferences and workshops. Soundings of intent were made and some steps taken to break the almost

universal myth that the racism of Southern Whites precludes their organizing towards constructive, non-racist ends, and aligning with Blacks on issues of common concern. GJAC has met continuously ever since its funding almost two years ago. One of its projects which began last January has surveyed White and Black students and parents in several key school districts across the state including Jackson, Vicksburg, Canton, Lexington, Hattiesburg, Yazoo City and Greenville. Supplement I is a summary of the Educational Survey Group.

We have contacts and strong working relationships with other activists in the four areas of the state where we plan to concentrate. The proposed structure of this new statewide project will be called "Mississippians for Creative Public Education." We admittedly lack the funds, the experience, and the backlog of information necessary to adequately deal with the problems of poor whites involved in school desegregation. With sufficient help we believe we can make a significant start in this direction.

GOALS AND PLANS OF OPERATION:

1. M.C.P.E. proposes to focus on four areas (see map). These four areas are tentatively defined as:

   1. Hinds, Jefferson, Claiborne, Amite and Pike Counties and (other counties in S.W. Mississippi).

   2. Washington, Bolivar, Sunflower, Coahoma and other Delta Counties.

3. Forest, Jones, Jasper Counties (and other counties S.E. Mississippi).

4. Oktibbeha, Kemper, Noxubee (and other counties in Mid-East Mississippi).

In all four areas M.C.P.E. has local contacts involved or ready to be involved in quality school desegregation concerns.

We plan to recruit and train a cadre of persons in each area who will make this their first concern. We plan to concentrate in selected school districts where the white exodus had left fewer than 1/2 of their children in public schools, and in school districts where neighborhood zoning isolates minority whites in majority black schools.

2. M.C.P.E. plans to identify leadership in the white communities among those parents: who can't afford to send their children to private schools, parents who are actually keeping their children out of schools altogether, those who refuse to bow to pressures to keep their children out of public schools, and if possible those who are concerned with quality public education but have placed their children in private schools. We have already surveyed attitudes and reactions to the school crisis this past year in key school districts across the state. (See attachment on Education Survey Group.) We now plan to lay more ground work for sympathetic communication with some of these people who feel caught in the "vise" and who feel threatened by the black community. M.C.P.E. will encourage them to participate in public meetings of school boards, Parent Teachers Associations, the bi-racial Title I Advisory

Committee appointed by the court to over see public school integration ---- to discuss openly and honestly, public and private fears about school desegregation.

3. We plan to work intensively in the above mentioned four districts to develop projects involving five or six key schools in each area. Special emphasis will be placed on rural school districts which have lost a large portion of white participation in the last year. These rural areas are characterized by extreme poverty of both blacks and whites. The extreme poverty and the large white exodus leads us to the assumption that many whites in rural areas are not attending schools at all. (Mississippi has no compulsory school attendance legislation). Many whites are actually "cutting of their noses to spite their faces". It is entirely possible that rural Mississippi may raise yet another generation of uneducated people --- food for the system that now oppresses their parents.

4. Traditional educational associations, (PTA's Teacher Associations, etc.) in the South until very recently have been segregated and desegregation has not come by choice, but necessity. Attitudes exist that tend to polarize the white and black teachers, parents, students and other community people. We plan to develop parential involvement through existing or new educational associations. Encouraging participation in administrative issues, discussion of fears and reservations about desegregation. Activities will also include programs designed to facilitate parential understanding of their children in this changing society. Organizers will work in the four areas with individuals

and small groups, teachers, students and other community people providing imaginative direction for concerns about quality public education.

5. We plan to share with community groups some of the tactics and strategies we have found to facilitate desegregation. For example, one YWCA provided cab fares for poor whites unable to attend their assigned schools across town. We plan to increase vastly the number of door-to-door discussions, home visits, coffee-klatches, and informal small gatherings in small neighborhoods. We plan to urge teachers, principals and other school officials to be sensitive to the problems of whites in schools with majority blacks. For example, one parent told us that her eleven year old daughter was the only white in her class, and her teacher presumably with good intentions, picked her to be class monitor to inforce class discipline. She caught unnecessary harassment from fellow students who never before had a white student in their class.

6. Unfortunately, media coverage of desegregation often develops an unnecessary hysteria among whites since only "problems" are news-worthy. For example, a fight in a newly desegregated school, is news, while similar "incidents" are dealt with as a matter of course in all black or white schools, rarely drawing a second look from the public. While desegregation "problems" are thoroughly covered by our local media, rarely is information disiminated covering communities which have sucessfully dealt

with desegregation. We plan to develop comprehensive media programs with a positive emphasis designed by the four organizers to fit their local areas. (pamphlets, news-paper articles, radio spots, etc.)

7. We plan to help poor whites link up with social services --- particularly federally funded programs such as Community Action Agencies and Headstart Centers. Several Multi-Purpose Centers have been opened in the state with embryonic programs designed to help poor whites. We also plan to encourage schools to develop their own social services and counseling. In Greenwood (Leflore County) a special program has managed to get 800 students back in school. The school has developed its own social work department. (Unique to the state). The school social work department not only deals with school attendance problems, but acts as a referral service for children and parents alike. We plan to work closely with school administrations encouraging the development of similar programs.

8. M.C.P.E. recognizes the changing role of students in America and their demands to be included in the decision-making institutions which affect their lives. In this connection, the M.C.P.E. staff will work with existing student groups concerned about issues such as the closure of the swimming pools and parks in target areas, environmental and poverty issues at Starkville, and draft - and civil liberties concerns in Hattiesburg and Oxford, City-wide coalitions of black and white students around these and strictly high school campus issues will be

encouraged in an effort to broaden students' understanding of the relationships between on and off campus issues. Frequently in the recent past, White student involvement in bi-racial concerns has surprised many Northerners who regard all Southern whites as Neanderthal racists. Often student organizations serve as the only vehicles for public discussion on important community questions. School desegregation has spurred this White involvement and we will attempt to encourage it.

In this connection GJAC has recently funded a group of young predominatly White youth to establish a community center/ coffee house. This group was spun off from GJAC and has attracted many diverse individual people from school drop-outs to theatre people. Segments of the historically conservative, White middle class we have learned, are prepared to support an institution for mutual exposure to a broad, bi-racial cross-section of the community.

CONCLUSION:

The White Citizens Councils, the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race, the Ku Klux Klan, and dozens of local segregationist groups are talking to Whites of all classes and urging them to boycott the public schools and enroll in the "instant" segregationist academies across Mississippi.

Somehow, we believe that with adequate resources we can also reach White people in our state. Faced with the dilemma of accomodation to public school desegregation as opposed to expensive but inferior private schools, White people will

choose to return to the public schools. Not because necessarily they love blacks, but because they want a decent education for their children.

To reach this objective, deliberate hard work, careful planning, and research must be undertaken immediately by private individuals, small groups of concerned people under the umbrella of Mississippians for Creative Education and organizations such as GJAC. To the extent that financial resources can be provided we are confident that not only can desegregation be facilitated but that a model can be adopted for use across the Deep South.

We hope that desegregation can bring in its wake quality education the likes of which have not before been available to the masses of people in the state. An education which can provide students with basic skills needed to determine what one wants to do with his life and the tools needed to be prepared to take the next step toward that goal. An education which expands his understanding of the world and his obligations to the people in it, can develop a sense of appreciation for one's fellow man. Out of this awareness, hopefully will come a better world for all men.

WORK PROGRAM

1. Recruitment and Training:

The recruitment and training of staff of community organizers will be geared towards the development and implementation of a program to strengthen public education through public participation.

The community organizers will be recruited in part from Mississippi college students and recent graduates, who have been participating in various community projects. Complementing the students will be young whites recruited from local residents who show potential for developing community organization.

Training sessions will aim towards developing perspectives on community organizing, offering technical information (on existing federal programs, school desegregation information, laws and administrative regulations) and providing research done on topical problems by the universities.

Workshop trainers will be drawn from community organizations and agencies such as ACT in Durham, N. C., the American Friends Service Committee and the Delta Ministry. Academic personnel at Millsaps, Tougaloo and Mississippi State University who have conducted studies on school desegregation will lead workshops on research topics related to the project. Finally, workshops on technical information will be conducted by law firms such as the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee, the Lawyers' for Civil Rights Under Law, and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund,

and selected members of the Office of Education and the Mississippi State Department of Education.

2. Leadership Development:

One of the goals of the project will be to develop leadership potential among parents, students and young people. Therefore, regular training sessions will be conducted along with periodic evaluations of job performances. Resource people will supplement the training offered by the Program Director and Central Staff.

3. Community Organization:

The project will have as its goal the creative inte gration of the public schools through involvement of grass roots people in the affairs of the public schools. Programatically, these goals involve door-to-door campaigns, the preparation of leaflets to stimulate community discussions of public affairs and the coordination of efforts of social service agencies working in these areas; emergency transportation to schools, PTA and school board meetings in order to maximize the participation of the poor; monitoring of the school board and Title I meetings; providing speakers for meetings of grass roots people at churches, unions and neighborhood civic clubs.

The project will assist community groups to prepare informational materials for radio and television public service announcements on the school crisis. The project will stimulate the involvement of church and civic leaders and assist them in "Save the School" campaigns. It will provide a rumor-control center to head off the pernicious effects of half-truths,lies and distortions in a crisis.

The project will attempt to sensitize community leaders to the long-term economic, political and social effects of racist private schools and the importance of a creative public school system to the entire community.

The project will try to deal with the crisis in individual high schools by organizing integrated student groups that can grapple with their common problems both in school and in the community.

JOB DESCRIPTIONS AND EXPLANATION

The minimum staff needs of this profject will be 4 experienced community organizers and full-time secretary and numerous part-time personnel. Each Organizer will be allocated a working budget of $2000. This will allow him to hire part-time, Secretaries, students, parents surveyors, researchers and other assistants as they are needed. Students will be paid $1.75 per hour and Adults will be paid $2.00 - $2.25 per hour. This will give the Organizer approximately 1000 hours part-time assistance. The Organizer from Area I will be Director of the Project. This should take only 25% of his time since he or she will be provided with a full-time secretary-assistant. This will eleminate the necessity of a full-time Director and extra expenditures.

1. COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS:

AREA I: He or she must have a college degree or equivalent, experience in working with youths as well as adults, mass media and administration and a history of involvement of public concerns. He must have some means of transportation, an outgoing personality, and an ability to develop training and research components, resources, programs and handle necess-ry administrative duties. The Area I Organizer will be responsible for the hiring of the three other Organizers in consultation with the Advisory Committee of M.C.P.E.

AREAS II, III, IV: He or she must have a history of involvement in public concerns and a general knowledge of the area in which he will work. He will be expected to carry out the overall objectives of the program and maintain continual communication with the Area I Organizer and the secretary-assistant. They will design their programs for maximum use of their $2000 working budget. Final approval must be given by the two financial officers appointed quarterly by the Advisory Committee.

2. SECRETARY-ASSISTANT: Must have the abilities to run an office and perform all basic office secretarial functions, coordinate bookkeeping with secretarial and other functions of part-time personnel. This person must also assume some research and writing responsibilities.

3. PART-TIME PERSONNEL for Central Office:

Bookkeeper $18./1 day per week - Clerical/secretarial assistence as needed under supervision of Secretary/Assistant.

4. PART-TIME FIELD PERSONNEL: As needed and recommended by Organizers under supervision and monitored periodically by Area I Organizer.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The applying organization (MCPE) will serve as an Ad Hoc Advisory Committee for the first thirty days while the permanent committee is being organized. The Ad Hoc Committee will hire the Area I Organizer who will in turn coordinate all activities in organizing the Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee will be composed of twelve members, three from each target area. Representatives from the federal agencies will meet and elect one member from each area. Individuals private and public agencies including federally funded organizations working on local desegregation issues will meet and elect one member from each area. Parents and student groups from each area will meet and elect one member from each area. Election of the board will be completed no later than one month after receipt of funds. Organization and coordination of this Committee will be carried out by the Area I Organizer, hired temporarily by the Ad Hoc Committee permanent status will be considered by the Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee will actually serve as a board of directors and have the same powers. It will appoint two member financial committees. Operational policies of the Advisory Committee in general will adhere to guidelines established by HEW.

Suggested Budget

I. <u>Personel</u> , Central Office		
Area I Organizer/Director	$8,000	$8,000
Secretary/Assistant	$6,000	$6,000
Bookeeper (for central office) 1 day per/wk. @ $18 per/day	$ 936	$ 936
Part time personel (for central office) secretarial, clerical, etc.	$1,500	$1,500
<u>Personel</u> , Field		
Area II, III, IV Organizers	$7,000	$21,000
Part time workers for Area I, II, III, IV Organizers (secretarial, foot work, surveyors, etc.)	$2,000	$8,000
		$45,436
F.I.C.A., Insurance, etc.	$4,500	$4,500
<u>Personel Total</u>		$49,936
II. <u>Travel</u>		
Area I Organizer/Director $200 per/mo.	$2,400	$2,400
Area II, III, IV Organizers 150 per/mo.	$1,800	$5,100
		$7,600
III. Other Expenses		
Rent for central office*	$60 per/mo	$720
Rent for 3 field offices*	$50 per/mo	$1,800
Utilities for four offices	$15 per/mo	$ 720
Office equipment	$1,500	$1,500
Supplies and misc.	$3,000	$3,000
		$7,740
	Total Budget	$65,276

* Office space will be shared with other organizations.

APPENDIX A

SCHOOL DISTRICT NUMBERS Correspond with Map	WHITES September 1970 figures	BLACKS September 1970 figures	ENROLLMENT DECREAS Sept.1968-Sept.196
*1. Oktibbeha (one school)	22	704	285
2. Noxubee	71	3350	741
3. Kemper (two schools)	32	771	731
	197	970	
4. East Jasper (Jasper County)	68	1843	459
5. Laurel (two Elem. schs.)	36	549	
(Jones County)	23	479	
6. Hattiesburg (Forest County)	(Zoned School System Several Schools 90% Black		
7. McComb (two schools)	8	449	
(Pike County)	10	149	
8. Amite	342	2493	1109
9. Jefferson	10	2500	
10. Claiborne	86	2300	
11. Rural Hinds County Examples: Bolton	6	573	
Westside	53	912	
Mixon	61	702	
*12. Yazoo	(very few)	2500	
*13. Anguilla (Sharkey County)	7	1017	
14. Greenville (Washington County)	2537	0	(less than 25% Black)
Zoned Schools	2002	298	(50-75% Black)
	446	606	(50-75% Black)
	86	3044	(90% Black
15. Sunflower County	255	3680	
(Indianola)	217	2507	
16. Shelby (Bolivar Co.)	89	1710	
17. Coahoma County	133	3588	300

Total decrease in Public School enrollment Sept. 1968-1969 41,156

*Numbers of school districts above correspond to the numbers listed on map, Appendix B

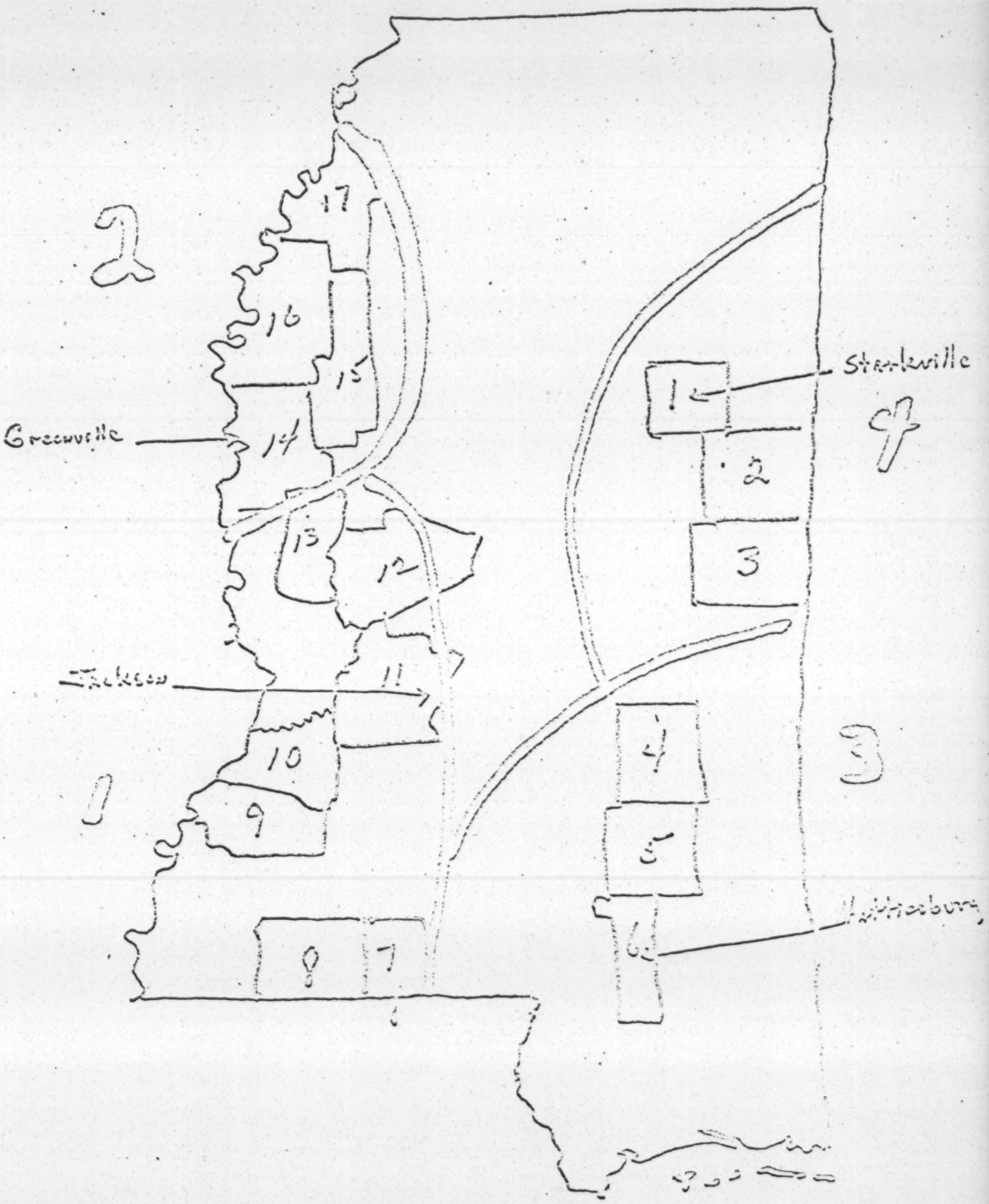
APPENDIX C.

MISSISSIPPIANS FOR CREATIVE PUBLIC EDUCATION

GREENVILLE.
Rev.Rims Barber, Delta Ministry
Mr.Jake Ayers, Miss.Freedom Democratic Party, Education Coordinator
OXFORD.
Mr.James Lewis, attorney, Director, North Miss. Rural Legal Services
Rev.David Elliot, Ole Miss Episcopalian chaplain
STARKVILLE.
Rev.James Landrum, former Director, YMCA, Miss.State University
Clyde Williams, instructor, Miss.State University
HATTIESBURG.
Pat Guyton, student, President, Progressive Student Association.
Phil Speake, student,former Chairman, Univ.of So.Miss. affiliate of Mississippi Civil Liberties Union
BILOXI.
Rev. John Aregood,Director, Back Bay Presbyterian Mission
Mr.Taylor Howard, Vice Chairman, Harrison County Civic Action Agency (OEO/CAP)
McCOMB.
Rev.Harry Bowie,Delta Ministry

JACKSON. Members of the GREATER JACKSON AREA COMMITTEE
William Peltz, former Milsaps college instructor, Consultant, Holmes County (Medical) Research Foundation, Preventive Medicine and Community Health Project
Charles Horwitz, Delta Ministry
Carol Hinds Horwitz, Mississippi College student, Jackson public school teacher
Richard Johnson, Tougaloo College instructor
Rev.Gordon Gibson,Unitarian minister
Miss Joan Bowman, Miss.Council on Human Relations,Acting Director
Miss Sue Geiger, Churchwomen United
Mrs.Jane Schutt, Women in Community Service
Tonny Algood,Milsaps College student
Don Cole, salesman
Mrs.Jacquelyn Dedeaux, Utica Jr.College instructor
David Fleming, Jackson public school teacher (jr.high)
Mrs.Mary Hendricks, former chairman, Y.W.C.A.
Carl Horn, Jackson State College instructor
Mrs.Carol Houston, Tougaloo College instructor
Miss Sandra Rybels, Jackson State College instructor
H.Jay Kirksey, printer/editor, former Editor of Miss.Teachers'Assn.journal
John Maxey, attorney, Director, Hinds County Legal Services (CAP/OEO)
James Mays, former Director, Community Development Agency, agricultural specialist
William McElhannon, staff, Greater Jackson Area Committee
Donald Miller, Asst.Director, Community Education Extension (state-wide Headstart)
W.S.Moore, attorney
Walter Pascal, Jackson State College instructor
Mrs.Libby Price, former member Hinds County Headstart Board of Directors
Mrs.Lois Rogers, Friends of Children of Mississippi (state-wide Headstart)
William Rusk, Miss.Student News Project
David Doggett," " " "
Rev.Roger Smith,Delta Ministry
Mrs.Carolyn Stevens, Hinds County Comprehensive Medical Project, member, Federal Court-Appointed,bi-racial committee to Jackson public schools
Miss Jan Williams, reporter, Southern Patriot
[illegible] Atlanta Ga. national office

APPENDIX B


17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
Greenville
Jackson
Steeleville
Hillsboro

Quality Ed - Deseg.

SPECIAL REPORT

TITLE IV OF THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT: A PROGRAM IN SEARCH OF A POLICY

Race Relations Information Center

Quality Desegregation - South
Ed
#6

PRESS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8764

FOR RELEASE TO
MORNING PAPERS:
SUNDAY, MAY 3, 1970

ATLANTA -- The new segregated private schools established in the South because of school integration are busing more of their students and busing them further than are public schools, a new study concludes.

A survey of 10 "segregation academies" chosen to be representative on the basis of size and location indicates that an average of 62 per cent of their students are transported daily by bus for an average of 17.7 miles each way. For the eight states represented by these academies, the comparable figures for public schools are 49.5 per cent and 10.1 miles each way.

The study appears in the current issue of SOUTH TODAY, a monthly digest published by the Southern Regional Council, a foundation-supported research and information agency in the field of human relations.

Further, the study suggested, some Southern states have been considering ways in which they might in effect subsidize private school busing. Bills to provide tax relief for private school transportation failed this year in the Georgia and North Carolina legislatures. But a bill allowing private schools to purchase bus tags at the same advantageous fees which public schools pay was approved by the Mississippi legislature.

"Busing, like law and order, has become an emotionally charged code word," the study says. "Yet the facts indicate that the mere act of busing is not the issue. Segregationists will continue to rail against the use of busing to achieve desegregation while quietly continuing, and oftentimes increasing, busing of students to maintain the racial status quo."

The report quotes Louisiana Gov. John McKeithen as saying: "I will not allow my children to be bused. . . to be treated like cattle." Sen. John Stennis in February deplored the "merciless mandate" under which a court "takes a little girl and sends her to the other side of town where she knows no one...." Some other Southern political leaders, the report notes, have made busing the focal point of their latest anti-integration comment.

Desegregation plans approved by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare have tended, however, to reduce rather than increase busing in the South. The establishment of "segregation academies," moreover, has tended to increase busing. "The academies which do not own buses sometimes encourage parents to join together to purchase and operate buses," the report says.

Among those contacted in the survey was Dr. T. E. Wannamaker, a leader of the South Carolina Independent School Association, which is affiliated with the white Citizens Councils. He is quoted as mentioning one South Carolina segregated academy which has some children who travel 120 miles round-trip each day.

Figures for the sample of 10 academies checked in the survey are:

Faith Christian School, Ramseur, N. C., 97 per cent of children bused, 17 miles average each way; Enfield Academy, Whitakers, N. C., 75 per cent bused, 35 miles average each way; Evangeline Academy, Villa Platte, La., 75 per cent and 11 miles; Kenston Forest Academy, Blackstone, Va., 70 per cent and 17 miles; Macon Academy, Tuskegee, Ala., 65 per cent and 22 miles; Autauga County Private School Foundation, Prattville, Ala., 63 per cent and 8 miles; Tallahassee Christian School, Tallahassee, Fla., 50 per cent and 15 miles; Flint River Academy, Woodbury, Ga., 45 per cent and 20 miles;

Indianola Academy, Indianola, Miss., 40 per cent and 17 miles; and Wade Hampton Academy, Orangeburg, S. C., 40 per cent and 15 miles.

Closely estimated figures on public school transportation were obtained from state school departments for the eight states in which these academies are located. The figures for public schools were Alabama, 11.5 miles each way; Florida, 12; Georgia, 10; Louisiana, 13; Mississippi, 9; North Carolina, 4; South Carolina, 10; and Virginia, 11.5. When the percentages of public school students bused in these states were averaged, the resultant eight-state average was 49.5 per cent.

In addition to its survey of 10 "segregation academies," the report provides other information bearing out its conclusions that desegregation has tended to reduce public school busing at the same time that the proliferation of segregated private education is increasing busing.

6-6-1970

Texas Unionists Win School Bias Lawsuit

Corpus Christi, Tex.—Backed by their union, 32 parents have won a major court case challenging segregation and discrimination against Mexican-American and Negro students in the Corpus Christi school system.

Federal District Judge Wooodrow Seals ordered the school system to break up its gerrymandered boundary lines which had shunted nearly all of the city's Spanish-speaking and Negro communities into one school district, leaving the adjoining district almost exclusively "Anglo."

The parents who brought the suit are all members of Steelworker locals at the American Smelting & Refining Co. and Reynolds Metals Co. plants.

To finance the court challenge, they turned to their union for help—and got it. USWA District Dir. James E. Ward went to bat for them, and Pres. I. W. Abel and the USWA executive board approved the assistance.

"We simply provided service on behalf of our members," Ward said. "It is good for the kids, good for the community and good for our union."

Judge Seals described the suit as

(Continued on Page 3)

Cali-Fed-Tex
Civil Rights-Edu
Quality Ed-Desegr
AFL-CIO 6-6-70

Texas Unionists Win School Bias Lawsuit

(Continued from Page 1)

"a most important case" and he handed down a decision asserting that Mexican-Americans are "an identifiable minority group" and are entitled to the same protection against discrimination and illegal segregation as the Supreme Court has afforded to Negroes.

The local school superintendent had argued that the constitutional requirements of desegregating former dual school systems had been met by "integrating" black and Mexican-American students. The latter, he told the court, were "white" and that was enough to meet the desegregation requirements of the Supreme Court.

Attorneys for the parents contended that boundary lines were drawn on a discriminatory basis, that a new high school was located so as to promote, rather than minimize segregation, and that the school system hires, assigns and promotes teachers and staff on a discriminatory basis.

Among those testifying to the long-standing segregation patterns in the city's schools were Dr. Hector Garcia, local physician who has served on the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and the U.S. delegation to the United Nations; Steelworkers Rep. Paul Montemayor, who as a youngster walked long distances to segregated schools, and Jose Cisneros, father of five and a leader in the Mexican-American community.

In addition to ordering desegregation of the school system, the federal judge acted to establish a local Human Relations Commission to study and promote a unified school system. He asked for nominations of five Negro, five Anglo and five Mexican-American members of the community, from whom he will choose a 12-member commission.

In addition, Judge Seals said, the court will retain jurisdiction of the case until he is satisfied that the illegal dual system will not be reestablished.

8-13-1970

IRS Says It Will Take Southern Schools' Word About Racial Policies

Des- South

Agency Indicates It Must Receive Protests Before Investigating Tax Freedom; Senator Vexed

8/13/70

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—The Internal Revenue Service will investigate the racial policies of private Southern academies only if it receives complaints that their tax-free status isn't warranted, Randolph W. Thrower, Commissioner, made clear in Senate testimony.

But to rely mainly on statements of nondiscrimination from the school administrators themselves is "palpably ridiculous," chairman Mondale (D., Minn.) charged at the crowded hearing at the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity. Mr. Thrower's defense of the Nixon Administration policy adopted July 10, Sen. Mondale said, made for a "very depressing warning."

The Administratin decision to issue favorable advance assurance of tax-deductibility of donations to private schools on the strength of their written declarations of nondiscrimination and their local announcements to that effect "will take us right back where we started," the Senator complained, to "a publicly supported segregated school system."

The IRS is requesting admissions policy information from all of about 17,000 tax-exempt private schools, Mr. Thrower said, and will follow a policy that will disregard both their past practices and original motivations. When a school declares itself to be nondiscriminatory, he said, the IRS will issue a new favorable ruling because it expects the school to be acting "in a good faith." He drew derisive chuckles from spectators when he added, "These are, after all, educators."

The previous favorable rulings on eight Mississippi schools are being suspended, Mr. Thrower reported, under a court order requiring the IRS to do this unless it "affirmatively" finds that 41 private schools that received favorable rulings since 1963 aren't part of a segregated system.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Paul Anthony

To: Emory: aug 70

I have xeroxed a copy for Research files - Ed - also. Paul A

Paul A:
Return to Emory

Emory: The attached documents should be carefully filed somewhere

Paul

New file folder

Quality Education - Desegregation

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

450-A Belsaw Avenue
Mobile, Alabama-36603

~~P.O. BOX 1791, HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA 27261~~

~~1818 SOUTH MAIN STREET - PHONE 919-882-0109~~

205-432-6883

LLOYD P. TYLER
REGIONAL CHAIRMAN

WILTON E. HARTZLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MELVIN A. ZUCK
FINANCE SECRETARY

PA f-yi.
E.F.V.

August 24, 1970

Dear Mr. President:

Desegregation under a federal court order will occur in Mobile beginning September 8, 1970. Although the amount of desegregation is more than we have had in the past, we feel that better plans are available and have appealed to the Supreme Court. However, white Mobilians have reacted with angry voices and unreasoning appeals to mass violation of the law this fall.

Throughout the summer groups of white parents have met in increasing numbers searching for ways of avoiding the court order. These meetings have been characterized by racial hate (see attached literature) and the thinly veiled threat of violence. Now it seems that this coalition of "law and order," whites has finally settled on a strategy - mass violation of the court order through "freedom of choice" school attendance.

White citizens have received open encouragement for this strategy from George Wallace, Congressman Edwards, Senator Allen, local white attorneys, civic, and religious leaders. White people have been lead to believe that this strategy will succeed largely because of the failure of the Justice Department to take action when whites successfully pursued this strategy last spring. We informed the Justice Department of these violations but no action was taken.

In the past citizens of the Black Community have suffered greatly because of the failure of the federal government (under both Republican and Democratic administrations) to act. Now with the future of public education at stake, and facing the threat of mass violations of the law, we respectfully suggest that the time has come for your administration to be judged by both its words and its actions. Strong federal action now could help to make desegregation an opportunity for progress instead of chaos and destruction. The rights of hundreds of thousands of students, black and white, are on the line, as is the workability of our system of government.

We urge you to issue a statement that those who violate or interfere with court orders or with the desegregation of schools will face immediate action by the Justice Department. Anything less encourages violation of the law and disorder.

White parents have made it known in their meetings that they plan to send their representatives into the schools in the fall to register those students enrolling under the "freedom of choice" plan. We urge that you make clear in your public statement that any parents engaged in such activities will face immediate Justice Department action.

We feel that such a statement is in order because of the fact that Mobilians by the thousands have made known their intention of violating the order.

Such a course of action would not exacerbate tensions, which are already at the boiling point, but might serve as a deterrent to those considering violation of the law.

We urge you to take these steps in Mobile, and in the entire South. We request that you take these steps forcefully and publicly so that the nation, and those bent on chaos, will know that the federal government will act quickly and efficiently to protect the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the children of the South.

For a new day of educational progress and equal opportunity.

David L Jacobs /mr

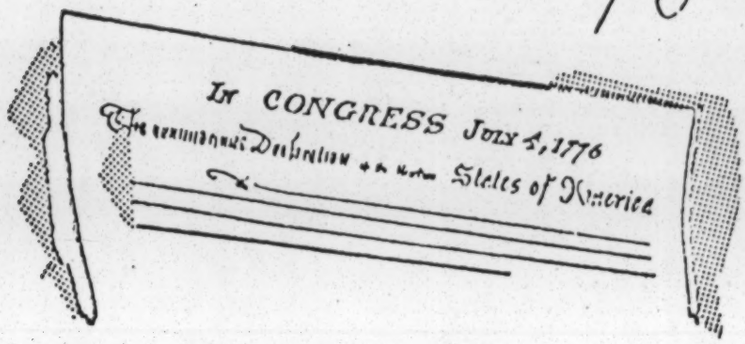
David L. Jacobs, Jr., Director
American Friends Service Committee-
Mobile Education Project

Bill Rosser

Bill Rosser, Asst. Director

cc: Senator Walter Mondale
Mr. Charles Morgan
Will Hartzler
Barbara Moffett
Winifred Green
Jack Greenberg
Washington Research Project
CBS News
NBS News
ABC News
Associated Press
United Press International
New York Times-Attn. Roy Reed
Los Angeles Times-Attn. Ken Reich
Washington Post- Attn. Peter Millius
Southern Regional Council
Alabama Advisory Commission-
Mobile Advisory Commission-
WGOK
WMOO
WABB
WALA
WKRG
WLIQ
WUNI
The Call and Post
The Beacon Inc.
Mobile Press Register
Dr. Collins
William B. Crane
Abe Phillips
Senator Jim Allen
Walter Gorman
Congressman Jack Edwards
Attorney General John Mitchell
Asst. Attorney General for Civil Rights,
Jerris Leonard

Murphy High



PATRICK HENRY'S ADDRESS

THEY TELL US, SIR, THAT WE ARE WEAK-UNABLE TO COPE WITH SO FORMIDABLE AN ADVERSARY. BUT WHEN SHALL WE BE STRONGER? WILL IT BE THE NEXT WEEK, OR THE NEXT YEAR? WILL IT BE WHEN WE ARE TOTALLY DISARMED?...

SHALL WE GATHER STRENGTH BY IRRESOLUTION AND INACTION? SHALL WE ACQUIRE THE MEANS OF EFFECTUAL RESISTANCE BY LYING SUPINELY ON OUR BACKS, AND HUGGING THE DELUSIVE PHANTOM OF HOPE, UNTIL OUR ENEMIES SHALL HAVE BOUND US HAND AND FOOT?...

SIR, WE SHALL NOT FIGHT OUR BATTLE ALONE. THERE IS A JUST GOD WHO PRESIDES OVER THE DESTINIES OF NATIONS. ...THE BATTLE, SIR, IS NOT TO THE STONG ALONE, IT IS TO THE VIGILANT, THE ACTIVE, THE BRAVE .... THERE IS NO RETREAT BUT IN SUBMISSION AND SLAVERY! OUR CHAINS ARE FORGED!...

GENTLEMEN MAY CRY, PEACE, PEACE! ——BUT THERE IS NO PEACE. THE WAR IS ACTUALLY BEGUN! ... WHY STAND WE HERE IDLE? WHAT IS IT THAT GENTLEMEN WISH? WHAT WOULD THEY HAVE? IS LIFE SO DEAR, OR PEACE SO SWEET, AS TO BE PURCHASED AT THE PRICE OF CHAINS AND SLAVERY? FORBID IT, ALMIGHTY GOD! I KNOW NOT WHAT COURSE OTHERS MAY TAKE; BUT AS FOR ME, GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH!

House of Burgesses, Virginia
March 1775

IF I MAY ADD .... GIVE MY WHITE CHILDREN LIBERTY AND FREEDOM OR GIVE THEIR WHITE DADDY DEATH.

1970

Though public officials know this literature is passed out, they refuse to condemn it. BR

Dear Dad,

You owe it to me, as did your father owe it to you; to tell me the truth. Dad, is it possible for these whining, hand-wringing, excusemaking specimen of men to be descendants of the proud brave men, who gave everything without hesitation or reservations; such as: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Nathan Hale, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and the countless thousands of unsung heroes of our great Anglo-Saxon race? Is it possible that you will be the generation who has everything but cowardly refuses to make a stand to even save your white children from a jungle school system.

I know the war is not on you but on my back and the backs of my little friends. Dad, I don't want to believe that you are a coward but you send me out to wage this Holy War in which the end will be total mongrelization.

The reason my mother is white is because my Granddaddy was a man. Daddy, I cannot protect my white sister, without your help. The Communists will never stop until our great Anglo-Saxon race is destroyed. Daddy, you are the 3rd generation. Its your time to fight. Because if you don't fight, my white friends and I will be degenerated and destroyed. A niggered up savage school system is far worse than no school at all. Be a man, Daddy, and refuse to send us to school this Sept. The allseeing eyes of our ancestors are upon you, Daddy.

Ghost-writer.

Evasive Action

Schools in Deep South Slow Integration Tide With Subtler Tactics

Many Drop Confrontation, Turn to Indirect Methods To Keep Races Separate

Copying Northern Techniques

10/15/70

By TOM HERMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

FRANKLINTON, La.—Integration, at long last, has come to the schools of this drowsy little town. After decades of all-white enrollment, Franklinton Elementary School now houses 333 whites and 793 blacks in grades one through six.

That there are any whites around at all, however, might be news to more than 300 of the black children who attend the school. They are the ones who scored poorly on the ability and achievement tests administered by the school. As a consequence, they have been assigned to what many whites call "the dumb sections"—sections that turn out to be almost without exception free of whites.

Thus, more than 150 Negro children here attend all-black classes inside the walls of the "integrated" school, and another 150 or so attend classes with only a sprinkling of white pupils. The all-white school board cheerfully acknowledges this to be true. It also cheerfully insists it is segregating children not by race but only by ability.

Taking Evasive Action

Blacks here don't see it that way. They say their children did poorly on the ability tests because they have for years received inferior education at segregated schools. "The black children are being discriminated against today because of the effects of previous discrimination," says Oless Brumfield, a local black leader. Other Franklinton blacks who feel the same way have filed suit in Federal district court in New Orleans to bar the use of ability tests to create all-black or all-white classes.

Ability and achievement testing is, of course, a perfectly valid educational tool, as used in many public and private schools across the country. But this fall it has suddenly blossomed in the Deep South as one of several practices that have resulted in "desegregated" school buildings or districts in which few if any black children come into contact with whites.

The methods used by Southern school districts to soften or completely evade integration orders from Federal courts vary widely. Some are legal, some obviously are not, and others have yet to be tested in the courts. Some permit school districts to avoid even beginning integration and others are eroding past integration gains. Many are borrowed from the North. All, though, have at least one thing in common: They are inspiring a growing wave of vocal black resentment and even provoking some young blacks to yearn for what they view as the less degrading days of total segregation.

A Matter of Definition

To be sure, many school districts are undergoing meaningful integration for the first time this year, as a result of numerous court ultimatums. Even the gloomiest civil rights advocate doesn't deny there is more integration now than ever before in the South, or that such integration has taken place with relatively little overt resistance. But civil rights leaders also fear the Nixon Administration now considers the integration job done in Dixie and plans to ignore the rapidly growing numbers of abuses in officially "desegregated" districts.

They point to developments they say lend credence to their fears. A few days ago J. Stanley Pottinger, a top civil rights official of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, announced that on-site reviews of 120 Southern school districts desegregated this fall had found "some form of racial isolation" in at least half the districts. Mr. Pottinger said the Government was drafting a prohibition against the use of ability grouping to deliberately segregate classes. The next day Administration officials said that Mr. Pottinger's statement had been "misunderstood" by some news media. Racial segregation resulting from legitimate ability tests, they said, is no cause for Federal action.

The Justice Department says 94% of the Deep South's public school districts are officially "desegregated" or are under court order to become so. But, its spokesmen admit, desegregation doesn't necessarily mean integration. Rather, it refers only to the elimination of the old dual school system, one white and one black. Thus, the Government has classified Washington Parish, which includes Franklinton Elementary, as "desegregated." And even when every white child in a school district has left to attend private school, that district is still classified "desegregated."

An Array of Tactics

Faced with a variety of stern court orders to integrate schools once and for all, but also faced with the Nixon Administration's relatively lenient definition of desegregation, Southern whites have by and large dropped the use of violence or economic pressures to block the mingling of whites and blacks in classrooms. The methods they have turned to are, like ability testing, designed more to circumvent integration than to battle it head-on.

For instance, the numbers of white parents pulling their children out of public schools and enrolling them in new all-white private academies has ballooned this fall. Further, many such acadamies are receiving substantial aid from state and county governments, even though such aid violates Federal court rulings. Here in Franklinton private school students are bused to school on parish public school buses, and they study textbooks granted free from the state. In Jackson, Miss., the segregationist Citizens Councils of America runs five all-white schools. Enrollment this year has soared to 5,250 from 500 a year ago and 3,200 last spring.

In Mississippi some white parents are simply pulling their children out of school and keeping them at home. That's been legal for Mississippians since the 1950s, when the state legislature made school attendance voluntary. But up until this year, with its numerous court orders imposing integration once and for all, few Mississippi parents felt a need to take advantage of the peculiar law. Many of

Please Turn to Page 11, Column 1

RC
PG

Education

Evasive Action: Southern Schools Slow Integration With New Subtlety

Oct 15, 1970

Continued From First Page

those keeping their children at home have enrolled them in correspondence courses. That tactic, plus the private school boom, has left some school districts virtually all-black. In the two public schools in Hollandale, Miss., officially deemed "desegregated" only six whites remain.

A few communities in Alabama, borrowing a technique from many a Northern suburb, have split off from heavily integrated school districts and formed their own districts in largely white areas, then applied to the state for free public schooling.

In some school districts school officials have simply ignored some portions of court orders. Here in Franklinton the school board concedes it has not obeyed a 1969 Federal court order to integrate school buses. That may change soon. A private civil rights group in New Orleans heard about the violation and has sued the board to force compliance.

Some school boards have effectively segregated classrooms by allowing whites and blacks to choose the classes they wish to attend. In Brandon, Miss., this has resulted in some all-white classes. Few whites choose classes with blacks, and most Negro children are afraid to join all-white classes.

Two Views of a County

Other school boards have persuaded Federal courts that total integration will result in all-black schools because whites will flee. Accordingly, some courts have approved plans that leave segregated schools intact. In Hancock County, Ga., a Federal district judge recently approved a plan that leaves two schools all-black and one almost all-white. The Federal Government classifies Hancock County as "desegregated." Hancock County blacks don't. They have staged sporadic demonstrations protesting the ruling and have appealed it. But even if they win, their troubles won't be over; local whites vow that if any court orders more integration they will boycott the schools.

In Greenwood, Miss., a Federal district court ruling that leaves four of the city's six elementary schools largely black or largely white is also being appealed. The school board says the segregated schools are the natural result of residential segregation; local blacks say they are the result of rigged zoning lines. As in Hancock County, whites say they'll boycott schools if a court orders further integration.

Such court rulings have startled and dismayed many integrationists who over the years have depended on the courts time and again to help breech segregation. In Birmingham a court approved a plan leaving nearly half the city's elementary schools either predominantly black or overwhelmingly white. The court said it accepted the Nixon Administration's thinking that school segregation caused by residential patterns is legal while segregation caused by law is not.

Segregation by Sex

Some integration advocates fear that the Supreme Court, which currently is reviewing lower court rulings that imposed integration by busing, may follow Mr. Nixon's line of reasoning. If so, the high court could overturn court-ordered busing in several large Southern cities.

A growing number of Dixie schools have resorted to integration by race but segregation by sex. Most school officials say that is done for "quality education," but when pressed they explain their real motive: To keep black boys from white girls; the fear of interracial dating has long haunted even moderate Southerners.

Negroes say sex segregation is just as insulting as the old dual school system. In Coffeeville, Miss., angry blacks are boycotting the schools over that issue. "Sex segregation is a damned clear way of telling our people that they are inferior to whites," fumes C. J. Duckworth, executive secretary of the Mississippi Teachers Association, a black group.

Where sex segregation has been challenged in court, it has usually been ruled illegal. Ruling on sex segregation in Concordia Parish, La., the Federal district court in New Orleans recently stated that "the separation of the sexes in the schools is racially motivated and once again stamps a 'badge of inferiority' on black people."

Win Some, Lose Some

The court concluded that black students were aware of the racial motivation for sex segregation and that such segregation therefore had "a positive detrimental affect on their willingness to learn and general education motivation." A similar segregation plan in Carroll County, Miss., was also thrown out earlier this fall by another Federal district court.

Nonetheless, some Southern school boards have succeeded in convincing Federal judges that sex segregation is necessary for "quality education." Roger Mills, a Jackson, Miss., civil rights worker, speculates that sex segregation cases "will keep popping up each year for many years, and we'll have to try to prove in each separate case that the plan is racially motivated. Sometimes we'll win, but sometimes I'm afraid we won't."

In those cases where whites have ceased active resistance and admitted Negroes to their classrooms, the going hasn't been easy for the black children. Despite complaints by blacks, one Louisiana school has maintained its nickname "the Rebels," and members of its marching band still wear Confederate uniforms. A favorite song at school assemblies is "Dixie."

Often blacks find the only way to erase such seemingly trivial slights is by going to court. After blacks sued the St. Tammany, La., parish school board, the Federal district court in New Orleans ordered the removal of a Confederate flag from a principal's office, noting wryly that "the retention of Confederate flags in a unitary school system is no way to eliminate racial discrimination 'root and branch' from the system."

Civil rights advocates are convinced such incidents are likely to grow in number; and they are gloomy even about such court victories. "As a practical matter, you just can't run into court each day and say, 'Your honor, look what happened at school today,' " says Debra Millensen, an attorney for the group that brought the Confederate flag suit. The only way to fight such incidents, she believes, is to "elect more blacks to school boards and other politically powerful positions."

A New Militancy

Increasingly, Southern blacks have reacted to integration dodges with a militancy that is new to the South. In Houma, La., racial clashes earlier this month prompted Gov. John McKeithen to declare a state of emergency and close the schools in the area down. In Bogalusa, La., hundreds of whites and blacks battled in two of the city's schools, and city police were forced to use tear gas to quell the trouble. In Mobile, Ala., a group of white students at Murphy High School went to the FBI to complain of harassment and intimidation by "militant and Black Panther types." In Earle, Ark., 200 blacks walked out of the newly integrated schools and marched through town stoning businesses.

Older blacks despair of such violence and fear it only hardens white resolve to stay separate. And it is true that officials of private white schools say each new outbreak of violence brings a wave of new applications. William Simmons, head of the Jackson-based Citizens Councils of America, the group that runs five private schools, says, "Every time there's a headline about school troubles, we know we're going to be bombarded with phone calls and applications."

Most blacks remain convinced their battle will be won in the courts. That's the case here in Franklinton, where local Negroes have filed suit to bar the use of ability testing to create all-black or all-white classes. Their chances of winning are considered excellent; the Federal district court in New Orleans recently outlawed the use of ability grouping to produce segregation in the schools in Jackson Parish, La. Their case is buttressed by a growing number of educational experts who believe ability grouping does more harm than good, North or South.

Typical is Warren Findley, an education professor at the University of Georgia. Mr. Findley believes students of differing abilities, social backgrounds and academic achievements should be mixed together so that they may "learn as much from each other as from their teachers and textbooks." Indeed, he believes ability tests should be administered specifically so a school district can achieve such a mix in its classes.

"I'd Rather Go Back"

Black parents here agree. They say children assigned to "dumb sections" simply give up. Ability grouping "has knocked the ambition out of the children," says Mrs. Minora Brock, black mother of four. "When I try to tell some of my own children to work, they won't, because they know they're in the lowest sections and the school expects them to do bad." Black students themselves say they find being assigned to low sections so degrading that they would prefer outright segregation. "I don't like my new school," says Tyronda Dyson, an 11-year-old black girl so assigned. "I'd rather go back to the old one."

School officials say they can't mix races at random because blacks are so far behind most whites. "How do you expect us to mix a colored fifth grader who can't count with a white fifth grader who is doing modern math?" asks school superintendent Earl Brown. "And how do you expect some of these colored kids to keep up with whites whose parents take them on trips, buy them books and do things for them?"

School officials also argue that they have used ability grouping since 1963, and that they separated half the school's blacks into black classes last year with no resultant complaints or suits. Civil rights leaders say that only shows how difficult it is to monitor the South's 2,400 school districts to check for abuses of court orders. The lawsuit filed by blacks here, for example, also seeks to enjoin the school board from segregating the school buses and from providing free transportation and textbooks to students who attend two all-white private schools—practices that the school board followed last year and that it got away with because civil rights legal groups were not alerted by local blacks.

Tougher Rules

Many blacks, says Mr. Brumfield, one of the local Negro leaders fighting ability grouping, "are afraid to speak out because they are afraid of the white man."

Blacks here are also distressed about

Wall St Journal
Oct 15, 1970

tighter school rules that are being enforced here and elsewhere in the South this fall. School officials say they have to institute stiffer rules to protect against racial fighting. "We have those kids under tight supervision from the moment they set foot in school until the moment they leave," Mr. Brown, the superintendent here, declares. Franklinton Elementary has also cut its recess time and class breaks "to minimize the chance of students milling around on campus," he says.

That bothers Preston Brumfield, Mr. Brumfield's 11-year-old son. "I'd rather be back at the old (all-black) school," says Preston. "We used to be able to play ball between classes, and there was more freedom to do things."

Tyronda Dyson also recalls her segregated school fondly. "In the old school, if we did something wrong, we'd just get a warning," she explains. "But in the new school, we get a paddling." After several painful paddlings last year (when Franklinton saw its first wave of integration), Tyronda told her mother she wouldn't return to school. Mrs. Dyson said she would have none of that, so Tyronda reluctantly went back.

But Tyronda's mother is not optimistic about the lessons her daughter is learning from her first taste of integration. "The kind of integration we're going through here may convince these children that integration is a hopeless cause and not worth fighting for," she says. "I hope that won't happen, but it sure looks like it is."

NAACP Legal Fund Files Suit to Compel HEW to Enforce Desegregation of Schools

10/20/70

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON—The NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed suit to compel the Federal Government to enforce school desegregation by using its power to withdraw Federal funds.

The suit, filed in Federal district court here on behalf of 25 students from five Southern states and two taxpayers, is the first such broad action charging the Department of Health, Education and Welfare with failure to enforce Civil Rights Laws. Past complaints have been limited to the application of desegregation laws in specific school districts.

The complaint, over a year in formulation, was filed just one week after the U.S. Civil Rights Commission released a sweeping criticism of the Government's enforcement of existing civil rights laws. That report noted that "despite progress in Southern school desegregation occurring over the past five years, a substantial majority of black school children in the South still attend segregated schools."

The 1964 Civil Rights Act forbids racial discrimination in any program or activity receiving Federal money and gives Federal agencies, such as HEW, the authority to terminate aid where desegregation orders aren't followed.

A statement accompanying the suit charges that application of these powers had been inadequate during the Johnson Administration and that "even this low level of enforcement ground to a halt" under the Nixon Administration.

HEW Secretary Richardson issued a statement in response to the suit, emphasizing his commitment to "both the letter and the spirit" of the 1964 law. "It is ironic," he said, "that during the school year in which the nation has registered its greatest desegregation progress, a lawsuit has been filed charging the department with failure to carry out its responsibilities in this field."

He asserted that "greater effort and resources" than ever before had been committed to desegregation this fall and added, "We intend to continue this effort without abatement, and we are confident that an unbiased, nonpolitical look at the record will bear out both the moral and legal merit of what we are doing."

Text of Supreme Court Decision On Schools

WASHINGTON (AP) — Here is a partial text of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Supreme Court decision Tuesday: **Supreme Court of The United States Syllabus**

Swann et al. v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education et al.

Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals For The Fourth Circuit.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg school system, which includes the city of Charlotte, North Carolina, had more than 84,000 students in 107 schools in the 1968-1969 school year. Approximately 29 per cent (24,000) of the pupils were Negro, about 14,000 of whom attended 21 schools that were at least 99 per cent Negro. This resulted from a desegregation plan approved by the District Court in 1965, at the commencement of this litigation. In 1968 petitioner Swann moved for further relief based on Green v. County School Board, 391 U.S. 430, which required school boards to "come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work . . . now . . . until it is clear that state-imposed segregation has been completely removed." The District Court ordered the school board in April 1969 to provide a plan for faculty and student desegregation. Finding the board's submission unsatisfactory, the District Court appointed an expert to submit a desegregation plan. In February 1970, the expert and the board presented plans, and the court adopted the board's plan, as modified, for the junior and senior high schools, and the expert's proposed plan for the elementary schools. The Court of Appeals affirmed the District Court's order as to faculty desegregation and the secondary school plans, but vacated the order respecting elementary schools, fearing that the provisions for pairing and grouping of elementary schools would unreasonably burden the pupils and the board. The case was remanded to the District Court for reconsideration and submission of further plans. This court granted certiorari and directed reinstatement of the District Court's order pending further proceedings in that court. On remand the District Court received two new plans, and ordered the board to adopt a plan or the expert's plan would remain in effect. After the board "acquiesced" in the expert's plan, the District Court directed that it remain in effect. Held:

1. Today's objectives of state-imposed segregation that was held violative of equal protection guarantees by Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, in 1954. Pp. 10-11.

Broad Powers

2. In default by the school authorities of their affirmative

the District Court's very limited use of the racial ratio—not as an inflexible requirement, but as a starting point in shaping a remedy — was within its equitable discretion. Pp. 18-21.

(2) One-race schools. While the existence of a small number of one-race, or virtually one-race, schools does not in itself denote a system that still practices segregation by law, the court should scrutinize such schools and require the school authorities to satisfy the court that the racial composition does not result from present or past discriminatory action on their part. Pp. 21-22.

An optional majority-to-minority transfer provision has long been recognized as a useful part of a desegregation plan, and to be effective such arrangement must provide the transferring student free transportation and available space in the school to which he desires to move. P.22.

(3) Attendance zones. The remedial altering of attendance zones is not, as an interim corrective measure, beyond the remedial powers of a district court. A student assignment plan is not acceptable merely because it appears to be neutral, for such a plan may fail to counteract the continuing effects of past school segregation. The pairing and grouping of noncontiguous zones is a permissible tool; judicial steps going beyond contiguous zones should be examined in light of the objectives to be sought. No rigid rules can be laid down to government conditions in different localities. Pp. 23-25.

Travel Time Factors

(4) Transportation. The District Court's conclusion that assignment of children to the school nearest their home serving their grade would not effectively dismantle the dual school system is supported by the record, and the remedial technique of requiring bus transportation as a tool of school desegregation was within that court's power to provide equitable relief. An objection to transportation of students may have validity when the time or distance of travel is so great as to risk either the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process; limits on travel time will vary with many factors, but probably with one more than the age of the students. Pp. 25-27.

8. Neither school authorities nor district courts are constitutionally required to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composition of student bodies once a unitary system has been achieved. Pp. 27—28.

431 F. 2d 138, affirmed as to those parts in which it af-

mulate guidelines must take into account their experience.

North Carolina Case

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg school system, the 43d largest in the Nation, encompasses the city of Charlotte and surrounding Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. The area is large—550 square miles—spanning roughly 22 miles east-west and 36 miles north-south. During the 1968-1969 school year the system served more than 84,000 pupils in 107 schools. Approximately 71 per cent of the pupils were found to be white and 29 per cent Negro. As of June 1969 there were approximately 24,000 Negro students in the system, of whom 21,000 attended schools within the city of Charlotte. Two-thirds of those 21,000—approximately 14,000 Negro students—attended 21 schools which were either totally Negro or more than 99 per cent Negro.

This situation came about under a desegregation plan approved by the District Court at the commencement of the present litigation in 1965, 243 F. Supp. 667 (WDNC), aff'd, 369 F. 2d 29 (CA4 1966), based upon geographic zoning with a free transfer provision. The present proceedings were initiated in September 1968 by Petitioner Swann's motion for further relief based on Green v. County School Board, 391 U.S. 430 (1968), and its companion cases. All parties now agree that in 1969 the system fell short of achieving the unitary school system that those cases require.

Numerous Hearings

The District Court held numerous hearings and received voluminous evidence. In addition to finding certain actions of the school board to be discriminatory, the court also found that resilential patterns in the city and county resulted in part from federal, state, and local government action other than school board decisions. School board action based on these patterns, for example, by locating schools in Negro residential areas and fixing the size of the schools to accommodate the needs of immediate neighborhoods resulted in segregated education. These findings were subsequently accepted by the Court of Appeals.

In April 1969 the District Court ordered the school board to come forward with a plan for both faculty and student desegregation. Proposed plans were accepted by the court in June and August 1969 on an interim basis only, and the board was ordered to file a third plan by November 1969. In November the board moved for an extension of time until February 1970, but when that was denied the board submitted a partially completed

of geographic zones. More than half of the Negro elementary pupils were left in nine schools that were 86 per cent to 100 per cent Negro; approximately half of the white elementary pupils were assigned to schools 86 per cent to 100 per cent white.

One Modification

The Finger Plan. The plan submitted by the court-appointed expert, Dr. Finger, adopted the school board zoning plan for senior high schools with one modification: it required that an additional 300 Negro students be transported from the Negro residential area of the city to the nearly all-white Independence High School.

The Finger plan for the junior high schools employed much of the rezoning plan of the board, combined with the creation of nine "satellite" zones. Under the satellite plan, inner-city Negro students were assigned by attendance zones to nine outlying predominately white junior high schools, thereby substantially desegregating every junior high school in the system. The Finger plan departed from the board plan chiefly in its handling of the system's 76 elementary schools. Rather than relying solely upon geographic zoning, Dr. Finger proposed use of zoning, pairing, and grouping techniques, with the result that student bodies throughout the system would range from 9 per cent to 38 per cent Negro.

The District Court described the plan thus:

"Like the Board plan, the Finger plan does as much by rezoning school attendance lines as can reasonably be accomplished. However, unlike the board plan, it does not stop there. It goes further and desegregates all the rest of the elementary schools by the techniques of grouping two or three outlying schools with one black inner city school; by transporting black students from grades one through four to the outlying white schools; and by transporting white students from the fifth and sixth grades from the outlying white schools to the inner city black school."

Under the Finger plan, nine inner-city Negro schools were grouped in this manner with 24 suburban white schools.

On February 5, 1970, the District Court adopted the board plan, as modified by Dr. Finger for the junior and senior high schools. The court rejected the board elementary school plan and adopted the Finger plan as presented. Implementation was partially stayed by the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit on March 5, and this Court declined to disturb the Fourth

directed that the Finger plan remain in effect.

Nearly 17 years ago this Court held, in explicit terms, that state-imposed segregation by race in public schools denies equal protection of the laws. At no time has the Court deviated in the slightest degree from that holding or its constitutional underpinnings. None of the parties before us challenges the Court's decision of May 17, 1954, that:

"In the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated . . . are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment . . .

"Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity." Brown v. Board of Education, supra, at 495.

1955 Decision

None of the parties before us questions the Court's 1955 holding in Brown II, that:

"School authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles. Because of their proximity to local conditions and the possible need for further hearings, the courts which originally heard these cases can best perform this judicial appraisal. Accordingly, we believe it appropriate to remand the case to those courts.

"In fashioning and effectuating the decrees, the courts will be guided by equitable principles. Traditionally, equity has been characterized by a practical flexibility in shaping its remedies and by a facility for adjusting and reconciling public and private needs. These cases call for the exercise of these traditional attributes of equity power. At stake is the personal interest of the plaintiffs in admission to public schools as soon as practicable on a nondiscriminatory basis. To effectuate this interest may call for elimination of a variety of obstacles in making the transition to school systems operated in accordance with the constitutional principles set forth in our May 17, 1954, decision. Courts of equity may properly take into account the public interest in the elimination of such obstacles in a systematic and effective manner. But it should go without saying that

stated the basic obligation asserted in Griffin V. School Board, 377 U.S. 218, 234 (1964), and Green, supra, that the remedy must be implemented forthwith.

Try to Amplify

The problems encountered by the district courts and courts of appeals make plain that we should now try to amplify guidelines, however, incomplete and imperfect, for the assistance of school authorities and courts. The failure of local authorities to meet their constitutional obligations aggravated the massive problem of converting from the state-enforced discrimination of racially separate school systems. This process has been rendered more difficult by changes since 1954 in the structure and patterns of communities, the growth of student population, movement of families, and other changes, some of which had marked impact on school planning, sometimes neutralizing or negating remedial action before it was fully implemented. Rural areas accustomed for half a century to the consolidated school systems implemented by bus transportation could make adjustments more readily than metropolitan areas with dense and shifting population, numerous schools, congested and complex traffic patterns.

The objective today remains to eliminate from the public schools all vestiges of state-imposed segregation. Segregation was the evil struck down by Brown I as contrary to the equal protection guarantees of the Constitution. That was the violation sought to be corrected by the remedial measures of Brown II. That was the basis for the holding in Green that school authorities are "clearly charged with the affirmative duty to take whatever steps might be necessary to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch." 391 U.S., at 437-438.

If school authorities fail in their affirmative obligations under these holdings, judicial authority may be invoked. Once a right and a violation have been shown, the scope of a district court's equitable powers to remedy past wrongs is broad, for breadth and flexibility are inherent in equitable remedies.

Qualities of Mercy

"The essence of equity jurisdiction has been the power of the Chancellor to do equity and to mould each decree to the necessities of the particular case. Flexibility rather than rigidity has distinguished it. The qualities of mercy and practicality have made equity the instrument for nice adjustment and reconciliation be-

mentation of the Brown I decision. It authorizes the Commissioner of Education to provide technical assistance to local boards in the preparation of desegregation plans, to arrange "training institutes" for school personnel involved in desegregation efforts, and to make grants directly to schools to ease the transition to unitary systems. It also authorizes the Attorney General, in specified circumstances, to initiate federal desegregation suits. Section 2000c (b) defines "desegregation" as it is used in Title IV:

" 'Desegregation' means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but 'desegregation' shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

Section 2000c-6, authorizing the Attorney General to institute federal suits, contains the following proviso:

"Nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school dsitrict to another in order to achieve such racial balance, or otherwise enlarge the existing power of the court to insure compliance with constitutional standards."

On their face, the sections quoted purport only to insure that the provision of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will not be read as granting new powers. The provision in 2000c-6 is in terms designed to foreclose any interpretation of the Act as expanding the existing powers of federal courts to enforce the Equal Protection Clause. There is no suggestion of an intention to restrict those powers or withdraw from courts their historic equitable remedial powers. The legislative history of Title IV indicates that Congress was concerned that the Act might be read as creating a right of action under the Fourteenth Amendment in the situation of so-called "de facto segregation," where racial imbalance exists in the schools but with no showing that this was brought about by discriminatory action of state authorities. In short, there is nothing in the Act which provides us material assistance in answering the question of though the several related cases before us are primarily concerned with problems of student assignment, it may be helpful to begin with a brief discussion of other aspects of the process.

Faculty and Staff

In Green, we pointed out

throughout the system. This order was predicated on the District Court finding that "the evidence does not reflect any real administrative problems involved in immediately desegregating the substitute teachers, the student teachers, the night school faculties, and in the evolvement of a really legally adequate program for the substantial desegregation of the faculties of all schools in the system commencing with the school year 1968-69." Quoted at 395 U.S., at 232.

The District Court in Montgomery then proceeded to set an initial ratio for the whole system of at least two Negro teachers out of each 12 in any given school. The Court of Appeals modified the order by eliminating what it regarded as "fixed mathematical ratios" of faculty and substituted an initial requirement of "substantially or approximately" a five-to-one ratio. With respect to the future, the Court of Appeals held that the numerical ratio should be eliminated and that compliance should not be tested solely by the achievement of specified proportions. Id., at 234.

Restored the Order

We reversed the Court of Appeals and restored the District Court's order in its entirely, holding that the order of the District Judge "was adopted in the spirit of this Court's opinion in Green . . . in that his plan 'promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now.' The modifications ordered by the panel of the Court of Appeals, while of course not intended to do so, would, we think, take from the order some of its capacity to expedite, by means of specific commands, the day when a completely unified, unitary, nondiscriminatory school system becomes a reality instead of a hope . . . We also believe that under all the circumstances of this case we follow the original plan outlined in Brown II . . . by accepting the more specific and expeditious order of (District) Judge Johnson . . ." 395 U.S., at 235-236 (emphasis in original).

The principles of Montgomery have been properly followed by the District Court and the Court of Appeal in this case.

The construction of new schools and the closing of old ones is one of the most important functions of local school authorities and also one of the most complex. They must decide questions of location and capacity in light of population growth, finances, land values, site availability, through an almost endless list of factors to be considered. The result of this will be a decision which, when combined with one technique or another of student as-

student desegregation. Finding the board's submission unsatisfactory, the District Court appointed an expert to submit a desegregation plan. In February 1970, the expert and the board presented plans, and the court adopted the board's plan, as modified, for the junior and senior high schools, and the expert's proposed plan for the elementary schools. The Court of Appeals affirmed the District Court's order as to faculty desegregation and the secondary school plans, but vacated the order respecting elementary schools, fearing that the provisions for pairing and grouping of elementary schools would unreasonably burden the pupils and the board. The case was remanded to the District Court for reconsideration and submission of further plans. This court granted certiorari and directed reinstatement of the District Court's order pending further proceedings in that court. On remand the District Court received two new plans, and ordered the board to adopt a plan or the expert's plan would remain in effect. After the board "acquiesced" in the expert's plan, the District Court directed that it remain in effect. Held:

1. Today's objectives of state-imposed segregation that was held violative of equal protection guarantees by Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, in 1954. Pp. 10-11.

Broad Powers

2. In default by the school authorities of their affirmative obligation to proffer acceptable remedies, the district courts have broad power to fashion remedies that will assure unitary school systems. Pp. 11-12.

3. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not restrict or withdraw from the federal courts their historic equitable remedial powers. The proviso is 42 U.S.C. 2000c-6 was designed simply to foreclose any interpretation of the Act as expanding the existing powers of the federal courts to enforce the Equal Protection Clause. Pp. 12-13.

4. Policy and practice with regard to faculty, staff, transportation, extracurricular activities, and facilities are among the most important indicia of a segregated system, and the first remedial responsibility of school authorities is to eliminate invidious racial distinctions in those respects. Normal administrative practice should then produce schools of like quality, facilities, and staffs. P. 14.

5. The Constitution does not prohibit district courts from using their equity power to order assignment of teachers to achieve a particular degree of faculty desegregation. United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education, 395 U.S. 225, was properly followed by the lower courts in this case. Pp. 14-16.

Must See to It

6. In devising remedies to eliminate legally imposed segregation, local authorities and district courts must see to it that future school construction and abandonment are not used and do not serve to perpetuate or re-establish a dual system. Pp. 16-17.

7. Four problem areas exist on the issue of student assignment:

(1) Racial quotas. The constitutional command to desegregate schools does not mean that every school in the community must always reflect the racial composition of the system as a whole: Here the continuing effects of past school segregation. The pairing and grouping of noncontiguous zones is a permissible tool; judicial steps going beyond contiguous zones should be examined in light of the objectives to be sought. No rigid rules can be laid down to government conditions in different localities. Pp. 23-25.

Travel Time Factors

(4) Transportation. The District Court's conclusion that assignment of children to the school nearest their home serving their grade would not effectively dismantle the dual school system is supported by the record, and the remedial technique of requiring bus transportation as a tool of school desegregation was within that court's power to provide equitable relief. An objection to transportation of students may have validity when the time or distance of travel is so great as to risk either the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process; limits on travel time will vary with many factors, but probably with one more than the age of the students. Pp. 25-27.

8. Neither school authorities nor district courts are constitutionally required to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composition of student bodies once a unitary system has been achieved. Pp. 27—28.

431 F. 2d 138, affirmed as to those parts in which it affirmed the District Court's judgment. The District Court's order of August 7, 1970, is also affirmed.

Burger, C. J., delivered the opinion for a unanimous Court.

On Writs of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit.

Review Key Issues

Mr. Chief Justice Burger delivered the opinion of the Court. We granted certiorari in this case to review important issues as to the duties of school authorities and the scope of powers of federal courts under this Court's mandates to eliminate racially separate public schools established and maintained by state action. Brown v. Board of Education, 347, U.S. 483 (1954).

This case and those argued with it arose in states having a long history of maintaining two sets of schools in a single school system deliberately operated to carry out governmental policy to separate pupils in schools solely on the basis of race. That was what Brown v. Board of Education was all about. These cases present us with the problem of defining in more precise terms than heretofore the scope of the duty of school authorities and district courts in implementing Brown I and the mandate to eliminate dual systems and establish unitary systems at once. Meanwhile district courts and courts of appeals have struggled in hundreds of cases. Understandably, in an area of evolving remedies, those courts had to improvise and experiment without detailed or specific guidelines. This Court, in Brown I, appropriately dealt with the large constitutional principles; other federal courts had to grapple with the flinty, intractable realities of day-to-day implementation of those constitutional commands. Their efforts, of necessity, embraced a process of "trial and error," and our effort to for-

Petitioner Swann's motion for further relief based on Green v. County School Board, 391 U.S. 430 (1968), and its companion cases. All parties now agree that in 1969 the system fell short of achieving the unitary school system that those cases require.

Numerous Hearings

The District Court held numerous hearings and received voluminous evidence. In addition to finding certain actions of the school board to be discriminatory, the court also found that resilential patterns in the city and county resulted in part from federal, state, and local government action other than school board decisions. School board action based on these patterns, for example, by locating schools in Negro residential areas and fixing the size of the schools to accommodate the needs of immediate neighborhoods resulted in segregated education. These findings were subsequently accepted by the Court of Appeals.

In April 1969 the District Court ordered the school board to come forward with a plan for both faculty and student desegregation. Proposed plans were accepted by the court in June and August 1969 on an interim basis only, and the board was ordered to file a third plan by November 1969. In November the board moved for an extension of time until February 1970, but when that was denied the board submitted a partially completed plan. In December 1969 the District Court held that the board's submission was unacceptable and appointed an expert in education administration, Dr. John Finger, to prepare a desegregation plan. Thereafter in February 1970, the District Court was presented with two alternative pupil assignment plans—the finalized "board plan" and the "Finger plan."

Closed 7 Schools

The Board Plan. As finally submitted, the school board plan closed seven schools and reassigned their pupils. It restructured school attendance zones to achieve greater racial balance but maintained existing grade structures and rejected techniques such as pairing and clustering as part of a desegregation effort. The plan created a single athletic league, eliminated the previously racial basis of the school bus system, provided racially mixed faculties and administrative staffs, and modified its free transfer plan into an optional majority-to-minority transfer system.

The board plan proposed substantial assignment of Negroes to nine of the system's 10 high schools, producing 17 per cent to 36 per cent Negro population in each. The projected Negro attendance at the 10th school, Independence, was 2 per cent. The proposed attendance zones for the high schools were typically shaped like wedges of a pie, extending outward from the center of the city to the suburban and rural areas of the county in order to afford residents of the center city area access to outlying schools.

As for junior high schools, the board plan rezoned the 21 school areas so that in 20 the Negro attendance would range from 0 per cent to 38 per cent. The other school, located in the heart of the Negro residential area, was left with an enrollment of 90 per cent Negro.

The board plan with respect to elementary schools relied entirely upon gerrymandering schools. Rather than relying solely upon geographic zoning, Dr. Finger proposed use of zoning, pairing, and grouping techniques, with the result that student bodies throughout the system would range from 9 per cent to 38 per cent Negro.

The District Court described the plan thus:

"Like the Board plan, the Finger plan does as much by rezoning school attendance lines as can reasonably be accomplished. However, unlike the board plan, it does not stop there. It goes further and desegregates all the rest of the elementary schools by the techniques of grouping two or three outlying schools with one black inner city school; by transporting black students from grades one through four to the outlying white schools; and by transporting white students from the fifth and sixth grades from the outlying white schools to the inner city black school."

Under the Finger plan, nine inner-city Negro schools were grouped in this manner with 24 suburban white schools.

On February 5, 1970, the District Court adopted the board plan, as modified by Dr. Finger for the junior and senior high schools. The court rejected the board elementary school plan and adopted the Finger plan as presented. Implementation was partially stayed by the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit on March 5, and this Court declined to disturb the Fourth Circuit's order 397 U.S. 978 (1970). On appeal the Court of Appeals affirmed the District Court's order as to faculty desegregation and the secondary school plans, but vacated the order respecting elementary schools. While agreeing that the District Court properly disapproved the board plan concerning these schools, the Court of Appeals feared that the pairing and grouping of elementary schools would place an unreasonable burden on the board and the system's pupils. The case was remanded to the District Court for reconsideration and submission of further plans. This Court granted certiorari, 393 U.S. 326, and directed reinstatement of the District Court's order pending further proceedings in that court.

Received 2 Plans

On remand the District Court received two new plans for the elementary schools: a plan prepared by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (the HEW plan) based on contiguous grouping and zoning of schools, and a plan prepared by four members of the nine-member school board (the minority plan) achieving substantially the same results as the Finger plan but apparently with slightly less transportation. A majority of the school board declined to amend its proposal. After a lengthy evidentiary hearing the District Court concluded that its own plan (the Finger plan), the minority plan, and an earlier draft of the Finger plan were all reasonable and acceptable. It directed the board to adopt one of the three or in the alternative to come forward with a new, equally effective plan of its own; the court ordered that the Finger plan would remain in effect in the event the school board declined to adopt a new plan. On August 7, the board indicated it would "acquiesce" in the Finger plan, reiterating its view that the plan was unreasonable. The District Court, by order dated August 7, 1970,

holding in Brown II, that:

"School authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles. Because of their proximity to local conditions and the possible need for further hearings, the courts which originally heard these cases can best perform this judicial appraisal. Accordingly, we believe it appropriate to remand the case to those courts.

"In fashioning and effectuating the decrees, the courts will be guided by equitable principles. Traditionally, equity has been characterized by a practical flexibility in shaping its remedies and by a facility for adjusting and reconciling public and private needs. These cases call for the exercise of these traditional attributes of equity power. At stake is the personal interest of the plaintiffs in admission to public schools as soon as practicable on a nondiscriminatory basis. To effectuate this interest may call for elimination of a variety of obstacles in making the transition to school systems operated in accordance with the constitutional principles set forth in our May 17, 1954, decision. Courts of equity may properly take into account the public interest in the elimination of such obstacles in a systematic and effective manner. But it should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them." Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U.S. 294, 299-300 (1955).

Over the 15 years since Brown II, many difficulties were encountered in implementation of the basic constitutional requirement that the state not discriminate between public school children on the basis of their race. Nothing in our national experience prior to 1955 prepared anyone for dealing with changes and adjustments of the magnitude and complexity encountered since then. Deliberate resistance of some of the Court's mandates has impeded the good-faith efforts of others to bring school systems into compliance. The detail and nature of these dilatory tactics have been noted frequently by this Court and other courts.

Little Progress

By the time the Court considered Green V. County School Board, 391 U.S. 430, in 1968, very little progress had been made in many areas where dual school systems had historically been maintained by operation of state laws. In Green, the Court was confronted with a record of a freedom-of-choice program that the District Court had found to operate in fact to preserve a dual system more than a decade after Brown II. While acknowledging that a freedom-of-choice concept could be a valid remedial measure in some circumstances, its failure to be effective in Green required that "The burden on a school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work . . . now . . . until it is clear that state-imposed segregation has been completely removed." Green, at 439.

This was plain language, yet the 1969 Term of Court brought fresh evidence of the dilatory tactics of many school authorities. Alexander V. Holmes County Board of Education, 396 U.S. 19, re-

shifting population, numerous schools, congested and complex traffic patterns.

The objective today remains to eliminate from the public schools all vestiges of state-imposed segregation. Segregation was the evil struck down by Brown I as contrary to the equal protection guarantees of the Constitution. That was the violation sought to be corrected by the remedial measures of Brown II. That was the basis for the holding in Green that school authorities are "clearly charged with the affirmative duty to take whatever steps might be necessary to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch." 391 U.S., at 437-438.

If school authorities fail in their affirmative obligations under these holdings, judicial authority may be invoked. Once a right and a violation have been shown, the scope of a district court's equitable powers to remedy past wrongs is broad, for breadth and flexibility are inherent in equitable remedies.

Qualities of Mercy

"The essence of equity jurisdiction has been the power of the Chancellor to do equity and to mould each decree to the necessities of the particular case. Flexibility rather than rigidity has distinguished it. The qualities of mercy and practicality have made equity the instrument for nice adjustment and reconciliation between the public interest and private needs as well as between competing private claims." Hecht Co. v. Bowles, 321 U.S. 329-330 (1944) cited in Brown II, supra, at 300.

This allocation of responsibility once made, the Court attempted from time to time to provide some guidelines for the exercise of the district judge's discretion and for the reviewing function of the courts of appeals. However, a school desegregation case does not differ fundamentally from other cases involving the framing of equitable remedies to repair the denial of a constitutional right. The task is to correct, by a balancing of the individual and collective interest, the condition that offends

School authorities are traditionally charged with broad power to formulate and implement educational policy and might well conclude, for example, that in order to prepare students to live in a pluralistic society each school should have a prescribed ratio of Negro to white students reflecting the proportion for the district as a whole. To do this as an educational policy is within the broad discretionary powers of school authorities; absent a finding of a constitutional violation, however, that would not be within the authority of a federal court. As with any equity case, the nature of the violation determines the scope of the remedy. In default by the school authorities of their obligation to proffer acceptable remedies, a district court has broad power to fashion a remedy that will assure a unitary school system.

Powers Limited

The school authorities argue that the equity powers of federal district courts have been limited by Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. 2000c. The language and the history of Title IV shows that it was not enacted to limit but to define the role of the Federal Government in the imple-

dsitrict to another in order to achieve such racial balance, or otherwise enlarge the existing power of the court to insure compliance with constitutional standards."

On their face, the sections quoted purport only to insure that the provision of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will not be read as granting new powers. The provision in 2000c-6 is in terms designed to foreclose any interpretation of the Act as expanding the existing powers of federal courts to enforce the Equal Protection Clause. There is no suggestion of an intention to restrict those powers or withdraw from courts their historic equitable remedial powers. The legislative history of Title IV indicates that Congress was concerned that the Act might be read as creating a right of action under the Fourteenth Amendment in the situation of so-called "de facto segregation," where racial imbalance exists in the schools but with no showing that this was brought about by discriminatory action of state authorities. In short, there is nothing in the Act which provides us material assistance in answering the question of though the several related cases before us are primarily concerned with problems of student assignment, it may be helpful to begin with a brief discussion of other aspects of the process.

Faculty and Staff

In Green, we pointed out that existing policy and practice with regard to faculty, staff, transportation, extracurricular activities, and facilities were among the most important indications of a segregated system. 391 U.S., at 435. Independent of student assignment, where it is possible to identify a "white school" or a "Negro school" simply by reference to the racial composition of teachers and staff, the quality of school buildings and equipment, or the organization of sports activities, a prima facie case of violation of substantive constitutional rights under the Equal Protection Clause is shown.

When a system has been dual in these respects, the first remedial responsibility of school authorities is to eliminate incidious racial distinctions. With respect to such matters as transportation, supporting personnel, and extracurricular activities, no more than this may be necessary. Similar corrective action must be taken with regard to the maintenance of buildings and the distribution of equipment. In these areas, normal administrative practice should produce schools of like quality, facilities, and staffs. Something more must be said, however, as to faculty assignment and new school construction.

In the companion Davis case, the Mobile school board has argued that the Constitution requires that teachers be assigned on a "color blind" basis. It also argues that the Constitution prohibits district courts from using their equity power to order assignment of teachers to achieve a particular degree of faculty desegregation. We reject that contention.

Montgomery Case

In United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education, 395 U.S. 225 (1969), the District Court set as a goal a plan of faculty assignment in each school with a ratio of white to Negro faculty members substantially the same

Appeals and restored the District Court's order in its entirely, holding that the order of the District Judge "was adopted in the spirit of this Court's opinion in Green . . . in that his plan 'promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now.' The modifications ordered by the panel of the Court of Appeals, while of course not intended to do so, would, we think, take from the order some of its capacity to expedite, by means of specific commands, the day when a completely unified, unitary, nondiscriminatory school system becomes a reality instead of a hope . . . We also believe that under all the circumstances of this case we follow the original plan outlined in Brown II . . . by accepting the more specific and expeditious order of (District) Judge Johnson . . ." 395 U.S., at 235-236 (emphasis in original).

The principles of Montgomery have been properly followed by the District Court and the Court of Appeal in this case.

The construction of new schools and the closing of old ones is one of the most important functions of local school authorities and also one of the most complex. They must decide questions of location and capacity in light of population growth, finances, land values, site availability, through an almost endless list of factors to be considered. The result of this will be a decision which, when combined with one technique or another of student assignment, will determine the racial composition of the student body in each school in the system. Over the long run, the consequences of the choices will be far reaching. People gravitate toward school facilities, just as schools are located in response to the needs of people. The location of schools may thus influence the patterns of residential development of a metropolitan area and have important impact on composition of inner city neighborhoods.

Potent Weapon

In the past, choices in this respect have been used as a potent weapon for creating or maintaining a state-segregated school system. In addition to the classic pattern of building schools specifically intended for Negro or white students, school authorities have sometimes, since Brown, closed schools which appeared likely to become racially mixed through changes in neighborhood residential patterns. This was sometimes accompanied by building new schools in the areas of white suburban expansion farthest from Negro population centers in order to maintain the separation of the races with a minimum departure from the formal principles of "neighborhood zoning." Such a policy does more than simply influence the short-run composition of the student body of a new school. It may well promote segregated residential patterns which, when combined with "neighborhood zoning," further lock the school system into the mold of separation of the races. Under a proper showing a district court may consider this in fashioning a remedy.

In ascertaining the existence of legally imposed school segregation, the existence of a pattern of school construction and abandonment is thus a factor of great weight. In devising remedies where legally imposed segregation has been established, it is the responsi-

Continued on Page 21-A

Anti-Busing Laws to Avoid Mixing Illegal

Continued from Page 10-A

bility of local authorities and district courts to see to it that future school construction and abandonment is not used and does not serve to perpetuate and re-establish the dual system. When necessary, district courts should retain jurisdiction to assure that these responsibilities are carried out. Cf. United States v. Board of Public Instruction, 395 F. 2d 66 (CA5 1968); Brewer v. School Board, 397 F. 2d 37 (CA4 1968).

The central issue in this case is that of student assignment, and there are essentially four problem areas:

(1) to what extent racial balance or racial quotas may be used as an implement in a remedial order to correct a previously segregated system;

(2) whether every all-Negro and all-white school must be eliminated as an indispensable part of a remedial process of desegregation;

Districts and Zones

(3) what are the limits, if any, on the rearrangement of school districts and attendance zones, as a remedial measure; and

(4) what are the limits, if any, on the use of transportation facilities to correct state-enforced racial school segregation.

(1) Racial Balances or Racial Quotas.

The constant theme and thrust of every holding from Brown I to date is that state-enforced separation of races in public schools is discrimination that violates the Equal Protection Clause. The remedy commanded was to dismantle dual school systems.

We are concerned in these cases with the elimination of the discrimination inherent in the dual school systems, not with myriad factors of human existence which can cause discrimination in a multitude of ways on racial religious, or ethnic grounds. The target of the cases from Brown I to the present was the dual school system. The elimination of racial discrimination in public schools is a large task and one that should not be retarded by efforts to achieve broader purposes lying beyond the jurisdiction of school authorities. One vehicle can carry only a limited amount of baggage. It would not serve the important objective of Brown I to seek to use school desegregation cases for purposes beyond their scope, although desegregation of schools ultimately will have impact on other forms of discrimination.

We do not reach in this case the question whether a showing that school segregation is a consequence of other types of state action, without any discriminatory action by the school authorities, is a constitutional violation requiring remedial action by a school desegregation decree. This is not the case. In the absence of state-imposed or state-enforced racial separation, as we have held, there is no constitutional right, any particular degree of racial balance or mixing, that approach would be disapproved and we would be obliged to reverse. The constitutional command to desegregate schools does not mean that every school in every community must always reflect the racial composition of the school system as a whole.

As the voluminous record in this case shoys, he predicate for the District Court's use of the 71 per cent-29 per cent ratio was twofold: first, its express finding, approved by the Court of Appeals and not challenged here, that a dual school system had been maintained by the school authorities at least until 1969; second, its finding, also approved by the Court of Appeals, that the school board had totally defaulted in its acknowledged duty to come forward with an acceptable plan of its own, notwithstanding the patient efforts of the District Judge who, on at least three occasions, urged the board to submit plans. As the statement of facts shows, these findings are abundantly supported by the record. It was because of this total failure of the school board that the District Court was obliged to turn to other qualified sources, and Dr. Finger was designated to assist the District Court to do what the board should have done.

We see therefore that the use made of mathematical ratios was no more than a starting point in the process of shaping a remedy, rather than an inflexible requirement. From that starting point the District Court proceeded to frame a decree that was within its discretionary powers, an equitable remedy for the particular circumstances. As we said in Green, a school authority's remedial plan or a district court's remedial decree is to be judged by its effectiveness. Awareness of the racial composition of the whole school system is likely to be a useful starting point in shaping a remedy to correct past constitutional violations. In sum, the very limited use made of mathematical ratios was within the equitable remedial discretion of the District Court.

(2) One-Race Schools.

The record in this case reveals the familiar phenomenon that in metropolitan areas minority groups are often found concentrated in one part of the city. In some circumstances certain schools may remain all or largely of one race until new schools can be provided or neighborhood patterns change. Schools all or predominantely of one race in a district of mixed population will require close scrutiny to determine that school assignments are not part of state-enforced segregation.

Greatest Degree

In light of the above, it [illegible] student free transportation and space must be made available in the school to which he desires to move.

The court orders in this and the companion Davis case now

Principal Tool

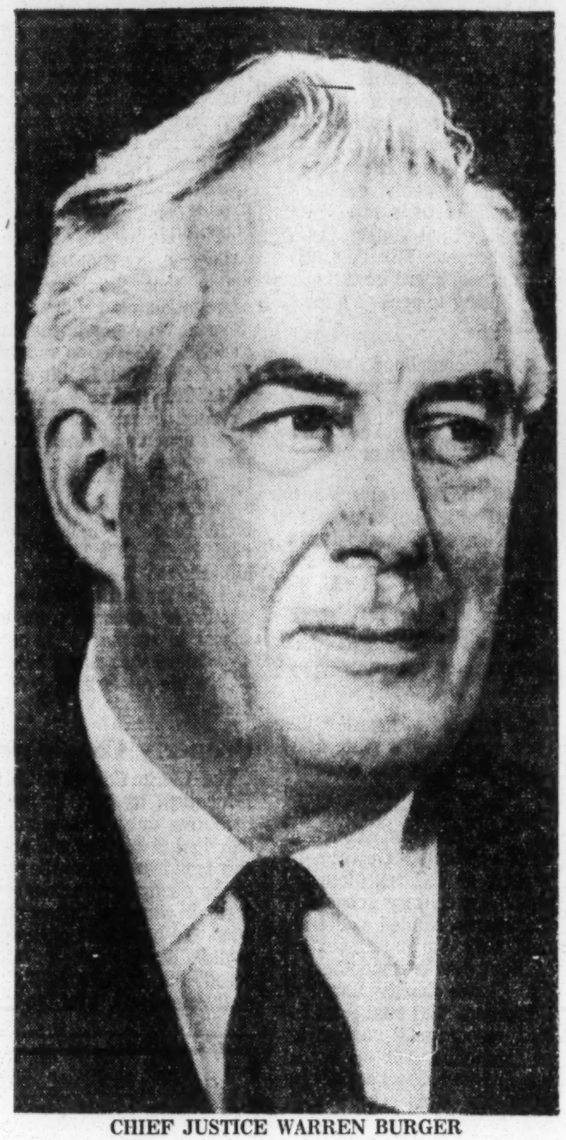
provide such an option.

(3) Remedial Altering of Attendance Zones.

The maps submitted in these cases graphically demonstrate that one of the principal tools employed by school planners and by courts to break up the dual school system has been a frank—and sometimes drastic — gerrymandering of school districts and attendance zones. An additional step was pairing, "clustering," or "grouping" of schools with attendance assignments made deliberately to accomplish the transfer of Negro students out of formerly segregated Negro schools and transfer of white students to formerly all-Negro schools. More often than not, these zones are neither compact nor contiguous; indeed they may be on opposite ends of the city. As an interim corrective measure, this cannot be said to be beyond the broad remedial powers of a court.

Absent a constitutional violation there would be no basis for judicially ordering assignment of students on a racial basis. All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation. The remedy for such segregation may be administratively awkward, inconvenient and even bizarre in some situations and may impose burdens on some; but all awkwardness and inconvenience cannot be avoided in the interim period when remedial adjustments are being made to eliminate the dual school systems.

No fixed or even substantially fixed guidelines can be established as to how far a court can go, but it must be recognized that there are limits. The objective is to dismantle the dual school system. "Racially neutral" assignment plans proposed by school authorities to a district court may be inadequate; such plans may fail to counteract the continuing effects of past school segregation resulting from discriminatory location of school sites or distortion of school size in order to achieve or maintain an artificial racial separation. When school authorities present a district court with a "loaded game board," affirmative action in the form of remedial altering of attendance zones is proper to achieve truly nondiscriminatory assignments. In short, an assignment plan is not ac[illegible]



CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN BURGER

school children, approximately 39 per cent, were transported to their schools by bus in 1969-1970 in all parts of the country.

The importance of bus transportation as a normal and accepted tool of educational policy is readily discernible in this and the companion case. The Charlotte school authorities did not purport to assign students on the basis of geographically drawn zones until 1965 and then they allowed almost unlimited transfer privileges. The District Court's conclusion that assignment of children to the school nearest their home serving their grade would not produce an effective dismantling of the dual system is supported by the record.

Equitable Relief

Thus the remedial techniques used in the District Court's order were within that court's power to provide equitable relief; implementation of the decree is well within the capacity of the school authority.

The decree provided that the buses used to implement the plan would operate on direct routes. Students would [illegible]

case, we are unable to conclude that the order of the District Court is not reasonable, feasible and workable. However, in seeking to define the scope of remedial power or the limits on remedial power of courts in an area as sensitive as we deal with here, words are poor instruments to convey the sense of basic fairness inherent in equity. Substance, not semantics, must govern, and we have sought to suggest the nature of limitations without frustrating the appropriate scope of equity.

Full Compliance

At some point, these school authorities and others like them should have achieved full compliance with this Court's decision in Brown I. The systems will then be 'unitary" in the sense required by our decisions in Green and Alexander.

It does not follow that the communities served by such systems will remain demographically stable, for in a growing, mobile society, few will do so. Neither school authorities nor district courts are constitutionally required to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composi[illegible]

in the number of all-Negro schools was achieved for the 1970-1971 school year, nine elementary schools in the eastern section (attended by 64 per cent of all Negro elementary school pupils in the metropolitan area) were over 90 per cent Negro, and over half of the Negro junior and senior high school students went to all-Negro or nearly all-Negro schools. With regard to the faculty and staff ratio in each of Mobile County's schools, the Court of Appeals directed the District Court to require the school board to establish "substantially the same" ratio as that for the whole district. Held:

1. The Court of Appeals decision dealing with the faculty and staff ratio is affirmed.

2. The Court of Appeals erred in treating the eastern part of metropolitan Mobile in isolation from the rest of the school system, and in not adequately considering the possible use of all available techniques to achieve the maximum amount of practicable desegregation.

Burger, C. J., delivered the opinion for a unanimous Court. **Opinion**

On Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

Petitioners in this case challenge as inadequate a school desegregation plan for Mobile County, Alabama. The county is large and populous, embracing 1,248 square miles and the City of Mobile. The school system had 73,500 pupils in 91 schools at the beginning of the 1969 academic year; approximately 58 per cent of the pupils were white and 42 per cent Negro. During the 1967-1968 school year, the system transported 22,000 pupils daily in over 200 school buses, both in the rural areas of the county and in the outlying areas of metropolitan Mobile.

The present desegregation plan evolved from one developed by the District Court in response to the decision of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in Davis v. Board of School Commissioners, 414 F. 2d 609 (CA5 1969), that an earlier desegregation plan formulated by the District Court on the basis of unified geographic zones was "constitutionally insufficient and unacceptable, and such zones must be redrawn." The Court of Appeals held that that earlier plan had "ignored the unequivocal directive to make a conscious effort in locating attendance zones to desegregate and eliminate past segregation."

The District Court responded with a new zoning plan which left 18,623, or 60 per cent, of the system's 30,800 Negro children in 19 all-Negro or nearly all-Negro schools. On appeal, the Court of Appeals reviewed all aspects of desegregation in Mobile County. Addi[illegible]

District Court left 112 all-Negro or nearly all-Negro elementary schools, serving over 90 per cent of all the Negro elementary students in the metropolitan area.

The Court of Appeals rejected this solution in favor of a modified version of a plan submitted by the Department of Justice. As further modified after a second appeal, this plan reduced the number of all-Negro or nearly all-Negro elementary schools from 12 to six schools, projected to serve 5,310 students, or about 50 per cent of the Negro elementary students in the metroplitan area. Like the District Court's plan, the Court of Appeals' plan was based on treating the western section in isolation from the eastern. There were unified geographic zones, and no transportation of students for purposes of desegregation. The reduction in the number of all-Negro schools was achieved through pairing, rezoning, and adjusting grade structures within the eastern section. With yet further modifications not material here, this plan went into effect at the beginning of the 1970-1971 school year.

Held Inaccurate

The enrollment figures for the 1970-1971 school year show that the projections on which the Court of Appeals based its plan for metropolitan Mobile were inaccurate. Under the Court of Appeals' plan as actually implemented, nine elementary schools in the eastern section of metropolitan Mobile were over 90 per cent Negro as of September 21, 1970 (instead of six as projected), and they housed 7,651 students, or 64 per cent of all the Negro elementary school pupils in the metropolitan area. Moreover, the enrollment figures indicated that 6,746 Negro junior and senior high school students in metropolitan Mobile, or over half, were then attending all-Negro or nearly all-Negro schools, rather than none as projected by the Court of Appeals. These figures are derived from a report of the school board to the District Court; they were brought to our attention in a supplemental brief for petitioners filed on October 10, 1970, and have not been challenged.

As we have held, "neighborhood school zoning," whether based strictly on home-to-school distance or on "unified geographic zones" is not the only constitutionally permissible remedy; nor is it per se adequate to meet the remedial responsibilities of local boards. Having once found a violation, the district judge or school authoritities should make every effort to achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation, taking into account the practicalities of the situation. A district court may and should consider the use of all available tech[illegible]

an injunction against its enforcement. The proceeding before the three judge court was an ancillary proceeding connected with the school desegregation case heretofore discussed, Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

Instant Appeal

The instant appeal was taken by the North Carolina State Board of Education and four state officials. We granted the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School Board's motion to join in the appeal, 400 U.S. 804 (1970).

When the litigation in the Swann case recommenced in the spring of 1969, the District Court specifically directed that the school board consider altering attendance areas, pairing or consolidation of schools, bus transportation of students, and any other method which would effectuate a racially unitary system. That litigation was actively prosecuted. The board submitted a series of proposals, all rejected by the District Court as inadequate. In the midst of this litigation over the remedy to implement the District Court's order, the North Carolina Legislature enacted the anti-busing bill.

Following enactment of the anti-busing statute the plaintiffs in the Swann case obtained leave to file a supplemental complaint which sought injunctive and declaratory relief against the statute. They sought to convene a three-judge court, but no action was taken on the requests at that time because the school board thought that the anti-busing law did not interfere with the school board's proposed plan to transport about 4,000 Negro children to white suburban schools. Other parties were added as defendants by order of the District Court dazed February 25. In addition certain persons who had brought a suit in state court to enjoin or impede the order of the federal court, the attorneys for those litigants, and state judges who at various times entered injunctions against the school authorities and blocked compliance with orders of the District Court were also joined; a three-judge court was then convened.

Wide Discretion

We observed in Swann, that school authorities have wide discretion in formulating school policy, and that as a matter of education policy, school authorities may well conclude that some kind of racial balance in the schools is desirable quite apart from any constitutional requirements. However, if a state-imposed limitation on a school authority's discretion operates to inhibit or obstruct the operation of a unitary school system or impede the disestablishing of

thrust of every holding from Brown I to date is that state-enforced separation of races in public schools is discrimination that violates the Equal Protection Clause. The remedy commanded was to dismantle dual school systems.

We are concerned in these cases with the elimination of the discrimination inherent in the dual school systems, not with myriad factors of human existence which can cause discrimination in a multitude of ways on racial religious, or ethnic grounds. The target of the cases from Brown I to the present was the dual school system. The elimination of racial discrimination in public schools is a large task and one that should not be retarded by efforts to achieve broader purposes lying beyond the jurisdiction of school authorities. One vehicle can carry only a limited amount of baggage. It would not serve the important objective of Brown I to seek to use school desegregation cases for purposes beyond their scope, although desegregation of schools ultimately will have impact on other forms of discrimination.

We do not reach in this case the question whether a showing that school segregation is a consequence of other types of state action, without any discriminatory action by the school authorities, is a constitutional violation requiring remedial action by a school desegregation decree. This case does not present that question and we therefore do not decide it.

Exclude No Pupil

Our objective in dealing with the issues presented by these cases is to see that school authorities exclude no pupil of a racial minority from any school, directly or indirectly, on account of race; it does not and cannot embrace all the problems of racial prejudice, even when those problems contribute to disproportionate racial concentrations in some schools.

In this case it is urged that the District Court has imposed a racial balance requirement of 71 per cent—29 per cent on individual schools. The fact that no such objective was actually achieved—and would appear to be impossible—tends to blunt that claim, yet in the opinion and order of the District Court of December 1, 1969, we find that court directing:

"That the efforts should be made to reach a 71-29 ratio in the various schools so that there will be no basis for contending that one school is racially different from the others . . . that no school (should) be operated with an all-black or predominantly black student body, (and) that pupils of all grades (should) be assigned in such a way that as nearly as practicable the various schools at various grade levels have about the same proportion of black and white students."

Fixed Balance

The District Judge went on to acknowledge that variation "from that norm may be unavoidable." This contains intimations that the "norm" is a fixed mathematical racial balance reflecting the pupil constituency of the system. If we were to read the holding of the District Court to require, as a matter of substantive constitutios was no more than a starting point in the process of shaping a remedy, rather than an inflexible requirement. From that starting point the District Court proceeded to frame a decree that was within its discretionary powers, an equitable remedy for the particular circumstances. As we said in Green, a school authority's remedial plan or a district court's remedial decree is to be judged by its effectiveness. Awareness of the racial composition of the whole school system is likely to be a useful starting point in shaping a remedy to correct past constitutional violations. In sum, the very limited use made of mathematical ratios was within the equitable remedial discretion of the District Court.

(2) One-Race Schools.

The record in this case reveals the familiar phenomenon that in metropolitan areas minority groups are often found concentrated in one part of the city. In some circumstances certain schools may remain all or largely of one race until new schools can be provided or neighborhood patterns change. Schools all or predominantely of one race in a district of mixed population will require close scrutiny to determine that school assignments are not part of state-enforced segregation.

Greatest Degree

In light of the above, it should be clear that the existence of some small number of one-race, or virtually one-race, schools within a district is not in and of itself the mark of a system which still practices segregation by law. The district judge or school authorities should make every effort to achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation and will thus necessarily be concerned with the elimination of one-race schools. No per se rule can adequately embrace all the difficulties of reconciling the competing interest involved; but in a system with a history of segregation the need for remedial criteria of sufficient specificity to assure a school authority's compliance with its constitutional duty warrants a presumption against schools that are substantially disproportionate in their racial composition. Where the school authority's proposed plan for conversion from a dual to a unitary system contemplates the continued existence of some schools that are all or predominately of one race, they have the burden of showing that such school assignments are genuinely nondiscriminatory. The court should scrutinize such schools, and the burden upon the school authorities will be to satisfy the court that their racial composition is not the result of present or past discriminatory action on their part.

An optional majority-to-minority transfer provision has long been recognized as a useful part of every desegregation plan. Provision for optional transfer of those in the majority racial group of a particular school to other schools where they will be in the minority is an indispensable remedy for those students willing to transfer to other schools in order to lessen the impact on them of the state imposed stigma of segregation. In order to be effective, such a transfer arrangement must grant the transferring tion, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation. The remedy for such segregation may be administratively awkward, inconvenient and even bizarre in some situations and may impose burdens on some; but all awkwardness and inconvenience cannot be avoided in the interim period when remedial adjustments are being made to eliminate the dual school systems.

No fixed or even substantially fixed guidelines can be established as to how far a court can go, but it must be recognized that there are limits. The objective is to dismantle the dual school system. "Racially neutral" assignment plans proposed by school authorities to a district court may be inadequate; such plans may fail to counteract the continuing effects of past school segregation resulting from discriminatory location of school sites or distortion of school size in order to achieve or maintain an artificial racial separation. When school authorities present a district court with a "loaded game board," affirmative action in the form of remedial altering of attendance zones is proper to achieve truly nondiscriminatory assignments. In short, an assignment plan is not acceptable simply because it appears to be neutral.

Rely on Judgment

In this area, we must of necessity rely to a large extent, as this Court has for more than 16 years, on the informed judgment of the district courts in the first instance and on courts of appeals.

We hold that the pairing and grouping of non-contiguous school zones is a permissible tool and such action is to be considered in light of the objectives sought. Judicial steps in shaping such zones going beyond combinations of contiguous areas should be examined in light of what is said in subdivisions (1), (2), and (3) of this opinion concerning the objectives to be sought. Maps do not tell the whole story since non-contiguous school zones may be more accessible to each other in terms of the critical travel time, because of traffic patterns and good highways, than schools geographically closer together. Conditions in different localities will vary so widely that no rigid rules can be laid down to govern all situations.

Not Defined

(4) Transportation of Students.

The scope of permissible transportation of students as an implement of a remedial decree has never been defined by this Court and by the very nature of the problem it cannot be defined with precision. No rigid guidelines as to student transportation can be given for application to the infinite variety of problems presented in thousands of situations. Bus transportation has been an integral part of the public education system for years, and was perhaps the single most important factor in the transition from the one-room schoolhouse to the consolidated school. Eighteen million of the nation's public

CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN BURGER

school children, approximately 39 per cent, were transported to their schools by bus in 1969-1970 in all parts of the country.

The importance of bus transportation as a normal and accepted tool of educational policy is readily discernible in this and the companion case. The Charlotte school authorities did not purport to assign students on the basis of geographically drawn zones until 1965 and then they allowed almost unlimited transfer privileges. The District Court's conclusion that assignment of children to the school nearest their home serving their grade would not produce an effective dismantling of the dual system is supported by the record.

Equitable Relief

Thus the remedial techniques used in the District Court's order were within that court's power to provide equitable relief; implementation of the decree is well within the capacity of the school authority.

The decree provided that the buses used to implement the plan would operate on direct routes. Students would be picked up at schools near their homes and transported to the schools they were to attend. The trips for elementary school pupils average about seven miles and the District Court found that they would take "not over 35 minutes at the most." This system compares favorably with the transportation plan previously operated in Charlotte under which each day 23,600 students on all grade levels were transported an average of 15 miles one way for an average trip requiring over an hour. In these circumstances, we find no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation. Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school.

An objection to transportation of students may have validity when the time or distance of travel is so great as to risk either the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process? District courts must weigh the soundness of any transportation plan in light of what is said in subdivisions (1), (2), and (3) above. It hardly needs stating that the limits on time of travel will vary with many factors, but probably with none more than the age of the students. The reconciliation of competing values in a desegregation case is, of course, a difficult task with many sensitive facets but fundamentally no more so than remedial measures courts of equity have traditionaly employed.

The Court of Appeals, searching for a term to define the equitable remedial power of the district courts, used the term 'reasonableness." In Green, supra, this Court used the term 'feasible" and by implication, 'workable," 'effective," and realistic" in the mandate to develop 'a plan that promises realistically to work, and . . . to work now." On the facts of this case, we are unable to conclude that the order of the District Court is not reasonable, feasible and workable. However, in seeking to define the scope of remedial power or the limits on remedial power of courts in an area as sensitive as we deal with here, words are poor instruments to convey the sense of basic fairness inherent in equity. Substance, not semantics, must govern, and we have sought to suggest the nature of limitations without frustrating the appropriate scope of equity.

Full Compliance

At some point, these school authorities and others like them should have achieved full compliance with this Court's decision in Brown I. The systems will then be 'unitary" in the sense required by our decisions in Green and Alexander.

It does not follow that the communities served by such systems will remain demographically stable, for in a growing, mobile society, few will do so. Neither school authorities nor district courts are constitutionally required to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composition of student bodies once the affirmative duty to desegregate has been accomplished and racial discrimination through official action is eliminated from the system. This does not mean that federal courts are without power to deal with future problems; but in the absence of a showing that either the school authorities or some other agency of the State has deliberately attempted to fix or alter demographic patterns to affect the racial composition of the schools, further intervention by a district court should not be necessary.

For the reasons herein set forth, the judgment of the Court of Appeals is affirmed as to those parts in which it affirmed the judgment of the District Court. The order of the District Court dated August 7, 1970, is also affirmed.

It is so ordered.

Here are the texts of the supporting cases in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg decision Tuesday of the Supreme Court:

Davis et al. v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County et al.

Syllabus

Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth District

East of the major highway that divides the metropolitan area of Mobile, Ala., live 94 per cent of the area's Negro students, and the schools there are 65 per cent Negro and 35 per cent white. West of the highway the schools are 12 per cent Negro and 88 per cent white. The Court of Appeals approved a desegregation plan which, like the District Court's plan, insofar as those areas were concerned treated the western section as isolated from the eastern, with unified geographic zones and providing no transportation of students for desegregation purposes. Though some reduction is large and populous, embracing 1,248 square miles and the City of Mobile. The school system had 73,500 pupils in 91 schools at the beginning of the 1969 academic year; approximately 58 per cent of the pupils were white and 42 per cent Negro. During the 1967-1968 school year, the system transported 22,000 pupils daily in over 200 school buses, both in the rural areas of the county and in the outlying areas of metropolitan Mobile.

The present desegregation plan evolved from one developed by the District Court in response to the decision of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in Davis v. Board of School Commissioners, 414 F. 2d 609 (CA5 1969), that an earlier desegregation plan formulated by the District Court on the basis of unified geographic zones was "constitutionally insufficient and unacceptable, and such zones must be redrawn." The Court of Appeals held that that earlier plan had "ignored the unequivocal directive to make a conscious effort in locating attendance zones to desegregate and eliminate past segregation."

The District Court responded with a new zoning plan which left 18,623, or 60 per cent, of the system's 30,800 Negro children in 19 all-Negro or nearly all-Negro schools. On appeal, the Court of Appeals reviewed all aspects of desegregation in Mobile County. Additional information was requested regarding earlier desegregation plans for the rural parts of the county, and those plans were approved. They are not before us now. The Court of Appeals concluded that with respect to faculty and staff desegregation the board had "almost totally failed to comply" with earlier orders, and directed the District Court to require the board to establish a faculty and staff ratio in each school "substantially the same" as that for the entire district. We affirm that part of the Court of Appeals' opinion for the reasons given in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, ante.

Regarding junior and senior high schools, the Court of Appeals reversed the District Court and directed implementation of a plan which was intended to eliminate the seven all-Negro schools remaining under the District Court's scheme. This was to be achieved through pairing and adjusting grale structures within metropolitan Mobile, without bus transportation or split zoning. The Court of Appeals then turned to the difficult problem of desegregating the elementary schools of metropolitan Mobile. The metropolitan area is divided by a major north-south highway. About 94 per cent of the Negro students in the metropolitan area live on the east side of the highway between it and the Mobile River. The schools on that side of the highway are 65 per cent Negro and 35 per cent white. On the west side of the highway, however, the schools are 12 per cent Negro and 88 per cent white. Under the District Court's elementary school plan for the metropolitan area, the eastern and western sections were treated as distinct, without either interlocking zones or transportation across the highway. Not surprisingly, it was easy to desegregate the western section, but in the east the tually implemented, nine elementary schools in the eastern section of metropolitan Mobile were over 90 per cent Negro as of September 21, 1970 (instead of six as projected), and they housed 7,651 students, or 64 per cent of all the Negro elementary school pupils in the metropolitan area. Moreover, the enrollment figures indicated that 6,746 Negro junior and senior high school students in metropolitan Mobile, or over half, were then attending all-Negro or nearly all-Negro schools, rather than none as projected by the Court of Appeals. These figures are derived from a report of the school board to the District Court; they were brought to our attention in a supplemental brief for petitioners filed on October 10, 1970, and have not been challenged.

As we have held, "neighborhood school zoning," whether based strictly on home-to-school distance or on "unified geographic zones" is not the only constitutionally permissible remedy; nor is it per se adequate to meet the remedial responsibilities of local boards. Having once found a violation, the district judge or school authoritities should make every effort to achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation, taking into account the practicalities of the situation. A district court may and should consider the use of all available techniques including restructuring of attendance zones and both contiguous and noncontiguous attendance zones. See Swann, ante, at pp. 18-27. The measure of any desegregation plan is its effectiveness.

On the record before us, it is clear that the Court of Appeals feel constrained to treat the eastern part of metropolitan Mobile in isolation from the rest of the school system, ation was given to the possible use of bus transportation and split zoning. For these reasons, we reverse the judgment of the Court of Appeals as to the parts dealing with student assignment, and remand the case for the development of a decree "that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now." Green v. County School Board (1968).

It is so ordered.

Syllabus

North Carolina State Board of Education et al. v. Swann et al.

Appeal from the United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina

North Carolina's Anti-Busing Law, which flatly forbids assignment of any student on account of race or for the purpose of creating a racial balance or ratio in the schools and which prohibits busing for such purposes, held invalid as preventing implementation of desegregation plans required by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Burger, C. J., delivered the opinion for a unanimous Court. **Opinion.**

This case is here on direct appeal pursuant to 28 u.s.c. 1253 from the judgment of a three judge court in the United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina. The District Court declared unconstitutional a portion of the North Carolina General Statutes known as the Anti-Busing Law, and granted sought injunctive and declaratory relief against the statute. They sought to convene a three-judge court, but no action was taken on the requests at that time because the school board thought that the anti-busing law did not interfere with the school board's proposed plan to transport about 4,000 Negro children to white suburban schools. Other parties were added as defendants by order of the District Court dazed February 25. In addition certain persons who had brought a suit in state court to enjoin or impede the order of the federal court, the attorneys for those litigants, and state judges who at various times entered injunctions against the school authorities and blocked compliance with orders of the District Court were also joined; a three-judge court was then convened.

Wide Discretion

We observed in Swann, that school authorities have wide discretion in formulating school policy, and that as a matter of education policy, school authorities may well conclude that some kind of racial balance in the schools is desirable quite apart from any constitutional requirements. However, if a state-imposed limitation on a school authority's discretion operates to inhibit or obstruct the operation of a unitary school system or impede the disestablishing of a dual school system, it must fail; state policy must give way when it operates to hinder vindication of federal constitutional guarantees.

The legislation before us flatly forbids assignment of any student on account of race or for the purpose of creating a racial balance or ratio in the schools. The prohibition is absolute, and it would inescapably operate to obstruct the remedies granted by the District Court in the Swann case. But more important the statute exploits an apparently neutral form to control school assignment plans by directing that they be "color blind"; that requirement, against the background of segregation, would render illusory the promise of Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). Just as the race of students must be considered in determining whether a constitutional violation has occurred, so also must race be considered in formulating a remedy. To forbid, at this stage, all assignments made on the basis of race would deprive school authorities of the one tool absolutely essential to fulfillment of their constitutional obligation to eliminate existing dual school systems.

Similarly the flat prohibition against assignment of students for the purpose of creating a racial balance must inevitably conflict with the duty of school authorities to disestablish dual school systems. As we have held in Swann, the Constitution does not compel any particular degree of racial balance or mixing, but when past and continuing constitutional violations are found, some ratios are likely to be useful starting points in shaping a remedy. An absolute prohibition against use of such a device—even as a starting point—contravenes the implicit command of Green v. County

Continued on Page 12-A

Text of Supreme Court's Decision on Schools

Continued from Page 11-A

School Board, (1968), that all reasonable methods be available to formulate an effective remedy.

Hamper Ability

We likewise conclude that an absolute prohibition against transportation of students assigned on the basis of race, "or for the purpose of creating a balance or ratio," will similarly hamper the ability of local authorities to effectively remedy constitutional violations. As noted in Swann, bus transportation has long been an integral part of all public educational systems, and it is unlikely that a truly effective remedy could be devised without continued reliance upon it.

The remainder of the order of the District Court is affirmed for the reasons stated in its opinion.

Affirmed ——

Syllabus

McDaniel, Superintendent of Schools, et al. v. Barresi et al.

Certiorari to the Supreme Court of Georgia

The board of Education of Clark County, Ga. (with a two-to-one white-Negro elementary school system ratio), devised a student assignment plan for desegregating elementary schools which establishes geographic zones drawn to promote desegregation and also provides that pupils in heavily concentrated Negro "pockets" walk or go by bus to schools in other attendance zones. The resulting Negro elementary enrollment ranges from 20 per cent to 40 per cent in all but two schools, where it is 50 per cent. Respondent parents sued to enjoin the plan's operation. The state trial court denied an injunction. The Georgia Supreme Court reversed, holding that the plan violated (1) equal protection because it "treated students differently because of their race," and (2) the Civil Rights Act of 1964, because Title IV prohibits a school board from requiring busing to achieve a racial balance. Held:

1. In compliance with its duty to convert to a unitary system, the school board properly took race into account in fixing the attendance lines.

2. Title IV, a direction to federal officials, does not restrict state officials in assigning students within their systems. P. 3. 226 Ga. 456, 175 S.E. 2d 649, reversed.

Burger, C. J., delivered the opinion for a unanimous Court.

We granted certiorari in this case to review a state court order enjoining the operation of a school desegregation plan. The action was brought in the Superior Court of Clarke County, Georgia, by parents of children attending public elementary schools in that county. Named as defendants were the Superintendent of Education and members of the Clarke County Board of Education. The trial court denied respondents' request for an injunction, but on appeal the Supreme Court of Georgia reversed. This Court then granted certiorari.

Voluntary Program

Beginning in 1963, the Clarke County Board of Education began a voluntary program to desegregate its public schools. The student-assignment plan presently at issue, involving only elementary schools, has been in effect since the start of the 1969 academic year. The plan, adopted by the Board of Education and approved by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, relies primarily upon geographic attendance zones drawn to achieve greater racial balance. Additionally, the pupils in five heavily Negro "pockets" either walk or are transported by bus to schools located in other attendance zones. As a consequence the Negro enrollment of each elementary school in the system varies generally between 20 per cent and 40 per cent, although two schools have a 50 per cent Negro enrollment. The white-Negro ratio of elementary pupils in the system is approximately two to one.

Respondents contend in this action that the board's desegregation plan violates the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution and Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Supreme Court of Georgia upheld both contentions, concluding first that the plan violated the Equal Protectios Clause "by treating students differently because of their race." The court concluded also that Title IV prohibited the board from "requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another . . . in order to achieve such racial balance . . ." We reject these contentions.

Properly Considered

The Clarke County Board of Education, as part of its affirmative duty to disestablish the dual school system, properly took isto account the race of its elementary school children in drawing attendance lines. To have done otherwise would have severely hampered the board's ability to deal effectively with the task at hand. School boards that operated dual school systems are "clearly charged with the affirmative duty to take whatever steps might be necessary to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch." Green v. County School Board (1968).

In this remedial process, steps will almost invariably require that students be assigned "differently because of their race." See Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, Youngblood v. Board of Public Instruction. Any other approach would freeze the status quo that is the very target of all desegregation processes.

Nor is the board's plan barred by Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The sections relied upon by respondents (42 U. S. C. 2000c (b), 2000-6) are directed only at federal officials and are designed simply to foreclose any interpretation of the Act as expanding the powers of federal officials to enforce the Equal Protection Clause. Swann, ante, at 13. Title IV clearly does not restrict state school authorities in the exercise of their discretionary powers to assign students within their school systems.

Since both parties in this action challenging a school de-

Reversed. ——

Syllabus

Moore et al. v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education et al.

Appeal from the United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina

segregation plan seek the same result, viz., a holding that North Carolina's Anti-busing law is constitutional, there is no Art. III case or controversy. Additionally, on the facts of this case, no direct appeal to this Court lies under 28 U. S. C. 1253.

Dismissed for lack of jurisdiction.

PER CURIAM.

Review of Decision

Appellants seek review of the decision of the United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina declaring a portion of the North Carolina antibusing statute unconstitutional, and enjoining its enforcement. It is a companion case to North Carolina State Bd. v. Swann. We postponed decision on the question of jurisdiction, and after hearing on the merits we now dismiss the appeal for lack of jurisdiction.

At the hearing both parties argued to the three-judge court that the order of the District Court adopting the Finger plan should be set aside. We are thus confronted with the anomaly that both litigants desire precisely the same result, namely a holding that the anti-busing statute is constitutional. There is, therefore, no case or controversy within the meaning of Article III of the Constitution. Muskrat v. United States (1911) Additionally, since neither party sought an injunction to restrain a state officer from enforcing a state statute alleged to be unconstitutional this is not an appeal from "any civil action, suit or proceeding required . . . to be heard . . . by a district court of three judges," and hence no direct appeal to this Court is available.

Dismissed. END) ——

Stanford Dean Heads Council

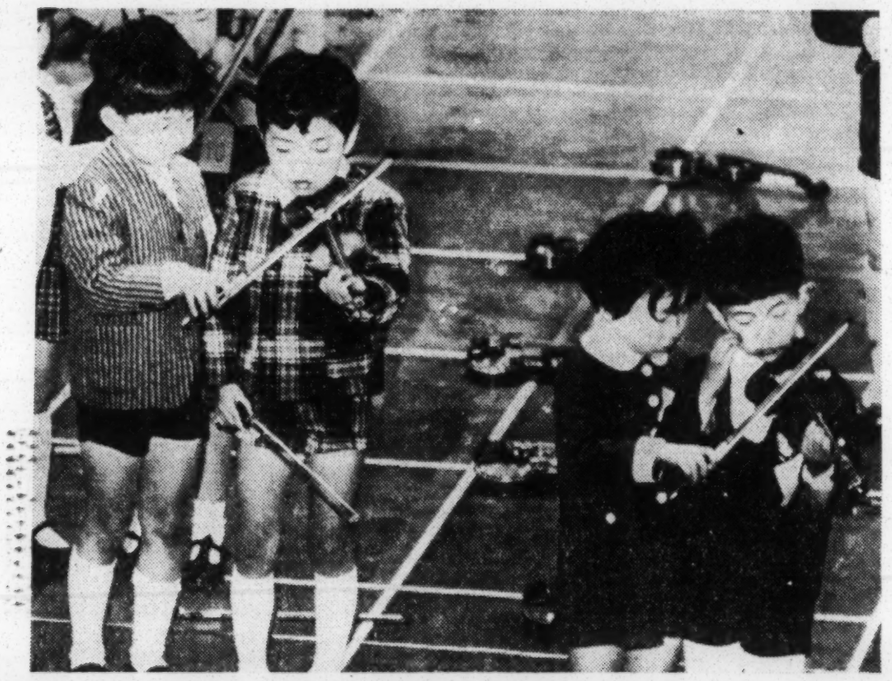
NEW YORK (AP) — Bayless Manning, dean of the Stanford University Law School, has been elected full-time president of the Council on Foreign Relations, Chairman David Rockefeller announced Tuesday.

Manning, 48, will succeed both Grayson Kirk as president and George Franklin as executive director. Kirk, president emeritus of Columbia University, was named to a new post of vice chairman of the board. The position of executive director will be discontinued when Manning takes office in September.

The council, founded in 1921, publishes the quarterly review, "Foreign Affairs," and books, and holds off-the-record meetings at its New York headquarters with statesmen, scholars and men of affairs.

Our Deer

WASHINGTON (AP) — Deer population in the South has increased from 304,000 to 2,405,000 since the mid-1940s.



Two for One

TOKYO, Japan—Possibly working on the principle that two heads are better than one, these Japanese youngsters team up as pairs on single violins playing in the annual Mass Violin and Cello Concert here. While one child fingers the notes on the strings, the other uses the bow. About 2,000 youngsters from 3 to 12 years old participated in the concert. All are students at an institute which urges developing special interests among children at an early age. (Associated Press Wirephoto)

WANTED
exempt commodities to haul from Atlanta to Memphis, Macon, Evansville, Dayton, Indianapolis & Augusta.
CALL 261-9414 or 261-9415

"NO MUSS NO FUSS
NO PLASTER DUST"

$39.95
9x10 Room Size Completely Inst.
• ELIMINATES CRACKING & PEELING FOREVER
• ARMSTRONG ACOUSTICAL & DECORATIVE CEILINGS
• 5 YR. BONDED GUARANTEE ON ALL LABOR & MAT.
• ONE DAY SERVICE
DeGEORGE CEILINGS, INC.
1432 E. CLEVELAND AVE.
EAST POINT
PH. 767-9711
• SERVING ENTIRE METRO AREA •

Carrier®
CENTRAL AIR PRE-SEASON PRICE
$777
FOR 30,000 BTU (2-1/2 TON) SYSTEM INSTALLED
(For 38GC Series)*
Cools average 3

OVER 200 PRIZES IN ATL
WINNERS IN EV

Two for One

TOKYO, Japan—Possibly working on the principle that two heads are better than one, these Japanese youngsters team up as pairs on single violins playing in the annual Mass Violin and Cello Concert here. While one child fingers the notes on the strings, the other uses the bow. About 2,000 youngsters from 3 to 12 years old participated in the concert. All are students at an institute which urges developing special interests among children at an early age. (Associated Press Wirephoto)

parents of children attending public elementary schools in that county. Named as defendants were the Superintendent of Education and members of the Clarke County Board of Education. The trial court denied respondents' request for an injunction, but on appeal the Supreme Court of Georgia reversed. This Court then granted certiorari.

Voluntary Program

Beginning in 1963, the Clarke County Board of Education began a voluntary program to desegregate its public schools. The student-assignment plan presently at issue, involving only elementary schools, has been in effect since the start of the 1969 academic year. The plan, adopted by the Board of Education and approved by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, relies primarily upon geographic attendance zones drawn to achieve greater racial balance. Additionally, the pupils in five heavily Negro "pockets" either walk or are

of its elementary school children in drawing attendance lines. To have done otherwise would have severely hampered the board's ability to deal effectively with the task

tion challenging a school de-

Reversed. ——

Syllabus

Moore et al. v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education et al.

WANTED

exempt commodities to haul from Atlanta to Memphis, Macon, Evansville, Dayton, Indianapolis & Augusta.

CALL 261-9414 or 261-9415

DeGEORGE CEILINGS, INC.
1432 E. CLEVELAND AVE.
EAST POINT
PH. 767-9711
• SERVING ENTIRE METRO AREA •

Win

OVER 200 PRIZES IN ATLANTA
WINNERS IN EVERY DEALERSHIP

A NEW PLYMOUTH SATELLITE OR ONE OF OVER 200 OTHER PRIZES

Discover Satellite Giveaway

You could win a 1971 Plymouth Satellite—named "U.S. Car of the Year" by *Road Test* magazine—or, a SONY portable color television set, one of four Panasonic portable tape cassette recorders or one of 200 handy Dymo Cricket labelmakers. It's easy to be a winner, just follow the rules.

Rules

Get in the Discover Satellite Giveaway by filling in the Manufacturer's Suggested Retail Price of the Satellite 2-Door (the price listed first next to sales code #RL21, without options) on this entry form. Write your full name and address, then deposit your entry form in the entry box in one of the participating Chrysler-Plymouth dealerships. You need not purchase anything to enter. This contest begins April14,1971 and ends at midnight, May 22, 1971. There will be at least five winners of Dymo Cricket labelmakers in every dealership selected by random drawing from entries at that dealership. Winners of other prizes will be selected through random drawing of the entries remaining after the individual dealership drawing. This contest is not open to employees of the Chrysler Motors Corporation, or any of its agencies or employees of any participating Chrysler-Plymouth dealerships. All winners will be notified. Winners will be determined by random drawings by our independent judging organization. Decision of the judges is final. Contest is restricted to licensed drivers 18 years old or older, living in the U.S.A.

Enter at a participating
GREATER ATLANTA
Chrysler-Plymouth Dealership

Here's How To Win . . .

Take this entry form with you to a participating Chrysler-Plymouth dealership. Check Satellite's low base price, then write it on this entry form along with your name and full address.
Deposit your entry in the entry box.

Satellite's Manufacturer's Suggested Retail Price

Your Name

Your Address

City/State/Zip

Dealership

RL 21
Satellite 8
2 door Coupe

21C
27J
28C
29J
30C

CHRYSLER PLYMOUTH Dealers WHO Care

Buckhead Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc.
3126 Piedmont Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30305

Chamblee Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc.
5525 Peachtree Industrial Blvd.
Chamblee, Ga. 30341

Westbrook Chrysler-Plymouth
2665 Main Street
East Point, Ga. 30044

Kelly Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc.
789 S. Four Lane Highway
Marietta, Ga. 30060

Rogers Farmer Metro Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc.
360 Spring Street N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30308

DeKalb Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc.
1744 Scott Blvd.
Decatur, Ga. 30033

Bob Maddox Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc.
330 W. Georgia Ave.
Forest Park, Ga. 30050

CHRYSLER MOTORS CORPORATION

Carrier®

CENTRAL AIR PRE-SEASON PRICE

$777

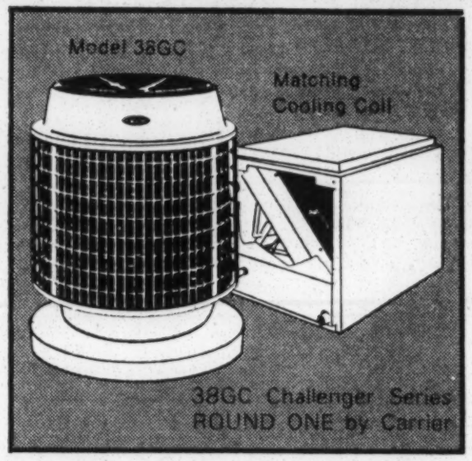
FOR 30,000 BTU (2-1/2 TON) SYSTEM INSTALLED
(For 38GC Series)*
Cools average 3 bedroom (14-1700 sq. ft.) home.

OTHER LOW PRE-SEASON PRICES NOW IN EFFECT:

36,000 BTU (3 ton) System	$888.00
42,000 BTU (3-1/2 ton) System	$999.00
48,000 BTU (4 ton) System	$1099.00

Get Carrier Quality and the Exclusive ROUND ONE at Low Pre-Season Prices!

Our pre-season, money-saving prices include Carrier's 38GC Challenger Series condensing unit, plus cooling coil, heating/cooling thermostat, gravity drain and 25' of precharged refrigerant tubing, based on an add-on installation to an existing upflow furnace with adequate blower and distribution system, electrical service and insulated ducts. Wiring not included. Ask us about Carrier's Deluxe 38GF Continental Series cooling unit with many extra features you'll want to consider. We can install now, before the summer rush, and pass our savings on to you.



Carrier® Dealers in Metro Atlanta can serve you quickly because there's one near your home. Call your Carrier dealer now!

ATLANTA

AIR CONDITIONING & HEATING SERVICE CO.
1025 Howell Mill Rd.
873-3468

JACK CROLEY CO.
3206 Cains Hill Pl., N.W.
261-0998

ESTES HEATING & AIR CONDITIONING CO.
NORTHSIDE
1333 Logan Circle
355-4850
Southside
4122 Old Dixie Hwy.
361-6560

Decatur
3334 N. Druid Hills Rd.
633-4336

WELLBORN HEATING CO.
1820 Murphy Ave.
753-2144

COBB COUNTY

COBB HEATING & AIR CONDITIONING
1125 Concord Rd.
Smyrna
435-1851

COMFORT ENGINEERING, INC.
262 Four Lane Hwy.
Marietta
427-7251

E. SMITH HEATING & AIR CONDITIONING
964 Industrial Park Dr.
Marietta
422-1900

STEWART REID HTNG. & AIR CONDITIONING
2794 Broad St.
Austell
948-3366

DEKALB COUNTY

ANDERSON COOLING/HEATING
3112-A Panthersville Rd.
Decatur
241-5221

H & H HTNG. CONTRACTORS
876 Montreal Rd.
Clarkston
443-9218

PS HTNG. & AIR CONDITIONING
5344 Peachtree Rd.
Chamblee
458-1864

NORTH FULTON COUNTY

MARTIN HTNG. & AIR CONDITIONING
90 Milton Ave.
Alpharetta
475-6170

COVINGTON

AIR CONDITIONING SPECIALISTS
Highway 278 East
786-8253

DULUTH

HERB MARTIN AIR CONDITIONING
101 Peachtree Road
Duluth
476-2673

MC DONOUGH

HAWK HTNG. & AIR CONDITIONING
261 Macon St.
957-5177

See Carrier featured on NBC's Today and Tonight Show throughout April

12-1-1971

Ed Higher - Fed

Civil: Ed - Busing

HEW, in Its Biggest School Antibias Step Taken in North, Will Warn Boston System

12-1-71

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON – In its most substantial desegregation step involving Northern schools, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare today will warn the Boston school system that it's violating federal civil rights laws.

The HEW action could lead ultimately to the cut-off of an estimated $7 million a year in U.S. funds for Boston's 192 public schools. But federal officials are prepared for lengthy negotiations and won't set any deadlines.

Today's step will be the formal presentation to Boston officials of the results of months of HEW investigation into private complaints that the school system is discriminating against black students in its pupil assignment policies. Stanley Pottinger, director of HEW's Office for Civil Rights, will present the government's conclusions to Boston School Superintendent William Ohrenberger.

Until the Boston officials are notified, HEW is remaining silent on the details of its investigation, but the general conclusions are known. HEW will argue that Boston has violated Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which requires schools to treat all pupils in nondiscriminatory fashion or face the loss of federal funds. The school system has 96,000 pupils and is the 28th largest in the nation.

HEW has taken similar actions against smaller Northern school districts in Wichita, Ka., and Ferndale, Mich. In both cases, the department prevailed and required desegregation steps by the local school authorities. The Boston case, however, is far larger and more complex, and its political ramifications could be greater.

For more than a year, HEW has been under pressure from Congress, particularly from Southern conservatives, to step up its desegregation activities in the North. The department has contended that Northern school segregation cases are far more difficult to prove than those in the South because residential patterns rather than school board policy is often the problem's source. The Boston action which is likely to be bitterly opposed by local officials, will provide a key test of HEW's effectiveness in Northern cities.

Atlanta Constitution 1-4-72 Edu-Fed-Ga

'Least Busing' Plan for City Is Introduced by NAACP

A new Atlanta school desegregation plan that would eliminate one-race schools by a combination of school pairing and student busing was presented in U.S. District Court Monday by NAACP attorneys.

NAACP attorney Elizabeth Rindskopf said the plan, drawn up by University of Miami (Fla.) education dean Michael J. Stolee, would achieve "the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation" by busing "the least possible number of students that we could get by with."

The plan, which was filed in response to an order by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, calls for the busing of fewer than 10 per cent of the system's 97,229 students.

Pairing or a combination of contiguous attendance zones would affect 47 elementary schools with non-adjoining would be combined into 19 attendance zones with racial mixes ranging from 58.5 to 84.4 per cent black.

Sixty-four elementary schools with non-adjoining zones would be combined into 22 zones to create racial mixes ranging from 59.4 to 80.2 per cent black. It is here that elementary students would be bused.

At present, more than 42 per cent of Atlanta's elementary school pupils attend schools with 99 per cent of the student body belonging to one race, Mrs. Rindskopf said.

The plan would eliminate one-race high schools by relying on different sets of elementary feeder schools.

Mrs. Rindskopf asked the district court for an injunction ordering the Atlanta school board to implement the plan, as well as proposals for professional staff desegregation.

She said if the court disapproves the plan, it should require the system to implement a plan achieving an equal amount of desegregation.

Unequal Rights

Denial of Education To Abnormal Children Spurs Parent Protests

Many Lawsuits Say States Neglect the Handicapped; Rebuttal: Lack of Money

'Schools Aren't for Cripples'

3/22/72

By DAVID GUMPERT
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MEDFORD, Mass.—Every weekday morning at about 7:30 14-year-old Wayne Keel stations himself by the living-room window to watch the yellow school bus pick up the children from neighboring houses in this pleasant Boston suburb. As he watches the bus make its rounds, the thin boy turns to his mother and asks, "Go to school?"

Sometimes Mrs. Keel tells Wayne that school is closed. On other days, she tells the boy that he's too old to go to school. Wayne never presses the issue, but the mother knows her son isn't satisfied, because the question always comes up again. "I think he's really puzzled," Mrs. Keel says. "Every day he looks out and sees that bus, and he can't understand why he isn't going to school."

The morning ritual in the Keel household has been going on for almost two years now. The reason: Wayne Keel is afflicted with autism (a little-understood form of schizophrenia characterized by withdrawal) and also shows signs of mental retardation. His schooling stopped in April 1970, when the special private institution that he'd attended said the boy's behavior made further assistance impossible.

Now, Wayne Keel has nowhere to go for schooling. The Medford public school system says it doesn't have any regular classes for severely disturbed children. The few state and private schools that are equipped to handle children like Wayne are full. Since mid-1970, the boy's sole schooling has consisted of sporadic private tutelage, ranging from one-and-a-half to 10 hours weekly, provided by the Medford system. So Wayne, who has no friends or playmates, spends his days pasting together paper rockets and buildings, and babbling to himself.

A Common Plight

The plight of Wayne Keel, unfortunately, is far from uncommon in the U.S. According to Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimates, fewer than three million of the nation's approximately six million handicapped children of school age are receiving adequate special education. And of those who aren't receiving special attention, slightly more than two million are either in regular classes, where they're often failing and learning little, or else they're receiving a minimal amount of home instruction, like Wayne. About a million receive no instruction whatsoever.

"This means there are more than three million children for whom the American school system has said, 'We don't have the time or the resources to provide you with an appropriate education,' " says Fred Weintraub, assistant executive secretary of the Council for Exceptional Children, a nonprofit organization for the handicapped based in Arlington, Va.

Until recently, protests have been rarely voiced by parents whose handicapped children were excluded from special programs. In the vast majority of such cases, however, this lack of action hasn't been caused by apathy. Rather, many parents were reluctant to discuss their abnormal children because of the real or imagined social stigma involved in the siring of retarded or emotionally disturbed offspring.

Changing Attitudes

But attitudes have changed, largely because of increasing exposure in the media and in discussion groups of the many families (including prominent families) whose children are handicapped. Around the country, parent groups are going to court in an attempt to force school systems to provide special classes for abnor-

Unequal Rights: Many Parents Say Schools Neglect the Handicapped

Continued From First Page

elementary school classes for mentally retarded children, for children with mild emotional disturbances, and for those who are blind or visually handicapped; it has no classes for other types of handicapped children. (State residential schools, which usually do accept severely disabled children, are in most cases hopelessly overcrowded and understaffed —New York's highly publicized Willowbrook being a case in point.)

"The more serious the handicap, the more difficult it is to get services," Mr. Martin says. "It's kind of as if a doctor would treat you if you had a cold but not if you had pneumonia."

Certainly, the range of abnormalities afflicting handicapped children is wide. Such abnormalities, which often stem from birth defects, include emotional disorders, deafness, blindness, cerebral palsy and other types of brain damage, and mental retardation. It's estimated that 10% to 12% of all school-age children have one or more of these handicaps.

Despite the problems of educating all these children, Mr. Martin believes further state cooperation is possible. Furthermore, he says, it's "not an unreal possibility" that the government might consider withholding federal funds from a state that doesn't fully cooperate in the education of handicapped children.

On their side, public schools argue that they're not equipped to cope with the special problems of many handicapped children. Some physically handicapped children, the schools say, aren't toilet-trained. Emotionally disturbed children, they contend, often disrupt classes and are sometimes violent.

Special Classes? "Too Costly"

What about special classes for these children? "Too costly," school administrators say. They point to the fact that educating a handicapped child can cost up to three times that of educating a normal child—at a time when most school systems across the country are squeezed for cash. And some administrators say that even if funds were available their use would often be wasteful since, they argue, many handicapped children will never benefit from schooling.

Such arguments have little sway with many educators and parents of the handicapped. "If a new apartment house goes up, and there are more children, the schools find facilities," says Lewis Klebanoff, a professor of special education at Boston University and an editor of The Exceptional Parent magazine.

Others charge that public schools often don't care what happens to handicapped children. "Some principals simply tell parents, 'The schools aren't for crippled kids,' " says Larry Brown, director of the Task Force on Children Out of School, a Boston group that has studied the exclusion of handicapped children from public schools.

The contention that many handicapped children can't benefit from education is also dismissed by numerous educators. While these educators concede that some children are so severely disabled that they'll require lifetime institutionalization and that schooling would be of little help, they add that the vast majority—possibly 95%—of handicapped children could benefit from proper educational treatment. "There's no reason why, if we spend a few dollars, these kids can't fit smack into society," says Frances Connor, a professor of special education at Columbia Teacher's College in New York.

Cheaper for the Public

According to others who favor aiding the handicapped, the payment of these "few dollars" now will also be cheaper for the public in the long run. HEW's Mr. Martin, for example, says that more than 30% of the 2.5 million handicapped children expected to leave school during the next five years may need either partial or full public support in the form of institutionalization or welfare. Mr. Martin adds that it costs about $250,000 for lifetime institutionalization or welfare. But with proper education, he says, "at least 90% of the handicapped are potentially employable."

Money, however, will not provide the entire solution to the problem. Other than the absence

tion," Laura was placed in special classes for the remainder of her school career and today she is learning to be a teacher's aide in a special program at New York University for Handicapped People and Slow Learners.

Success With Severe Cases

Laura Bernard's brain damage is slight, but educators say even severely handicapped children can profit from special classes despite years of neglected treatment. For example, the Campus School, a state-supported school for the handicapped operated under the auspices of Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass., reports that it has had success in preparing many types of severely handicapped children for school programs from which they had previously been excluded.

According to Dan McCarthy, director of the Campus School, his institution last year moved four of its 30 students into regular school programs. Mr. McCarthy says one case involved a 14-year-old emotionally disturbed boy with cerebral palsy who had been sitting home for a year prior to enrollment in the Campus School. After one year of special treatment, the director says, the boy was admitted to a Boston private school for mildly handicapped children; prior to his treatment, the school had rejected the boy.

"There's no question even the most severely handicapped children can be helped with the proper program," Mr. McCarthy says. He adds, however, that the Campus School, which this year hopes to integrate about 20 of its 57 students into regular school programs, hasn't been able to enroll all the children it would like because of a shortage of state funds. The school currently has a waiting list of about 70, Mr. McCarthy says, and most of these applicants are sitting at home.

Such children may ultimately be helped by the courts—as has already occurred in Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C. Last year's successful suit in Pennsylvania, for example, claimed that denying an education to some mentally retarded children violated the equal protection provisions of the Constitution's 14th amendment. The suit, filed in federal district court by the state's Association for Retarded Children, resulted in a consent agreement that, in effect, obligates Pennsylvania to provide schooling for all retarded children in the state.

Success for Seven Children

The successful suit in Washington, D.C., was filed in federal district court by the National Law Office, a legal-aid organization, on behalf of all handicapped children in the city. Specifically listed were seven handicapped children, who had been excluded from public schools. The court subsequently ordered the Washington school system to immediately provide the seven children "with a publicly supported education suited to their needs" and to compile a list of all city children who are excluded from school. The court is expected to decide about the latter group in the near future.

Court action on handicapped children's education rights isn't always immediate or affirmative. In New York, for example, a federal appeals court recently received a case brought by parents of two brain-injured boys, who, the parents claimed, were being denied an education. The federal court, however, referred the case to state courts, where an outcome is pending. (Lawyers in such cases say they prefer to avoid state courts, which, they say, tend to be more protective of state school officials and less receptive to class-action suits than federal courts.)

Expeditious court action favoring the handicapped may pose its own problems. Some special education experts express concern that hasty court action will leave the public schools unable to cope with a flood of handicapped children. "I'm worried that all this is being dumped on one agency," says I. Ignacy Goldberg, a professor of special education at Columbia University's Teacher's College; he cites the fact that Pennsylvania public schools must enroll all mentally retarded children by next September.

Continued Suffering

prominent [illegible]

capped. Around the country, parent groups are going to court in an attempt to force school systems to provide special classes for abnormal children. For example, class-action suits on behalf of abnormal, out-of-school children have been filed in the District of Columbia and a number of states, including California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, New York and Massachusetts.

Such activity is beginning to have some effect. Federal courts in Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia have already cleared the way for at least some handicapped children to be enrolled in special public-school classes. And on both federal and state levels, legislation is being proposed to grant handicapped children have. (Among the states, Florida, Georgia, Massachusetts and South Carolina are in the process of overhauling their laws on education to benefit handicapped children.)

"The incredible number of . . . handicapped not receiving any educational services is one of the great tragedies in the American way of life," asserts Rep. Charles A. Vanik (D., Ohio), sponsor of a bill in the House that would amend the 1964 Civil Rights Act to prohibit discrimination against the handicapped in federally assisted programs, including education-aid plans. The House bill and an identical bill in the Senate are pending.

Federal agencies have also become increasingly active in protecting the educational rights of the handicapped. According to Edwin Martin, associate commissioner for the Health, Education and Welfare Department's Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, federal spending to spur the education of the handicapped has increased to an estimated $215 million this year from $45 million five years ago.

Optimism for 1980

Mr. Martin also cites the fact that the number of handicapped children being placed in special classes has been increasing at a rate of about 100,000 a year for the past five years—partly because of increased federal spending. He adds that this rate should accelerate to the point that by 1980 all handicapped children will be receiving an adequate education.

But such acceleration is dependent on state cooperation—and school systems in most states have traditionally done little for handicapped children. To be sure, some public schools have established special classes for the handicapped; but more often than not these classes aren't all-inclusive in their acceptance of pumildest disabilities. Medford, for example, has

Please Turn to Page 22, Column 1

it costs about $250,000 for lifetime institutionalization or welfare. But with proper education, he says, "at least 90% of the handicapped are potentially employable."

Money, however, will not provide the entire solution to the problem. Other than the absence of funds, a major obstacle exists: finding all handicapped children. Many state and local school officials say they don't know how many handicapped children are being denied a proper education. In Massachusetts, for example, Joseph Rice, associate commissioner of special education for the state, readily concedes that he doesn't know the number of handicapped children who aren't in school. "In theory, we ought to have records of this," Mr. Rice says. "In practice, we don't." (The location problem is compounded by the fact that some of the less severely handicapped children are enrolled in regular classes and are being simply dismissed as slow learners.)

The early discovery of handicapped children is particularly crucial, educators say, since intelligence and physical coordination develop to the greatest extent in the earliest years. For this reason, HEW's Mr. Martin says his bureau has been advising states to begin "preschool programs (for the handicapped) as a priority." Nevertheless, most educators concerned with the plight of the handicapped agree that even delayed discovery and treatment can be productive.

The history of 20-year-old Laura Bernard is illustrative. Laura has slight brain damage but went through the fourth grade before her condition was noticed, says her mother, Martha Bernard, president of the New York Association for Brain Injured Children. When the Bernards realized that their daughter wasn't learning to read or write, they had her examined by a neurologist. Following the neurologist's discovery of "minimal brain dysfunc-

lumbia University's Teacher's College; he cites the fact that Pennsylvania public schools must enroll all mentally retarded children by next September.

Continued Suffering

Nevertheless, as time goes by, uneducated handicapped children and their parents continue to suffer. Robert Dickinson of Spencer, Mass., for example, worries that his nine-year-old brain-damaged son, Tony, may never learn to speak or otherwise communicate since the youth has never had proper training.

Tony Dickinson is physiologically able to speak, and Mr. Dickinson says he has been told by speech therapists that the youth, with proper special training, might be helped to speak to some degree and that he also has the potential to learn sign language. Tony, however, has spent only slightly more than a year in school and now spends most of his days watching television. (He is also tutored an hour a day in academic subjects.)

"We must develop some communication before his neurological growth stops," Mr. Dickinson says. He adds that he has inquired about enrolling Tony at special schools as far away as Kansas and Georgia—all to no avail.

Here in Medford, Barbara Keel, mother of autistic Wayne, says that caring for her son "keeps me at home almost constantly." Mrs. Keel has one source of optimism, however. In early April, she says, Wayne will be enrolled in a four-week evaluation program at a state school to determine whether he has the potential to learn a vocation.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Keel says, Wayne's hyperactivity prevents her taking him on outside excursions. She also worries about the absence of playmates.

"I really think he needs someone besides me," she says.

News—

W-S-J 1/11/72

World-Wide

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION by crossing political boundaries was ordered by a U.S. court.

In a landmark decision, U.S. District Court Judge Robert R. Merhige Jr. ordered consolidation of the 60%-black Richmond, Va., school system with the 90%-white school systems of surrounding Henrico and Chesterfield counties. The counties had argued that they were meeting constitutional requirements and were being asked to bail Richmond out of its urban difficulties. But Merhige said "the only remedy promising immediate success" in desegregating schools "is crossing (political) boundary lines." An appeal is expected.

A blue-ribbon panel has predicted that federal plans to house subsidized inner-city families in suburban neighborhoods probably would harden prejudice.

* * *

Senate liberals abandoned efforts to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission power to enforce its own findings against job discrimination. Sens. Javits (R., N.Y.) and Williams (D., N.J.) agreed to a compromise giving the job-bias agency a greater voice in gathering and certifying evidence of discrimination. While their compromise is closer to a proposal by Sen. Dominick (R., Colo.) for court enforcement of EEOC findings, Southern spokesmen vowed to continue a filibuster in an attempt to stifle any legislation strengthening the agency. W-S-J 2-9-72

* * *

Merger of Richmond schools with those of two suburban counties was stayed by a U.S. appeals court in the Virginia capital. A district court judge had ordered the merger effective in September. Conceivably, the appeals court's order could delay the consolidation for at least another year. But it said that to prevent any unnecessary delay if the lower court decision is affirmed, the state board of education might require the three school boards involved to proceed with tentative planning for the merger.

* * * W-S-J 2-9-72

Nixon proposed a "pollution tax," a levy on

began three years ago. Early resumption wasn't seen as likely. W-S-J 2/24/72

A desegregation case delay was sought by the Justice Department. The agency asked a district court judge to delay action in the Detroit schools case until Congress acts on Nixon's request for a temporary moratorium on court-ordered busing. Last September, the judge held the Detroit system was segregated. Several desegregation plans are now before him. HEW, meanwhile, said that while Nixon's proposals are pending, it won't cut off aid to school districts as a prod to desegregate.

* * *

Black parents sued a Catholic diocese in Alexandria, La., saying the church's school system was segregated and "served as a haven for white families fleeing public school desegregation orders. . ." The suit says the 35-school system has 25 schools that are 90% or more white, and eight schools that are 80% or more black. It asks that the diocese be ordered to integrate its school system this fall or lose tax-exempt status and federal aid. W-S-J 4/4/72

A USIA official resigned, saying he wanted to have time to express his feeling that Sen. Ful-

RACIST APPEALS by J. B. Stoner, just-defeated archsegregationist candidate for Georgia governor, bring strong protest from TV viewers. In ads run on several stations, he talked against whites going to "jungle schools with niggers." One station received bomb threats. FCC rules forced the broadcasters to carry Stoner's ads. South Politics

LADIES WELCOME. Americans assigned to the U.S. embassy in Phnom Penh are urged to bring their wives along; some other nations' diplomats send families away from the war zone. The State Department figures the ladies' presence can lift morale, help reassure the Lon Nol government.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION still threatens serious political problems for Nixon.

This month's peaceful desegregation in the South is far from the road's end. The courts still have much to say. The Supreme Court faces crucial cases involving extensive busing in Charlotte, limited busing in Mobile. The Justices, despite the apparent conservatism of Burger and Blackmun, could demand fuller integration in Dixie.

Civil rights groups are pressing to establish two principles the Administration opposes: Broad busing requirements; a firm standard for elimination of all-black schools in the South. The Justice Department is likely to ask the courts to keep busing to a minimum, letting some schools stay black.

Even the limited busing now required in several Southern cities is turning some whites against the Nixon regime.

5-23-72

Georgia Cities Hit on Rights

5-23-72

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A coalition of seven civil rights organizatrions Tuesday declared that desegregation is far from complete in the urban South and "equal protection of the law remains an unfulfilled promise for the majority of Southern urban black students."

The conclusion was contained in a report entitled "It's Not Over in the South" based on extensive monitoring of 43 big-city school systems in 11 Southern states.

No firm conclusions were drawn about Atlanta, one of the systems monitored, but the civil rights researchers said evidence indicated that leaders in the city have failed to do as much as they should have to encourage desegregation.

Emory Via of the Southern Regional Council (SRS) in Atlanta said during the press conference that contrary to popular belief "there really has been substantial footdragging in Atlanta, both by the city administration and the board of education."

THE QUESTION was raised but left unanswered that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund, another of the seven civil rights group participating in the study, might move into the federal courts in Atlanta to try to force the creation of a metro-wide school system similar to the one created in Richmond, Va.

A Defense Fund official present at the press conference said no decision along that line had been made concerning Atlanta and that the direction taken would depend on the outcome of the Richmond case, which is now under appeal.

Specifically, the 130-page report criticized Atlanta for its failure to set up a public school transportation system. The Georgia capital was included with several other Southern cities which were charged with using lack of a transportation system as an excuse for not achieving more desegregation in the schools.

OTHER Georgia school systems mentioned in the report were Macon, Rome and Savannah.

Macon was criticized for indiscriminantly referring black students to vocational education facilities, unfair dismissal and suspension of black students and failure to provide extra-curricular activities in which blacks could participate.

Rome was cited for poor student assignments, unfair demotions and dismissals of black educators and having a bad desegregation plan in general.

Savannah was mentioned as a bad example of incidences of student disruptions and poor community support for desegregation efforts.

VIA, speaking after the press conference about the findings in Atlanta, said there had been much action, official and private, in the city to thwart and circumvent meaningful desegregation efforts. He said these included zoning actions, gerrymandering, and, privately, massive flight to the suburbs by whites.

Judge Orders Richmond, Va., Nearby Areas To Consolidate Schools for Desegregation

1/11/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

RICHMOND, Va.—In a landmark case that may affect school desegregation across the country, U.S. District Court Judge Robert R. Merhige Jr. ruled in favor of consolidation of Richmond's predominantly black city school system with the 90%-white school systems of the two surrounding suburban counties.

The decision is one of the first in which a federal judge has ordered the crossing of political subdivisions to achieve desegregation, and is believed to be the first of its type that will probably reach the U.S. Supreme Court. In other cities, notably Detroit, federal judges are considering similar actions calling for so-called "metropolitan" school systems.

Judge Merhige ordered that the Richmond consolidation be implemented by next fall. However, sources close to the case indicated that an appeal is probable. The judge didn't rule on the city school board's proposed consolidation plan, under which about 35% of the 104,000 students in metropolitan Richmond would be bused across the city line.

Judge Merhige's ruling is the latest in a 10-year court battle initiated by city blacks against the Richmond school board and argued by the Legal Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Richmond has undergone several court-ordered desegregation plans, the most recent of which involves citywide busing of students.

Several months ago, Judge Merhige ordered the city school board to come up with a better plan, and the board proposed consolidation. The state and county boards of education bitterly opposed that plan on the ground that the school boundary lines weren't drawn originally with intent to discriminate, and thus they shouldn't be altered to achieve desegregation.

But Judge Merhige said that this doesn't make any difference. In his opinion he said, "The only remedy promising immediate success is crossing boundary lines." The opinion added, "The boundary lines of Richmond are less than eternal to a city planner's vision."

John Morris

"Suggest" invitees

Topics

issues

$3+ from O.E. or SDC

Have if Arrange Hav

discussion leader, presentation

What O.E. people

required —

Continuing interest

SDC Consulting Services in the Area of
School Integration

Every city that wishes to integrate its school system faces unique problems of school district organization, community politics, geography, demography, school plant, transportation, and finances. Each city must find a "best" mix of methods, from a broad range of possibilities, for solving its particular school integration problem.

There are many examples of policies designed to curb or eliminate school segregation:

- o Pairing, sometimes called the Princeton Plan, combines two or more schools in adjacent attendance areas into a single attendance zone. All children in the new zone attend school on the basis of grade assignments, and a variety of integrated grade combinations becomes possible.
- o Central schools convert one or more schools into central facilities (for one or more grades) to serve all or part of a city (pairing may achieve this result in very small communities).
- o Educational complexes are networks of public schools which broaden attendance areas by grouping existing schools and consolidating their attendance zones. Complexes contain fairly proximate schools, and although students are assigned to "home schools" according to old neighborhood boundaries, they also travel to other schools within the complex. The complex pools teachers and services, and emphasizes desegregation.

Kirkland intellectual community idea

656-2416

Catholic Mrs. Kirkland woman about 60, in business a long time

Literacy Action League of Buffalo (Laubach method) set up tutors

State Dept of Ed. — Adult Ed — Now has more funds than ever before ($750 T/year)
Perhaps record 12 T

Adult Ed of Asia — Now Univ of Hav.

Fairly Cooperative

Eugene Johnson — 5 or 6
adult
regional basic education
office of Ed.

Kirkland Early Cooperation was Ford funded

John Griffin may have record.

Simulation Training

Transportation Plans

Draft Cousins
~~Ath. Wadsworth in N.V.~~
[~~Quaker Hare~~
[~~Jane Long~~ Ath. AFSC]

REPRESENTATIVE ESD STAFF MEMBERS

Dr. Harry Silberman, Manager of SDC's Education Systems Department, has been active in education and educational-systems technology for more than 15 years. He now directs a broad program of research and development in instructional technology, educational data processing, and experimental design.

Dr. John Coulson, Assistant Manager of the Department, has conducted educational research and development projects for more than a decade. Most recently he has been involved in the development of a computer-aided instructional management system.

Mr. Fred Bennik, Senior Human Factors Analyst, has worked on the research, development and use of CAI systems. He formerly directed projects using simulation for team training.

Dr. Jack Bratten, Senior Human Factors Scientist, specializes in educational administration. With SDC since 1956, he performed human factors analysis studies for computer-based systems prior to joining the education staff.

Mr. Alec R. Bumsted, Computer Systems Specialist, has over 12 years experience in programming, systems analysis, and information systems design.

Mr. Alfred Butler, Human Factors Scientist, developed specifications for a CAI system for the Air Force and is currently preparing a language reference document for the ICU project.

Mr. Stephen Frankel, Systems Analyst Senior, serves as a consultant dealing with problems involving the design of educational management systems, multi-media distribution systems, and vocational training programs.

Mr. Charles Frye, Human Factors Scientist, has done extensive work in the application of computer technology to education. He conceived and implemented a computer-based statistics laboratory and is co-developer of the PLANIT CAI system.

Mr. Francis P. Graham, Senior Systems Analyst, is responsible for the establishment of guidelines for EDP products and services for the Education Systems Department.

Mr. William Kent, head of the Education Systems Department's Falls Church Office has directed numerous projects, including a ten-year planning study for Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C., and the design of a cost-effectiveness instructional system for the Coast Guard.

Mr. Beverly Kooi, Marketing Representative for the Department also assists in designing and developing instructional materials and in evaluating and revising training materials.

~~Peace Corp~~
~~Cox – Fed Ct.~~
~~Murray vs Vaughn~~
~~Murray vs. Blatchford~~
R. I.
Fed Dist Ct in last year

Ba. –
allocations made on 18 yr + older
w/ less than 8th grade
used to get more 7th largest in nation
ABE under new law
16 + older w/ less than 12T
cuts Ba.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

APR 17 1972

JW return to GV

4014 Copeland Dr.
Nashville, Tn. 37215
April 14, 1972

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Emory:

I think it will be helpful for me, and maybe useful in some way for you, if I try to assess and summarize our Wednesday conversations. Instead of sending copies to each of you, I'll just send this one and if you think it's worth sharing you can pass it on to George and Jim and others.

You have the makings of a major project, necessary and urgent, maybe even overdue. The possible pitfalls are everywhere, not the least of which is the danger that all commission reports face, whether issued piecemeal or in one volume. The timing may be affected by the political picture, by the anti-busing hysteria, and the like. Still, you are convincing when you talk of the need to produce authoritative data to counter the hysteria, and I think you are correct in preferring to begin as soon as possible and to issue periodic statements and reports rather than saving up for one big blast.

There is so much work to be done: the selection of the commission, the determination of budget, the hiring of staff, the definition of issues, the setting of priorities. In spite of what you say, I believe you need someone with administrative ability to direct these activities--some of them can be handled by different people, but if there isn't one person to coordinate and direct the effort, there will be confusion and wasted effort. When you think of the telephoning, the letter writing, the meetings, the organization of contact people in the states, the fund raising, the press relations, the compilation of data, the arrangements for commission meetings and all the rest, there is more than enough for one person to do (probably more than one person) before you even get to the writing and editing.

Most of that doesn't appeal to me, particularly since the only way I could do it would be to commute down there every week. Administration just isn't my forte. What does interest me very much is the writing. I would like to do a lot of that. I could, for example, work on an assignment basis, for a set fee or on a per diem or whatever, producing specific reports and papers. If you should decide you want an initial statement of purpose or philosophy, a paper on why we need integrated schools, on what quality education is, etc., I could write it, argue it out within the staff, debate it if necessary before the commission, revise it if necessary, and it would be yours--and theirs--to issue as you see fit. The same could be done on busing, or on school districts that seem to be doing a pretty good job, or on any other topic.

In other words, I am suggesting that if we can agree on a given subject to be researched and written, agree on style and emphasis, agree on a timetable, you could then turn over to me whatever raw material you have on the subject and I could supplement it with my own materials and produce the working document. I could do that working here, come to Atlanta whenever necessary, and follow it through to its conclusion as a report of the commission--their report, I should emphasize, not mine.

The three subjects I mentioned--a paper on philosophy and purpose, a paper on busing, and a paper on positive aspects of school desegregation--could perhaps be done in May and June. If that's not quick enough, we might be able to do them quicker by using other writers. And of course there are other subjects that need early attention, as we agreed. In any event, I see a role I'd like to play, and I think it's flexible enough to fit in with your overall objectives.

As I told you, I have commitments that will keep me pretty busy through April, but I could probably get away for a day or two here and there during that time. I hope you'll want to pursue my possible role further, and I'll look forward to hearing from you soon. Thanks again for asking me down.

Best regards,

John

John Egerton

P. S. My expenses are enclosed.

MAY 10 1972

4014 Copeland Dr.
Nashville, Tn. 37215
May 9, 1972

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Emory:

I am winding up all of my other writing assignments this week and will start on the busing handbook next Monday and move on to a long article on that subject as quickly as possible. It will be satisfactory with me, as you suggested, for us to make a mutual agreement for six months of my time. I don't anticipate any problem negotiating such things as the total salary and how it will be paid, fringe benefits, expenses and the like. Since I'll be starting May 15, I assume we're talking about the period extending to November 15. Let me know when you want to talk about the particulars. Meanwhile, I'll get to work.

On the broad question of public school governance, I hardly know where to plunge in, but here are some thoughts that seem to relate to the question. I think you could make a convincing argument that in this area, as in so many others, what we face in the South now resembles what has already happened in the North. Many Northern cities have been getting blacker by the year for a long time, and their school populations have outpaced their total populations in that trend. They've had de facto segregation, and some of them have made a half-hearted pass (usually beginning too late) at desegregation. It hasn't worked. Whites with money have opted for private schools, but whites have retained control of public education, from the classroom to the board room. Blacks have seen that no real effort at equity was going to be made, that it wasn't going to work, and so you've had the movement toward community control. Now all that is happening to us, and if the trend continues, Atlanta and New Orleans and some other cities will come to the same mess New York and Detroit are in.

The community control movement can be seen as blacks fighting for what affluent whites have always had: neighborhood schools, freedom of choice, self-determination, or whatever the popular phrase happens to be. That is pretty much what Scarsdale and Grosse Pointe have always had. Now the picture is further complicated by local battles over elected vs. appointed school boards, equalization of taxation, alternative schools, and a few other current issues. Where the parent and taxpayer fits into all this, I can't begin to say. But it seems clear that the masses of people--the non-affluent, most blacks and other minorities, some liberal-minded whites who can't buy the private school philosophy, a few others--have no real option, no choice, except to stay with the public schools, and their mounting frustration with what is happening to their children

and with their powerlessness to do anything constructive about it is a basic cause of so many problems the schools now face. To oversimplify it, public school systems are run by educational bureaucrats acting in behalf of politicians, and the kind and quality of schooling that combination is providing is unsatisfactory to a very large number of people--blacks and whites, liberals and conservatives, rural and urban, poor and middle-class, in every part of the country. How to manage and govern the schools in such a way that those people, with all their diversity, can gain a sense of participation and involvement and satisfaction in the schools is a very central question.

All this is very cosmic stuff, and I don't have the kind of wisdom to understand it or know what to do about it, but if this is anything like what you have in mind when you say governance (and I haven't even mentioned such things as accountability and curriculum reform and student rights), then we're biting off a big hunk or work. You wanted something to begin chewing over, though, and for what it's worth, here it is.

Let me know if any of it is worth pursuing.

Best regards,

John

John Egerton

4014 Copeland Dr.
Nashville, Tn. 37215
June 5, 1972

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

JUN 7 1972

Dear Emory:

Having had a few days to reflect on the discussion you and George and I had last Friday, I want to see if I can get down on paper a summary of it, along with some further thoughts I have had, and get it to you for consideration after your return from the retreat.

Let me begin with some recapitulation. When we first started discussing this assignment, the objective was to try to do something about the immediate crisis--the busing hysteria. I have prepared a draft manuscript on that. But in the meantime, several things have happened. There is the pending legislation in Congress, the President's uncertain strategy, the possibility of further court rulings, and there is the summer and fall political campaign season. Further, there are now several booklets in circulation which deal with busing, and which possibly preclude our doing anything further. We are not enthusiastic about what I have put into the collection, and with so much uncertainty about who the audience should be and what the rapidly changing political scene will bring, we don't know how to proceed. That is the immediate situation in a nutshell.

The long-range situation, very briefly, has to do with SRC's hopes of developing a capability to deal with school integration and quality education in the South. We have talked about that a little, and I have some ideas I'd like to contribute to further discussions, but as I see it, that isn't what we're concerned about right now.

That leaves what we can call the middle range--namely, what I'm going to do between now and Nov. 15. Harold Fleming suggested an investigation of school governance--who runs the schools, who makes the important policy decisions, who controls them, who holds the power. Those are, of course, the ultimate questions, and the implication--a correct one, in my opinion--is that power is in a few hands, in the wrong hands, and that fundamental changes must be made before quality integrated education can become a reality.

We can start there, and perhaps we should. We can find out what role state boards of education play, how local school boards are selected, how much real control they have, how influential political office-holders are in school governance, what role ordinary citizens are permitted to play, and so forth.

I have suggested instead a different approach: that we look at the racial and economic makeup of student bodies, at the makeup of faculties and administrations in the schools, at what the schools teach and how well they teach, at how the schools are financed. All this, I believe, will reveal serious and fundamental problems in public education, problems

that go far beyond busing. We would, in effect, be building a case for far-reaching changes in the schools, and in so doing would arrive at Harold's point of departure: governance. The kinds of problems our investigations would bring to the surface would require basic alterations in the patterns of governance, basic redistribution of power.

I proposed five papers to get us there. The first would deal with the issue of desegregation of both race and class: in simplest terms, who are the students, the recipients of public education? The second is, who staffs the schools? The third is, what do the schools teach? The fourth is, how are the schools financed? And the fifth--getting close to Harold's question--is community involvement: How much input do ordinary citizens have into what schools do?

These questions--who populates the schools (the desegregation question), who staffs them (the teacher education and professional advancement question), what do they teach (the curriculum question), how are they financed (the economics question), and who runs them (the citizen involvement question)--seem to me prerequisite to Harold's suggested approach. If we had all that information, we'd be in a position to speak with authority about the inadequate and inequitable ways in which our schools are governed, and how quality integrated education is prevented because of it.

That brings us to where we are: I suggested the five papers, you and George agreed, we left the busing issue unresolved, and I told you I would send you a letter outlining the project so you could draft the proposal for John Griffin. By implication we have agreed that my assignment is now outlined and I can get to work.

Since leaving you I have spent a lot of time thinking about it, and I feel compelled to raise some questions. Can one investigator, even with some research help, hope to contribute anything new and useful to the literature on these five questions? Have we given enough consideration to what we're trying to accomplish, and to the magnitude of the task? Have I, in short, bit off more than I can chew? Would it be better to take one or two of the issues and concentrate on them, or to focus on a few states or a few school systems instead of the entire South?

Whatever I do, I want to do well. I would be mortified if I couldn't deliver all that I promised. Would it not make good sense for us to sit down with a few people--Harold, John, Jean Fairfax, Ruby Martin, perhaps some others--and see if we can develop some priorities?

I don't want to delay things any further, Emory. I'm anxious to get to work. But I'm concerned that I have oversold my own skills as a journalist by suggesting such an ambitious undertaking, and prudence warns me to admit my reservations before I start. If you and George want me to get into the issue of teacher education and professionalism right away, I'm ready to go. If you want to back up and reconsider

Harold's original suggestion, I'm ready to do that. But I don't want to take off on the route I suggested to you Friday without further discussion.

My personal preference would be an early meeting with you and George and whoever else, in and out of SRC, you'd like to bring into the discussion. But I'm very conscious that time is of the essence. If you don't think we can afford to delay, or if you simply don't like the idea of another meeting, I'm ready to proceed as we decided, beginning with the teacher education issue and taking them one at a time.

I still haven't given you enough elaboration on the five issues to help you in the drafting of a proposal for John. I'll call you on Thursday before proceeding with that. I think the hesitation I have, and the frustration I feel, is traceable to one central fact: We have been involved for a long time with the fight for school desegregation, with trying to end racial isolation and discrimination. Now (unless Nixon succeeds in rolling the whole thing back) there is a new stage--the post-desegregation era. The dual school systems are fading, and a new set of problems are surfacing. Some of them are directly related to racial issues, some have more to do with class than race, and some--like teacher quality and curriculum and citizen participation and financing--are long-neglected problems that have been there all the while. The other day, George spoke of them as the issues that will face Southern education in the next five or ten years. What can we contribute to the solution of those problems and to the consequent achievement of high quality integrated education? That is a very large question, larger and more complex than the one posed by the existence of segregation. I am frank to admit that I don't know where to begin attacking it, and that is the reason for this very unsatisfactory letter.

I'll call you Thursday.

Best regards,

John

John Egerton

SRC REFERRAL SLIP

TO: PAT WATTERS Date: 6.21.72

FROM: Emory

FOR YOUR		PLEASE	
Information	xxx	Note & Return	
Approval		See Me	
Comment	xxxx	Respond	

I would like your reaction to this. Please return.

Pat returned the ms with letter

ra

John Egerton
4014 Copeland Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

June 17, 1972 JUN 19 1972

Dear Emory,

I sent the enclosed to Saturday Review, but it was returned with a note saying they "couldn't quite figure out what to do with it," since it was "a damn nice piece, but certainly not the regular SR story." Rather than try it elsewhere, I thought I'd send it to you and Rat, to see if you want it for South Today.

Things are beginning to happen on the teacher education piece. Most of my work has been on the phone so far, but I'm going over to see Herb Wey next week and to Washington the following week for contact with NEA, USOE and the National Committee for the Advancement of Teacher Education. I should have a good progress report for you by the end of the month.

Yours,

John

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

June 28, 1972

Mr. John Egerton
4014 Copeland Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

Dear John:

Sorry not to have been in touch with you sooner. The July 17 date for a visit here looks good at this point.

Enclosed is a list of three publications from HEW related to teacher training. I will send some other bibliographic lists later. In both cases they are taken from materials which Kathy Wood gathered on a recent trip to Washington.

Also enclosed is a list of people in Washington with whom Kathy talked. You know some of them but I pass her notes on to you for whatever help they may be. I am sending, too, her notes to me regarding some of the areas in which we are interested including one on teacher training.

I look forward to seeing you. Yell if anything special comes up.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

PS: Although it is a tremendously big field, I trust that a good bit of what you write will reflect on the quality, problems, and opportunities in teacher education that go beyond matters of race alone. I thought the piece in the recent Saturday Review which commented on several of the more innovative teacher training programs (for example, North Dakota; the University of Massachusetts) was suggestive.

June 28, 1972

Mr. John Egerton
4014 Copeland Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

Dear John:

Sorry not to have been in touch with you sooner. The July 17 date for a visit here looks good at this point.

Enclosed is a list of three publications from HEW related to teacher training. I will send some other bibliographic list later. In both cases they are taken from materials which Kathy Wood gathered on a recent trip to Washington.

Also enclosed is a list of people in Washington with whom Kathy talked. You know some of them but I pass her notes on to you for whatever help they may be. I am sending, too, her notes to me regarding some of the areas in which we are interested including one on teacher training.

I look forward to seeing you. Yell if anything special comes up.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resouces Development Center

EFV/gms

PS: Although it is a tremendously big field I trust that a good bit of what you write will reflect on the quality, problems, and opportunities in teacher education. that goes beyond matter of race alone. I thought the piece in the recent Saturday Review which commented on several of the more innovative teacher training programs (for example, North Dakota, University of Massachusetts) was suggestive.

June 28, 1972

Mr. John Egerton
4014 Copeland Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

Dear John:

Sorry not to have been in touch with you sooner. The July 17 date for a visit here looks good at this point.

Enclosed is a list of three publications from HEW related to teacher training. I will send some other bibliographic list later. In both cases they are taken from materials which Kathy Wood gathered on a recent trip to Washington.

Also enclosed is a list of people in Washington with whom Kathy talked. You know some of them but I pass her notes on to you for whatever help they may be. I am sending, too, her notes to me regarding some of the areas in which we are interested including one on teacher training.

I look forward to seeing you. Yell if anything special comes up.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resouces Development Center

EFV/gms

PS: Although it is a tremendously big field I trust that a good bit of what you write will reflect on the quality, problems, and opportunities in teacher education. that goes beyond matter of race alone. I thought the piece in the recent Saturday Review which commented on several of the more innovative teacher training programs (for example, North Dakota, University of Massachusetts) was suggestive.

NOTE: NO PAYMENT WILL BE MADE UNLESS THIS FORM IS COMPLETED. ALL RECEIPTS, INCLUDING TRAVEL STUBS, HOTEL BILLS, AND MEAL TICKETS MUST BE ATTACHED TO THIS FORM WHEN SUBMITTED FOR PAYMENT.

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Date June 28 19 72

TRAVEL (type of transportation & destination)

_____

_____ $ _____
(Auto @ .10 per mile)

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINES, ETC.

_____ $ _____

HOTEL (dates & places)

_____

_____ $ _____

MEALS

_____

_____ $ _____

OTHER EXPENSES (itemize) _____

_____ $ _____

TOTAL $ _____

Less Advance $ _____

SEE ATTACHED EXPENSE VOUCHER

Total due $ 204.09

SIGNED John W. Egerton/gms
(Please type or print)

ADDRESS 4014 Copeland Drive CITY & STATE Nashville, Tenn. 37215
Zip Code

DATE & PURPOSE OF TRIP Consultant

_____

Expense voucher John W. Egerton

June 21-23, 1972:
Trip by car to Appalachian State University, Boone, N. C., for interviews with President Herbert Wey and others

Mileage	825 mi. at 12¢ per mi.	$99.00
Motel (receipt enclosed)		39.63
Meals		18.50
		$157.13

Long distance phone calls, 5/15/72 to 6/13/72 (calls checked on enclosed bill) 46.96

Total $204.09

Please pay.
Jerry F. Wise
6/28/72

ROOM NO. 230

52333

INITIAL

FIRST

LAST NAME

ROOM NO.

STATE

CITY

RATE 18.00

NO. IN PARTY

ADULTS	CHILD.
2	

DATE OF ARRIVAL 6/21

DATE OF DEPARTURE 6/23

PBX OUT

PBX IN

TOTAL

PAID BY:

- ☐ CASH
- ☐ CHECK
- ☐ CREDIT CARD

KIND

NO.

Holiday Inn

OF

LENOIR

Jct. 18 & 321

LENOIR, NORTH CAROLINA 28645

TELEPHONE 758-4403

AREA CODE 704

From

Folio _____ To _____

HOLIDAY PRESS BUSINESS FORMS

DUPLICATE

JOHN W EGERTON
4014 COPELAND DR
NASHVILLE TN 37215

615 292 1614
RES 76
JUN 14 1972
NASHVILL 047

CHARGES FOR 292 1614

612NEW YORK	NY	212	242	84002L	275
FM NHVL	TEN	615	327	1361	
613CADIZ	KY	502	522	6297AN	35

SERVICE FROM JUN 14 TO JUL 14 7 95
ISTANCE CALLS EXCLUDING TAX 59 94

14 32 684 7 30
TOTAL 75 19

3630710XXX 6600 606 5994

CHARGES FOR 292 1614

515CADIZ	KY	502	522	6297AN	45
515RUSSELLVL	KY	502	726	2085AD	71
515WASHINGTON	DC	202	338	2494AL	275
518CADIZ	KY	502	522	6190AD	167
519RICHMOND	KY	606	623	9654AE	235
522CHCAGO ILL		312	922	83611L	490
522CADIZ	KY	502	522	6297AD	71
522CAMBRIDGE	MASS	617	495	4666AD	150
524CADIZ	KY	502	522	6297AE	70
525COLUMBIA	SC	803	253	7159AD	95
526KNOXVILLE	TEN		974	2217AD	70
529LITTLEROCK	ARK	501	664	43361L	325
529CADIZ	KY	502	522	6297AE	110
530FM RICHMND	VA	703	649	63414L	395
530NEWORLEANS	LA	504	524	2237AL	545

I2921614 1

CHARGES FOR 292 1614

530HOUSTON	TEX	713	523	7423AL	245
530ATLANTA	GA	404	523	6628AL	420
530RICHMOND	VA	703	649	6342AL	305
531COLUMBIA	SC	803	253	7159AD	370
605ATLANTA	GA	404	875	0279AD	366
606CADIZ	KY	502	522	3208AE	100
607CADIZ	KY	502	522	6297AE	70
608RICHMOND	KY	606	623	9654AD	135
608OWENSBORO	KY	502	684	9459AE	59
608NEW YORK	NY	212	682	20002L	275
FM NHVL	TEN	615	327	1363	
611LEWISBURG	TEN		359	2031AE	40
612OWENSBORO	KY	502	684	9459AE	87
612ATLANTA	GA	404	526	45162K	95
FM NHVL	TEN	615	327	1361	

I2921614 2

File - John Egerton

Ruth Vick: O.K. Jerry 7/10/72

[7/5/72]

NOTE: NO PAYMENT WILL BE MADE UNLESS THIS FORM IS COMPLETED. ALL RECEIPTS INCLUDING TRAVEL STUBS, HOTEL BILLS, AND MEAL TICKETS MUST BE ATTACHED TO THIS FORM WHEN SUBMITTED FOR PAYMENT.

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

DATE July 5-6 1972

TRAVEL (type of transportation and destination)

air: Nashville - Washington - Nashville

(Auto @.10 per mile) $98.00

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINES, ETC.

July 5 - $6.75 July 6 - $5.50 $12.25

HOTEL (dates & places)

July 5 - $23.40

$23.40

MEALS

July 5 - $7.75 July 6 - $10.50

$18.25

OTHER EXPENSES (itemize) car to + from airport $3.00

airport parking $3.00 $6.00

TOTAL $157.90

Less Advance $ —

Total Due $157.90

John W. Egerton

Signed JOHN W. EGERTON
(Please type or print)

Address 4014 CLELAND DR City & State NASHVILLE, TENN 37215
Zip Code

Date & Purpose of trip interviews with federal, NEA and
[illegible]

ROOM | LAST | FIRST | PERSON | RATE

STREET | IN | OUT

CITY | STATE

RESERVATIONS: YES | NO

FIRM | CLERK

FROM FOLIO:

TO FOLIO:

HOTEL
Dupont Plaza
ON DUPONT CIRCLE
AT CONNECTICUT AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
PHONE:
202/483-6000

LOCAL PHONE CALLS	M	T	W	TH	F	SA	SU

DATE	REFERENCE	CHARGES	CREDITS	BALANCE	PICKUP
JUL-5 72	ROOM 734	C* 22.00			
JUL-5 72	TAX 734	C* 1.10		* 23.10 *	A* 23.10
JUL-6 72	PHONE 734	A* .30		* 23.40	
					A* 23.40
JUL-6 72	PAID 734		* 23.40	* .00	

HOTEL DUPONT PLAZA
PAID
JUL 6 1972

2 FLIGHT

ISSUED BY **AmericanAirlines**

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK
SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT ON PASSENGER'S COUPON
PASSENGER'S COUPON

NAME OF PASSENGER — NOT TRANSFERABLE: MR. FILLETON

ENDORSEMENTS (CARBON)

NOT VALID BEFORE: 1 | 2

NOT VALID AFTER: 1 | 2

ORIGIN

DESTINATION

TICKET DESIGNATOR/TOUR CODE

DATE OF ISSUE: 6 JUL 72

ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR

DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGINAL ISSUE

X/O	NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE	FARE BASIS	CARRIER	FLIGHT/CLASS	DATE	TIME	STATUS	ALLOW
	FROM NASHVILLE	Y	AA	1001				
	TO WASHINGTON	Y	AA	511	7	800		
	TO NASHVILLE							

BAGGAGE CHECKED UNCHECKED — PCS. — WT. — UNCK WT. — PCS. — WT. — UNCK WT.

FARE 90.74 — TAX 7.26 — TOTAL 98.00 — EQUIV AMT. PD.

CPN — TICKET NUMBER — CK

FOR ISSUING OFFICE ONLY — FROM/TO — CARRIER — FARE CALCULATION — FARE

CONJUNCTION TICKET(S)

FORM OF PAYMENT: CC MX

AIRLINE FORM SERIAL NUMBER: 001 4210 256 338

AA 104 AAL INC NASHVILLE 104 TENN

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE

IT IS UNLAWFUL TO PURCHASE OR RESELL THIS TICKET FROM/TO ANY OTHER SOURCE THAN AMERICAN AIRLINES OR ITS AUTHORIZED TRAVEL AGENTS

045 925 887 7 500AX

71
12 72

JOHN M EGERTON

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

August 11, 1972

Mr. John Egerton
4014 Copeland Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

Dear John:

Did you get a copy of the enclosed "Teacher Education and Functional Humanity"?

Also I had earlier told you of the School Management Study Group which has been described to me as s small splinter group within the American Association of School Administrators. SMSG is said to be liberal, action oriented, and prepared to take positions on "moral questions." I have two names (I am sure there is a minimum of organization and funds):

Ted Grenda
Division of General Education
State Education Department
Albany, New York 12224
(Grenda seems to be in charge of memberships)

Don Thomas
SMSG
4674 Richmond Avenue
Fremont, California 94536

And in connection with the narrower issue of human rights education in teacher training you may wish to consider

Ira Eyster and/or Glenn Snyder in the School of Education, University of Oklahoma. They have worked closely with a project that Phi Delta Kappa has participated in. In this particular program they have been related to 22 teacher education institutions.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encl.

Finally reached Hasking Pounds in the Regents Office, though he called me back and I had been careful to say SRC; he thought I was SREB. They have figures for faculty and students for 14 state schools. They can give aggregate (and may be by institution) racial figures but not by whether in Education or not. Also faculty may be less than full time and would not have way to separate by amount of time in Ed. except going to each school — ~~they~~ he can give us contact people; might be worth doing a sample. I'm to call next week to go by and see what they have. EFV

[8-14-72]

John Egerton
4014 Copeland Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

August 14 [1972]

AUG 15 1972

Dear Emory,

Aside from a few more phone calls, I have now finished gathering information for the teacher education paper and am organizing it now for the writing task, which I am determined to have finished by the end of this month.

Here is my latest expense account. I made no effort to calculate what the reduction in motel cost would have been if Ann had not been with me, but I presume she boosted the total by about $4 or $5 a night, so if you want to slice about $15 off the total, that's fine with me. Her meals and other expenses aren't included here, of course.

We moved to the south side for the last night, so I could get to the school system's instructional services center for an early morning appointment without spending an hour in traffic. Every time I come down there, it seems a little worse.

If you have any luck at all with the statistics, give me a call.

By the way, I included my long distance calls on my last expense account, but they weren't reimbursed. I presume there will be a separate check coming to cover them.

Regards,

South Central Bell

244-9011

JOHN W EGERTON
4014 COPELAND DR
NASHVILLE TN 37215

YOUR ACCOUNT NUMBER
615 292 1614
RES 766

DATE OF BILL SERVING CITY
AUG 14 1972
NASHVILL 047

	AMOUNT
LOCAL SERVICE FROM AUG 14 TO SEP 14	7 95
LONG DISTANCE CALLS EXCLUDING TAX	43 91

TOTAL TAX	LOC	STATE	FED	
830908915	18	41	525	5 84
			TOTAL	57 70

LIST OF CALLS

SEE REVERSE FOR EXPLANATION OF CODES APPEARING IN THE T & C COLUMNS

DATE	PLACE CALLED		TELEPHONE NUMBER	T	C	AMOUNT
	CHARGES FOR 292 1614					
801	MURFREESBO	TEN	893 0967	A	D	154
802	CADIZ	KY	502 522 3208	A	E	130
802	MURFREESBO	TEN	893 0967	A	E	103
802	ATLANTA	GA	404 681 3080	A	L	170
802	ATLANTA	GA	404 658 2525	A	L	145
806	CADIZ	KY	502 522 3208	A	W	65
806	ELIZABTHTN	KY	502 765 5380	A	E	115
810	ELIZABTHTN	KY	502 765 5380	A	E	115
811	CAPITOLHTS	MD	202 763 5050	1	L	305
811	DURHAM	NC	919 682 2171	1	L	875
811	CAPITOLHTS	MD	301 763 5123	A	D	280
811	CADIZ	KY	502 522 3208	A	D	71
811	CAPITOLHTS	MD	301 763 5144	A	D	100
813	MURFREESBO	TEN	893 0967	A	E	120
PAGE 2	830908915		TOTAL INCL. TAX 4851	TAX 460		TOTAL EXCL. TAX 4391

South Central Bell

YOUR ACCOUNT NUMBER

DATE OF BILL SERVING CITY

AMOUNT

LOC	STATE	FED	
12921614			

LIST OF CALLS

SEE REVERSE FOR EXPLANATION OF CODES APPEARING IN THE T & C COLUMNS

DATE	PLACE CALLED		TELEPHONE NUMBER	T	C	AMOUNT
	CHARGES FOR 292 1614					
714	ELIZABTHTN	KY	502 765 5380	A	D	65
714	ELIZABTHTN	KY	502 765 5380	A	D	65
714	CADIZ	KY	502 522 3208	A	D	119
717	CAMBRIDGE	MASS	617 876 2971	2	K	155
	FM ATLANTA	GA	404 768 9005			
717	CADIZ	KY	502 522 6297	2	S	135
	FM ATLANTA	GA	404 875 0279			
720	CADIZ	KY	502 522 6297	A	E	100
721	CAMBRIDGE	MASS	617 876 2971	A	D	115
721	CADIZ	KY	502 522 6297	A	E	90
721	ATLANTA	GA	404 633 6049	A	E	115
724	CAMBRIDGE	MASS	617 876 2971	A	T	365
727	CADIZ	KY	502 522 6297	A	D	119
801	WASHINGTON	DC	202 254 6626	A	D	100
801	WASHINGTON	DC	202 293 6917	A	D	100
PAGE 1			TOTAL INCL. TAX	TAX		TOTAL EXCL. TAX

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Ruth Vick

John Egerton
4014 Copeland Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

SEP 12 1972

September 8, 1972

Dear Emory,

Here is a draft of the letter I'd like to have sent out, and the 21 names and addresses. Actually, there are two letters: one for the Southern states (see check mark) and one for the rest (see circle). In four cases, the name of the director is marked through, because of recent changes in personnel. For those, simply address to "Director" and say "Dear Sir." Feel free to change the letter if you'd like.

I'm also enclosing the following expenses:

Telephone, July 17-August 11 (bill enclosed)	$28.25
Xerox and postage	6.00
	$34.25

More later. I hope to be able to move on to the next paper in early October, which means I'll have to be through with the textbook thing by then.

Regards,

John

Please pay Egerton this amount from Ford

[9-13-72]

See the attached list of names

✓ = Letter to go to Southern state school textbook people -

O = non - South

September 13, 1972

Dear _____

✓ The Southern Regional Council is preparing a series of reports on the operation, administration, and governance of public school systems in the region. One of these reports will examine the ways in which textbooks are selected, financed, and distributed in each of the several states. It would be of great assistance to us if you could send us a copy of the laws, rules and regulations concerning textbooks in your state, as well as a list of approved textbooks and any explanation or elaboration you think would be helpful to us in gaining an understanding of the entire procedure of textbook supply.

The writer of this report for the Council will be John Egerton, 4104 Copeland Drive, Nashville, Tenn. 37215. Could you please send the requested materials directly to him at your earliest convenience? We will, of course, send you a copy of his report when it is completed. Your help, meanwhile, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Emory Via

Dear _____

O The Southern Regional Council is preparing a series of reports on the operation, administration, and governance of public school systems in the South. One of these reports will examine ways in which textbooks are selected, financed, and distributed in each of the Southern states. Your state, though not in this region, is involved in statewide administration of textbooks, and it would be useful for ~~us~~ to compare your procedures with those used in this region. Could you send us a copy of the laws, rules and regulations concerning textbooks in your state, as well as a list of approved textbooks and any explanation or elaboration you think would be helpful to us in gaining an understanding of textbook administration?

The writer of this report for the Council will be John Egerton, 4014 Copeland Drive, Nashville, Tenn. 37215. Could you please send the requested material directly to him at your earliest convenience? We will, of course, send you a copy of his report when it is finished. Your help, meanwhile, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Emory Via

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE TEXTBOOK ADMINISTRATORS

LIST OF MEMBERS 1971-72

4.,5. Mr. Charles P. Hayes, Textbook Consultant
State Department of Education
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

205-265-2341

Mr. Harvey Stern
Director of Elementary Education
State Department of Education
Suite 165, Capitol Building
Phoenix, Arizona 85007

602-271-4900

5. Mr. Dean H. Whiteside, Director
Division of Instructional Materials
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

501-371-1461

Dr. Ellsworth Chunn, Chief
Bureau of Textbooks
Mrs. Kirsten R. Vanderberg
Textbook Consultant
State Education Building
721 Capitol Mall
Sacramento, California 95814

916-445-2731

3.,5. ~~Mr. Oakley Hightower,~~ Director
Publishing & Textbook Services
State Department of Education
Tallahassee, Florida

904-599-5742

6. Mr. Paul S. Goethe
Division of Textbooks
State Department of Education
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

404-688-2390

Mr. Orville Reddington
Director of Textbook Adoptions
State House
Boise, Idaho 83702

208-384-3300

Mrs. Juanita R. Jenkins
Supervisor of Textbooks
Office of Superintendent
of Public Instruction
302 State Office Building
Springfield, Illinois

217-525-2221

Mr. ~~Robert E.~~ Woosley, Director
Textbook Division
State Department of Education
Frankfort, Kentucky

502-564-3913

Mr. ~~A. E.~~ Swanson, Director
Materials of Instruction
Department of Education
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70804

504-389-6211

****

1. President, NASTA
2. Vice President, NASTA
3. Secretary, NASTA
4. Chairman, Representative to Advisory Commission
5. Representative to Advisory Comm.
6. Alternate Rep to Advisory Comm.

Mr. ~~M. A. Snowden~~
Executive Secretary
Textbook Purchasing Board
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

601-355-9361

Mr. Victor M. Hyden, Jr., Education Consultant
State Textbook Commission
Department of Education
Carson City, Nevada 89701

702-882-7325

Mr. Tito Valdez, Director
Textbook Division
State Department of Education
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

505-827-2429

Mr. Peter Martin, Textbook Coordinator
for Instructional Services
State Department of Education
Albany, New York 12224

518-474-2121

1.,5. Mr. Claude C. Warren, Director
Textbook Division
State Department of Education
Raleigh, North Carolina 27602

919-829-3846

6. Mr. Kenneth Culver
Textbook Division
State Department of Education
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

405-521-3346

Mr. Elton Fishback, Chairman
State Textbook Commission
Oregon Board of Education
312 Public Service Building
Salem, Oregon 97310

503-364-2171

5. Mr. H. C. Quarles, Director
State School Book Commission
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

803-758-2821

2. Mrs. Mildred Bosworth, Director
Textbook Services
Tennessee State Department
of Education
240 Cordell Hull Building
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

615-741-3220

5. Mr. J. B. Golden, Director
Textbook Division
Mr. Guy West, Ass't Director
Texas Education Agency
Austin, Texas 78711

512-475-4676

Mrs. Jennie Kearl, Assistant
Administrator
Elementary & Secondary Education
State Board of Education
1400 University Club
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111

801-328-5061

Miss Mary Stuart Mason, Supervisor
School Libraries & Textbooks
State Board of Education
1322 East Grace Street
Office Building 5 - Room 105
Richmond, Virginia 23216

703-770-2647

September 14, 1972

Mr. Harvey Stern
Director of Elementary Education
State Department of Education
Suite 163, Capitol Building
Phoenix, Arizona 85007

Dear Mr. Stern:

The Southern Regional Council is preparing a series of reports on the operation, administration, and governance of public school systems in the South. One of these reports will examine ways in which textbooks are selected, financed, and distributed in each of the Southern states. Your state, though not in this region, is involved in statewide administration of textbooks, and it would be useful to us to compare your procedures with those used in this region. Could you send us a copy of the laws, rules and regulations concerning textbooks in your state, as well as a list of approved textbooks and any explanation or elaboration you think would be helpful to us in gaining an understanding of textbook administration?

The writer of this report for the Council will be John Egerton, 4014 Copeland Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37215. Could you please send the requested material directly to him at your earliest convenience? We will, of course, send you a copy of this report when it is finished. Your help, meanwhile, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

September 14, 1972

Dr. Ellsworth Chunn, Chief
Bureau of Textbooks
State Education Building
721 Capitol Mall
Sacramento, California 95814

Dear Mr. Chunn:

The Southern Regional Council is preparing a series of reports on the operation, administration, and governance of public school systems in the South. One of these reports will examine ways in which textbooks are selected, financed, and distributed in each of the Southern states. Your state, though not in this region, is involved in statewide administration of textbooks, and it would be useful to us to compare your procedures with those used in this region. Could you send us a copy of the laws, rules and regulations concerning textbooks in your state, as well as a list of approved texxbooks and any explanation or elaboration you think would be helpful to us in gaining an understanding of textbook administration?

The writer of this report for the Council will be John Egerton, 4014 Copeland Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37215. Could you please send the requested material directly to him at your earliest convenience? He will, of course, send you a copy of this report when it is finished. Your help, meanwhile, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

September 14, 1972

Mr. Charles B. Hayes, Textbook Consultant
State Department of Education
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Dear Mr. Hayes:

The Southern Regional Council is preparing a series of reports on the operation, administration, and governance of public school systems in the region. One of these reports will examine the ways in which textbooks are selected, financed, and distributed in each of the several states. It would be of great assistance to us if you could send us a copy of the laws, rules and regulations concerning textbooks in your state, as well as a list of approved textbooks and any explanation or elaboration you think would be helpful to us in gaining an understanding of the entire procedure of textbook supply.

The writer of this report for the Council will be John Egerton, 4004 Copeland Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37215. Could you please send the requested materials directly to him at your earliest convenience? We will, of course, send you a copy of his report when it is completed. Your help, meanwhile, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

September 14, 1972

Mr. Dean H. Whiteside, Director
Division of Instructional Materials
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Mr. Whiteside:

The Southern Regional Council is preparing a series of reports on the operation, administration, and governance of public school systems in the region. One of these reports will examine the ways in which textbooks are selected, financed, and distributed in each of the several states. It would be of great assistance to us if you could send us a copy of the laws, rules and regulations concerning textbooks in your state, as well as a list of approved textbooks and any explanation or elaboration you think would be helpful to us in gaining an understanding of the entire procedure of textbook supply.

The writer of this report for the Council will be John Egerton, 4014 Copeland Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37215. Could you please send the requested materials directly to him at your earliest convenience? We will, of course, send you a copy of his report when it is completed. Your help, meanwhile, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

September 14, 1972

Office of the Director
Textbook Division
State Department of Education
Frankfort, Kentucky 40601

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is preparing a series of reports on the operation, administration, and governance of public school systems in the region. One of these reports will examine the ways in which textbooks are selected, financed, and distributed in each of the several states. It would be of great assistance to us if you could send us a copy of the laws, rules and regulations concerning textbooks in your state, as well as a list of approved textbooks and any explanation or elaboration you think would be helpful to us in gaining an understanding of the entire procedure of textbook supply.

The writer of this report for the Council will be John Egerton, 4014 Copeland Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37215. Could you please send the requested materials directly to him at your earliest convenience? We will, of course, send you a copy of this report when it is completed. Your help, meanwhile, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Emory P. Via

EPV/gms

September 14, 1972

Mr. Paul S. Goethe
Division of Textbooks
State Department of Education
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

Dear Mr. Goethe:

The Southern Regional Council is preparing a series of reports on the operation, administration, and governance of public school systems in the region. One of these reports will examine the ways in which textbooks are selected, financed, and distributed in each of the several states. It would be of great assistance to us if you could send us a copy of the laws, rules and regulations concerning textbooks in your state, as well as a list of approved textbooks and any explanation or elaboration you think would be helpful to us in gaining an understanding of the entire procedure of textbook supply.

The writer of this report for the Council will be John Egerton, 4014 Copeland Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37215. Could you please send the requested materials directly to him at your earliest convenience? We will, of course, send you a copy of this report when it is completed. Your help, meanwhile, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

September 14, 1972

Office of the Director
Publishing & Textbook Services
State Department of Education
Tallahassee, Florida 32304

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is preparing a series of reports on the operation, administration, and governance of public school systems in the region. One of these reports will examine the ways in which textbooks are selected, financed, and distributed in each of the several states. It would be of great assistance to us if you could send us a copy of the laws, rules and regulations concerning textbooks in your state, as well as a list of approved textbooks and any explanation or elaboration you think would be helpful to us in gaining an understanding of the entire procedure of textbook supply.

The writer of this report for the Council will be John Egerton, 4014 Copeland Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37215. Could you please send the requested materials directly to him at your earliest convenience? We will, of course, send you a copy of his report when it is completed. Your help, meanwhile, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

September 14, 1972

Office of the Director
Materials of Instruction
Department of Education
Ba on Rouge, Louisiana 70804

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is preparing a series of reports on the operation, administration, and governance of public school systems in the region. One of these reports will examine the ways in which textbooks are selected, financed, and distributed in each of the several states. It would be of great assistance to us if you could send us a copy of the laws, rules and regulations concerning textbooks in your state, as well as a list of approved textbooks and any explanation or elaboration you think would be helpful to us in gaining an understanding of the entire procedure of textbook supply.

The writer of this report for the Council will be John Egerton, 4014 Copeland Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37215. Could you please send the requested materials directly to him at your earliest convenience? We will, of course, send you a copy of this report when it is completed. Your help, meanwhile, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

John Egerton
4014 Copeland Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

File

NOV 1 1972

Oct. 29, 1972

Dear Emory,

A brief report on my trip; I'll call you this week to discuss it further.

After talks with Hayes and others in Columbia, a productive visit in Greenville and a stopover in Asheville, I'm convinced that a thorough review of one state's second-generation school deseg problems would be well worth doing. South Carolina would be ideal for such a study--it is small and compact geographically, yet it seems to have almost every conceivable kind and form of school deseg activity, from progressive to reactionary. I got quite a bit of information on Greenville, and it would make a good study by itself.

In spite of all that, though, I am ready to recommend that the one-state study not be done now. Instead of having me try to cover it all before January, I suggest that such a study be a high priority with the new task force after the first of the year, and that sufficient time, staff and resources be put into it to make a major project of it. We can discuss this further, of course, but for the moment I would like to see this one put aside in favor of something else.

The something else, I suppose, would be a paper on governance. My reluctance to tackle it arises from the difficulty of the job--I don't know just where to start, but the more I think about it, the more I come to the belief that it would be the most logical follow-up to the teacher education and textbook studies. The three are among the most basic questions you can ask about education--Who are the Teachers? What are their Tools? and Who decides what tools and which teachers will be used? That's oversimplifying it a bit, but I

do think the three subjects are more fundamental to the issue of quality integrated education than most others.

So, I'm suggesting that I undertake a paper on governance to be completed before Christmas, and that the three papers either be used by the education task force as background and introduction to larger involvements later on, or be printed together in one booklet for circulation to a relatively small audience. Maybe when we talk on the phone this week we can make a decision about that.

I need to know what date you decided on for the steering committee meeting, and I need to know your plans for the NCCJ conference. Will take to you later.

John

P.S.
I sent my voucher directly to Ruth.

AFL-CIO News 11/25/72

Newer School Texts Note Role of Negroes

The role of black Americans in the nation's history for the first time is being given recognition in most junior and senior high school textbooks, according to a study sponsored by the American Federation of Teachers.

But there's a flaw in the development, reports Irving Sloan, a social studies teacher at Scarsdale Junior High in Scarsdale, N.Y. "In my travels, I've found that most schools still use seven-year-old textbooks because they don't have the money to buy new ones," he said.

If that is the situation generally, it means that schools are using the textbooks first studied by Sloan back in 1966—a study which led him to conclude that "the fourth R in our school system—along with reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic—was racism."

Sloan appeared at a press conference here to discuss the fourth edition of a study, "The Negro in Modern American History Textbooks," he has conducted for the AFT.

He said his latest examination of 19 textbooks convinced him there has been "great improvement" in the treatment of black Americans in comparison to what he found in his 1966 study and several later updatings of it.

The earlier studies, he recalled, sustained the charges of civil rights leaders and educators that Negro contributions to history were ignored in most textbooks, while others provided nothing more than a "racist version" of the country's history and culture.

Sloan did not suggest there wasn't room for improvement. He severely criticized some of the newer books studied for their handling of Negro leaders and personalities, and for other shortcomings. But on the whole, he decided most "do a first-rate job" in covering Negroes' achievements.

Now that textbooks are much improved, Sloan said, it is increasingly important that schools have the money to buy them.

The 1972 study, "The Negro in Modern American History Textbooks," 88 pages, may be obtained for $1 a copy from AFT Order Dept., 1012 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

File Egerton

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Emory Via

DATE: December 20, 1972

FROM: Harry J. Bowie

COPIES: George Esser

SUBJECT:

I Did receive the John Egerton memo about 1973 in your memo of December 18. It seems appropriate to me that we should talk with John about his role with us prior to any decisions about continuing his current arrangement with us. As I understood his memo, he would expect us to make a hard decision based on our need and his availability rather than continue the current arrangement in some rather vague fashion unrelated to specific work arrangements.

HJB:syc

John Egerton

4014 Copeland Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

K File

December 23, 1972

Emory:

Here is the Greenville paper, prefaced by a little essay on second-generation problems. We can talk about it all after the holidays.

My plans are to get into Atlanta at 10:20 a.m. on Jan. 5 and to catch a plane for Savannah at 4-something that afternoon. Hope that doesn't clash with schedules there, and that we'll have enough time to work some things out.

Meanwhile, enjoy the holidays.

John

P. S. I didn't make a carbon of this, and the copy center was closed. Could you send me a Xerox of it by return mail, or hold it for me til I come down? Thanks.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GA. 30303

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

January 5, 1973

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Steering Committee, Task Force on Education

FROM: Emory Via, Coordinator

Enclosed is a copy of John Egerton's paper on Greenville, South Carolina and an introductory statement on desegregation.

I hope you will let me have your comments as soon as possible.

I will be calling you the week of January 8 for any further suggestions you might have regarding specific program efforts in education by the Council for the year.

EFV/gms

[2-23-73]

John Egerton

1973

Carle: I didn't seek spotlight

By Robert Schumacher
Journal Herald Staff Writer

What does Wayne M. Carle think now?

Carle wasn't always a political and social symbol.

He came to Dayton almost five years ago with an emerging reputation as an innovative, imaginative educator.

He will leave the superintendency of the Dayton school district this summer as more than that: To many, a hero in the fight for social justice and equality. To others, an opportunist who furthered his own career by experimenting with Dayton's children.

Carle thinks, as he said in a recent interview, that his five years here have deepened his awareness of what schools should be doing and what they aren't doing and his conviction that racial injustice is America's number 1 problem.

Racial issues dominated the lengthy interview, which took place after the school board voted not to renew his contract and before the court order that the board prepare a desegregation plan by early April.

To Carle, educational and social goals go hand in hand. He sees a need for fundamental change in the educational

'I have never solicited . . . personal popularity'

system, change that will provide the kind of schooling he thinks is needed in the 20th century and at the same time produce the integration he thinks is necessary if society is to survive.

Desegregation is an issue which Carle has made his own and around which the community has divided into passionately committed, almost warring camps.

Through it all — the haranguing, the verbal abuse, the long working hours, the anguish — Carle has remained an enigma.

Given to emotional oratory, which often seems to bare his soul, he still manages to conduct himself and react to the storm around him with a polished cool that has caused admirers and foes alike to refer to him as a "plastic man."

The "plastic man" part of Carle is reflected in that he seldom will talk about his popularity or lack of it:

"I have never solicited and I suppose I find somewhat repugnant, the notion of trying to determine personal popularity or personal support," he said. "I feel issues — that is, the WHAT, not the WHO — are far more important . . ."

And the issue is the fundamental change Carle thinks is needed for desegregation to be effective and for schools to start functioning as he feels they should.

After the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision that separate schools for blacks and whites are inherently unequal, "the matter of pupil desegregation was greatly mishandled and misunderstood," Carle said.

He said schools failed to take a leadership role, relying on the courts, and "thus failed to examine the educational implications of segregation and desegregation."

Schools and other institutions need to examine themselves from within, he said:

"Unless the persons who are within the institutions of our

2/23/73 Dayton Journal Herald

Wayne Carle: 'Solution not s

society truly start understanding them, truly do their own biopsies on the living organism of the institution and then work to change it, there may not be the kind of confrontation that could save us all. Because no one from the outside ever knows enough about our basic institutions to really manipulate them . . . The real institution . . . is not subject to change just from assault from outside."

Those within the institutions, he said, have spent most of their time "trying to defend the institution as an institution for its very survival, rather than studying how it could change to carry out the ideals for which we say it was developed."

Without that fundamental change, he said, "We'll continue the myth that schools turn out Horatio Algers. And schools don't do that. If there's anything that's predictable

'ou CAN

Staff Photo by James Rutledge

difficult if we will do it'

about education in America, it is that a child will make relatively little change in his economic and social background as a result of having gone to school . . ."

Carle said he felt the need to speak out on the race question and to take stronger positions because the public debate on the issue " . . . more and more threatened to obscure the problem by glossing over with emotion or by dealing with means rather than with ends . . ."

Also, he said, his public positions reflected his own deepening awareness.

"The black-white issue in America is simply the most complex and the most important issue we confront as Americans, but the solution of it is really not very difficult if we but have the will to do it," he said. "In the first place, all it involves is putting into practice what we say we believe in the Constitution and in our Judeo-Christian heritage.

"So it's not alien. It's what we would demand if we happened to be the victims ourselves. We'd expect that tomorrow that's the way things should be. But in addition to that, there is such a reservoir in this country of black persons . . . who are literally living for the day when they can help that happen.

"It's fantastic that a tenth of the population of this whole country — and of course a third of the population of the cities like Dayton across the country — could have lived in the depression, the discrimination, the hopelessness of the last two or three hundred years and still have the reservoir of love, of compassion for others, including whites, that exists among blacks in this country.

"And if whites could ever shed their guilt long enough, and their fears, to start discovering this . . . The kind of revival that would be in this country would be absolutely

'Fear syndrome imposed on us by white racism'

fantastic. Because many of us, in our urban and anonymous living, have almost forgot what it's like to be within touching distance of other human beings, to feel warmly about others, to have goals that are common . . . Those are the kinds of experiences that are available to those who really learn how to break down those barriers which are erected by whites in this country . . ."

And schools, he said, "which ought to be the laboratory of democracy, could have such a whale of an impact if we could but free children to have that kind of relationship with each other."

Carle doesn't like to talk about it, but he recognizes that many people view desegregation with fear, expecting that it will create schools where blacks and whites compete for power, where violence is the order of the day, where lunch money gets stolen, and where students risk injury if they walk to or from school alone.

". . . That perception does exist," Carle said. "It's part of the total fear syndrome that white racism has imposed upon us, the notion that association with a person of an opposite race inevitably means conflict or violence. It's largely unfounded . . . But it nevertheless persists as a perception. That's why a commitment to a goal is so important. If we agree upon the goal, then a staff and a community can be freed to deal with those perceptions and with the real problems of organizing schools and curricula, and moving students and the administrative problems which may result.

(Continued on Page 26)

Issues, not popularity, concerned school chief

(Continued from Page 25)

And it is that freedom which has been very hard to come by.

"We also have to recognize that schools operate within the white racism that abounds in the community at large . . . But I would also point out that whatever incidents that have occurred in Dayton schools have been relatively minor in terms of either their scope or the seriousness of their outcomes when one looks at the situation in other cities . . . I think from any objective viewpoint, the miracle is that any mixing of any kind can take place in a community that has so systematically avoided it up to this point. . ."

Carle also expects that any negative emotional upheaval resulting from desegregation won't be crippling and won't last long.

". . . I think the schools always have negative attitudes with which to work," he said, "and I think experience throughout the country is that that kind of attitude melts away rather quickly. I think the important thing . . . is what attitudes are now possible for children . . ."

He says children who associate daily with intelligent, able people of the opposite race are not likely to grow up accepting discriminatory attitudes.

He cites other advantages of the "common school," where children of varying abilities, interests and socio-economic status are enrolled.

In that situation, he said, true accountability would be possible because all schools would have similar student bodies. Schools wouldn't be able to claim they weren't teaching reading effectively because their student body was composed largely of slow learners.

"No longer need we excuse some schools as being unable to perform because there simply isn't the base of ability or motivation or cultural support to make learning possible," Carle said. "We would at least approach the concept that every man's child has an opportunity similar to every other man's child."

And Carle doesn't think that common school should be restricted to drawing its students from the center city.

In the Dayton metropolitan area, he said, "what we're talking about is a collection of half a million human beings, all of whom are closely interdependent upon each other; economically certainly, politically to an increasing extent, and to say that an educational problem or an employment problem or a safety problem can't be resolved simply because of arbitrary boundaries is becoming increasingly

'The high school an inhospitable place for many'

archaic, and we simply can't survive as a collection of separate units. That isn't the way services can best be delivered . . . It's clear that our thinking, our survival thinking, has to go beyond just what we found when we got here."

Schools aren't what they ought to be, Carle said, either in Dayton or throughout the country.

"The major deficiency in schools — indeed in education — is that we tend to do things as we were taught rather than as they should be," he said.

He sees a need for year-round employment of teachers and other professionals, not necessarily to provide year-round instruction, but to create time that "could be available for teaching about teaching . . ."

He also advocates reform of the secondary school.

". . . The high school has been an inhospitable place for many students because they simply don't fit into the pattern that high schools have traditionally operated," he said. "So there ought to be emerging more alternatives to high schools."

Like different and better use of time, more flexibility in the kinds of course organization, more short courses, and opportunities to engage in projects, work and other experiences "that don't fit the typical classroom mode.'"

Carle also favors more flexibility in terms of when a person gets his secondary education. Some students, he said, might go to high school part-time over a period of six or seven years to permit them to join the work force earlier.

New techniques and new approaches are needed, Carle said, because "We're in a world in which information is [illegible] upon us so [illegible] that the school is going to be

more and more impacted with knowledge, and we simply must find many more ways to help young people have access to it. I see more electronic means to do that . . . We can't continue to pretend with students that all there is available is a slide rule or a figuring tablet . . ."

In Dayton, Wayne Carle the educator has been obscured, as Wayne Carle the sociologist became inextricably bound up — at least in the collective mind of the city — with the volatile issues of desegregation and forced busing.

Carle has endured much — petition drives to have him fired, verbal attacks and once even a barrage of marshmallows — from those who saw his positions as threatening, dangerous and possibly evil.

But he won't admit that part of it has bothered him.

'It's no secret' I want to see desegregation'

He does say, though, that he would have liked to stay in Dayton long enough to see the schools fully desegregated.

"It's certainly no secret that I want to see desegregation through as far as possible," he said. "I also feel that probably I could serve a purpose in absorbing as much of the heat of that as possible, so that the future could be easier . . . and I'm willing to do so. . ."

Carle says he didn't intend to become a symbol around which the community debate on desegregation could be waged.

"The fact of the matter is that some chose to target upon me and I couldn't dissuade them from that," he said. "There are those who believe that the way to survive is to remain out of controversy — that becomes a major career goal — and there are also those who believe it's best to leave people guessing about anything that smacks of controversy.

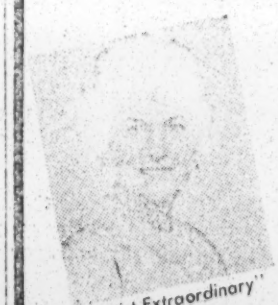
"I believe that this issue (desegregation) is so fundamental to the survival of society that it is dishonest today to pretend that it is viable to continue the past pattern of segregation. And it's also ridiculous to assume that by leaving it alone, it's going to go away, that it will take something less than systemic change to correct it.

"Those who, for example, say they're for integration, but opposed to busing, are saying something that never was and won't be . . . It means nothing to say one is for integration unless one supports that with the means to bring it about."

BHA

"POP" ORGAN CONCERT

2 FREE PERFORMANCES
THIS SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 25



"Artist Extraordinary"

AT 2 P.M. and 4 P.M.
FREE IN B-H-A's NEW
MUSIC AUDITORIUM

Presented By

MARTHA HOYLE
STAFF ORGANIST AT B-H-A
6 Yrs. on Radio-WIZE, Springfield
Each Concert Is One Hour Long!

EVERYONE IS INVITED

BHA
[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

File: Egerton

February 15, 1973

Available in Library:
Change Vol. 5/ No.1/ February 1973
Filed Whole: Education Higher Gen. Material 1973

Table of Content.

Volume 5/Number 1/February 1973

Change

THE MAGAZINE OF HIGHER LEARNING

Editor-in-Chief: George W. Bonham
Senior Editor: Celia Morris
Managing Editor: Margaret B. Lefkowitz
Assistant Editor: Stuart Gannes
Assistant Publisher: William Dodd
Art Director: Stanley Levy
Circulation: Joyce Walsh
Production: Joan Schum
Geraldine Stein

Contributing Editors: Norman Birnbaum
Arthur M. Cohen
John Gagnon
Walter Goodman
Peter Hennessy (*London*)
Samuel McCracken
Ian McNett
Lewis B. Mayhew
Harold Taylor

Board Chairman: Winfred Godwin

Editorial Advisers: Samuel Baskin
Fred Hechinger
B. Lamar Johnson
Kenneth Keniston
Neill Megaw
David Riesman
Milton Schwebel
George Stern

Change Magazine is published monthly by Educational Change, Inc., a nonprofit corporation, with double issues in July/August and December/January, in regular and community college editions. Copyright ©1973 by Educational Change. Professional subscription rate $12. a year in USA and Canada, $15 for others. Add $1.50 per year for foreign subscriptions. Student rate $6 a year. Address all editorial correspondence to *Change* Magazine, NBW Tower, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801. Washington office: 1915 Calvert St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. European office: 170 Sloan St., London, S.W. 1, £5.00 a yr. Address only subscription orders and inquiries to *Change*, Box 2450, Boulder, Colo. 80302. For change of address allow four weeks' notice and include both new address and address label from latest issue. *Change* Magazine is microfilmed by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Printed in the U.S.A. by The Lane Press, Burlington, Vt. Second-class postage paid at New Rochelle and additional mailing offices. Newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, New York City.

Change is supported under grants from the Exxon Education and Ford Foundations.

SPECIAL ISSUE—THE NEW LEARNERS

31 **The New Learners** — *K. Patricia Cross*
It is no longer enough for education to certify, says the author, but it must maximize each person's potential, whatever one's station or geography. America's new learners are rapidly forcing a drastically new approach to the purposes of higher learning.

35 **Education in the World of Work** — *Peter H. Binzen*
In New York's Long Island City, the blue-collar community has embraced CUNY's La Guardia Community College.

38 **Reaching Rural America** — *Larry A. Van Dyne*
The University of Wisconsin's Project RFD brought much needed educational resources to a widely dispersed rural population.

42 **Harlem's Higher Education Volunteers** — *John Egerton*
Harlem's own home-grown Malcolm-King College has brought higher education to the ghetto. A remarkable volunteer effort.

45 **Their Own Place in the Sun** — *Peter Janssen*
A unique new higher learning enterprise, DQU is being molded by American Indians and Chicanos.

49 **A "Second-Chance" Program for Women** — *Elisabeth Hansot*
The New School's Human Relations Center has produced some highly imaginative educational services for urban and suburban women.

52 **A College That Believes in "Community"** — *Larry A. Van Dyne*
In a remote northwest corner of Montana, Flathead Valley Community College is the town's major new industry.

4 LETTERS

12 WASHINGTON
The Federals as Reformers
Ian McNett

13 VIEWPOINT
Washington's New Reform Fund
Russell Edgerton

15 EDITORIALS
Beyond Meritocracy
The Case of Samuel Popkin

20 REPORTS
Cooperation Comes to Worcester/Britain's Eric Ashby/Unselling the College Myth/MSU Faculty Reject Unions

32a COMMUNITY COLLEGES
The Thirteenth Year
Florence B. Brawer
(Special edition only)

56 REVIEWS — *Dorothy Rabinowitz, David Kirp, Leonard Quart, Mary E. Mebane*

62 JOTTINGS — *Lewis B. Mayhew*

Cover illustration and p. 34 by Vincent Malta. Photographs: pp. 35, 37, La Guardia Community College; pp. 38, 40, WHA-TV; p. 42, Malcolm-King College; pp. 49, 51, Peter Moore for The New School; pp. 52-54, Len Derby for Flathead Valley Community College.

[3/16/73]

B7174A

florida school desegregation consulting center

university of miami / school of education / post office box 8065 / coral gables, florida / 33124
(305) 284-3213

Mr. John Egerton
c/o Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlee Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Patricia M. Derian
2349 Twin Lakes Circle
Jackson, Miss. 39211

March 27, 1973
Telephone 601 362-4101

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you very much for the Egerton paper on teacher education. I have mailed it to Mrs. Betty Carter (Hodding's mother) to use as personal information for a conference that will be held in Greenville in July. I explained to her on the telephone and in a covering letter that this was a draft copy and no part of it could be used or duplicated, that it was purely for her. I gave her your phone number so that she might ask if she did want to make some attribution at any point, when the publication date and if that was possible but I'm sure she'll be very scrupulous about it.

On page 4 of the draft he mentions the third essential which is the matter of purpose. If he's going to do a fourth one and you don't have a topic I would certainly like to see some material on that. I think it is the most neglected aspect of education revolution. Everyone seems to be concerned with techniques and methods with very little thought given to the reason for being.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Pat

Patricia M. Derian

PMD/va

April 17, 1973

Memo to Emory Via

From John Egerton

By now you will have gotten Jim's report on the Lamar meeting. There is a slim chance that Pat and Bob might want to make a South Today piece out of what went on there, but I rather suspect SRC would find it a bit indelicate to publish anything critical of the L.Q.C. at this point, and it would be hard to write about the meeting without revealing how shaky the society appears to be. Anyway, here is my account for internal consumption; if you want to pursue it further, we can talk about it.

There could not have been more than 100 registrants, and my guess is that at least a fourth of them were non-members from Jackson who came to listen or to participate in the discussions of the Jackson schools. Further, you could have counted the blacks on the fingers of your left hand. Mel Levinthal, the LDF attorney in Jackson, made pointed reference to that fact, and no one seemed to want to talk about it after that; it was plainly an embarrassment to some, and a matter of no apparent relevance to others, and that should give you an idea of the audience makeup. Let me describe the group another way: At least 90 per cent of all the people there were people I had never seen or heard of. Naylor and Ayres and Eddie Elson were there, but few others whose names have been associated with the society showed up; in fact, I can't think of any, though I may have missed a few.

The big news was that Frank Rose has been hired as the society's executive director, and I was told privately that he will stay in Washington and continue his educational consulting enterprise--which one will be the main show and which will be the sidelight wasn't made clear. The private intelligence also had it that Ayres has $85,000 (in pledges, not cash) to operate on, and that additional funding will be sought from foundations. All in all, the impression I was left with was that the society is groping for an identity and failing in the effort.

The Jackson papers carried an advertisement headlined "The Scalawags Are Coming to Town," which consisted of a reprint of an article from the Citizens Council magazine saying the society is really a subversive organization devoted to miscegenation and that it "typifies the most insidious factor now corroding the South." After Senator Mondale's speech, a group of white young people were in the lobby passing out mimeographed sheets headed "L. Q. C. Lamar -- Portrait of a Racist," describing Lamar as "a personification of the career of Southern white supremacy" and criticizing the society for choosing him as "the man whom the forward-looking, ambitious leaders of the so-called 'New South' offer as their founding father and model." Between the ad and the leaflet, the society seems to dangle like a limp rag doll; probably neither camp of critics realizes what a weak state it is in.

The meeting itself featured speeches by Senator Mondale, Sidney Marland of HEW, and Nathan Glazer of Harvard, plus some panel discussions. There was also to be a Southern governors' panel, but I left before it took place. As far as I was able to discern, no governor was there. Lt. Gov. William Winter of Mississippi substituted for Gov. Waller, his boss, and I believe the others all had subs too. I also missed Marland's speech. Mondale was well received, but his talk was disappointing to me--it wasn't that he didn't say the "right" things, it was just that he seemed to lack inspiration and force and charisma.

Glazer was interesting. Among other things, he said this:

* That since 1969 we have seen a convergence of court interpretations of Northern and Southern school segregation problems, and a growing similarity between racial distributions of the population in Northern and Southern cities.
* That the Supreme Court "is probably ready to call a halt to the process" of school integration, and that a "very serious moral problem--and political problem--to my mind has been, how can the court fail to decree for Northern cities what it has decreed for Southern cities when the social facts are now so similar?"
* That the court will probably find its answer to that dilemma in Swann: "once a dual school system is dismantled, no further tampering with racial proportions solely for purposes of achieving racial balance will be required."
* That the South will "continue to live with desegregated schools," and the North, for the most part, "will not have to reach the standard of the South," and that the South "should not rise up in moral superiority to condemn the North--it should be recalled that in fact these concentrations of black children in the North are not for the most part the result of dual school systems, and are only in uncertain measure the result of gerrymandering and similar efforts to separate the races."
* That the doctrines of social scientists [Coleman, Jencks, et al] challenge both the South's hopes for integration and its hopes for improving education, and that these doctrines, "as they spread in crude and somewhat distorted form . . . will not do the South any good."
* That "all the things the South tried in its fight to avoid full integration--parent-selected and dominated schools, education vouchers, learning centers--are being advocated [by social scientists in the North] in order to overcome the failures of education in the North."
* That integration matters in education when it is a means of overcoming "radical human depreciation," but it "matters less--or not at all--when it seems irrelevant, mechanical, imposed, as so much integration has appeared, both in the North as well as the South. It matters if what is being overcome is a deep public wrong in society; it matters less when what is being overcome is racial separation imposed by a complex mix of income, taste, culture, and of course prejudice. Thus there is good reason for the Supreme Court to stop now."

It was, needless to say, a strange presentation. Glazer seemed to be asking himself how the courts could refuse to require integration in the North, and then answering his own question by saying the line has to be drawn somewhere, and going on to construct a contrast between Northern and Southern segregation that he had first said was no longer valid. During the question-and-answer period afterward, he said he was committed to integration "all the way, regardless of its academic results," and he spoke in praise of what he saw happening in the Jackson schools, but he added, "I'm trying to find a moral justification for a line that cannot be neatly drawn by the courts," and though he said he is against an anti-busing amendment to the Constitution, he said the line had to be drawn nonetheless, "for practical reasons."

Alan Steelman, a young Republican congressman from Dallas, presided at a panel discussion of the Jackson schools. Steelman mentioned four issues currently being debated in Congress: special revenue sharing vs. categorical aid, federal aid to private and parochial schools, anti-busing legislation and constitutional amendments, and overall increases in federal aid to education. Steelman said he is for revenue sharing, a constitutional amendment, and increased federal aid; he is against aid to private schools. Someone asked him if he might change his mind about the amendment, in light of what he had seen and praised in the Jackson schools. He stammered a minute, and then said, well, yes, maybe he might reconsider his support of the amendment effort. Some of the Jackson people noted that President Nixon is advocating revenue sharing, the amendment, and aid to private schools, and opposing increased federal aid to education; if he prevails, they said, the consequences for Jackson would be like a four-barrel shotgun blast in the heart.

A succession of speakers from Jackson--board members, attorneys, school officials, students, parents--described what they have been doing to make desegregation work, and the results are mixed: White flight has been massive, but has peaked, and there is a slight reverse trend; a court-appointed biracial committee seems to have had good influence; federal Title I and ESAP funds have been essential, and the threat of their being curtailed worries everybody; the motivation for compliance--fear of the economic consequences--offers less hope for equity and stability than a devotion to law and moral principals would have offered; individualized instruction is being given a thorough try in the schools; school parks and increased busing are in the cards, unless federal policy gets in the way.

The overall impression is that white officials in Jackson seem to be saying pragmatically that segregated education is no longer a viable alternative for them, and blacks in the city seem to be cooperating and participating actively in the integration effort. Two comments by Jacksonians illustrate. One person said that school desegregation has proceeded as well as it has there primarily because "the people turned out to have more grace and decency and common sense than anyone else." By implication, he seemed to be saying that whites who desire

school integration and those who can't afford a segregated alternative will eventually equal in numbers the blacks who have accepted integration, and that among them they will build a good school system if the federal government will give them a little help. They stand together--or aspire to--against the whites who have created private schools, and against the Nixon Administration's anti-integration policies, as well as against the Northern forces who, in Glazer's words, want to call a halt.

The other comment of note was made by a young white Jacksonian who has been working for integration. "I was brought up believing we were wrong in the South to practice segregation, and the North was somehow more enlightened, morally superior. Now we've changed--never mind why we changed, we did it, and we're trying to make it work. And just when we finally did it, the North is showing us how hypocritical it is, and once again they seem to be looking down on us. It's as if they were laughing at us and saying, 'You suckers, you stupid jerks, you bought that integration line, and now you've got to live with it.'"

With that little note of bitter irony, I'll close. The Lamar people hit me up for $20 just to listen to it all. If you want to reimburse me for that expense, and for one night at the Holiday Inn (about ~~$20~~ $25) of the enclosed bill of $36.18), that would seem a fair exchange. The rest of my expenses I'll write off to the holiday my family and I got out of our stay there and later in the weekend in New Orleans. If you want to discuss any of this further, let me know.

John

AFSC NTE (1)

Press release

State Dept has reacted negatively (partly postponing) (may really want to quit using it as in part)

Pete May, Bd. Committee, said retain but differently than past

NTE (2)

July 13 — Committee report to Bd — Press will be waiting for —

Beerbee intend at ETS & perhaps

AFSC —

Part 8 CEA Prog Leddy want to go to Ct.

NTE ETS (J.E. has found would what is said of) about it?

CEEB (overlapping directorate)

Where used?

Talk to both sides

If S.C. have strategies how relates to SRC — and to a free investigative report

Test itself —

Guidelines

— are good only if NTE is good — how used

Hayes re pts 1–4

1) — O.k. — minimal
S.C. — too 1,776
thus far
NYT

2) O.k.
Jeanne Bettel
(PR for ETS)
yes involved ETS &
Hayes had suggested this
to Jeanne

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Harry Bowie

DATE: June 28, 1973

FROM: George Harris

COPIES: George Esser

SUBJECT: ETS's Action in South Carolina

Conservative NEA estimates of desegregation's costs to blacks are upwards of $250 million annually. Public school desegregation has meant black teacher and administrative displacement.

However, in addition to these very direct costs which have come boldly and dramatically in the past 5 years, there are the far more subtle and inestimable costs that have resulted from test misuse over the past three decades. South Carolina's test misuse is an example of the point.

In addition to displacement, black teachers in South Carolina have been forced to accept a wage which is determined by their scores on the "standardized" National Teachers Examination (NTE) prepared by ETS: Low score, low pay--and in the segregated South Carolina system, a lower pay than low scoring whites. For the past three (3) years ETS has tried to get South Carolina State Board of Education to stopthis misuse of the NTW to no avail.

Last week the ETS warned the South Carolina State Board by mail that unless the above misuse of the NTE is corrected by May 1, 1974, no test scores will be reported

by ETS to the Board. Without those scores the salaries for new teachers will have to be determined in some other ways. Thus, the Board is facing an issue which may require the involvement of the legislature.

In addition to refusing to report out applicant's test scores, ETS stated in the same letter that teacher training institutions will be notified. Thus, prospective teachers will be warned away from the South Carolina system. Here is an issue which could affect accreditation should such a stigma become attached.

The SRC has committeed itself to desegregated public education, and further, to develop support for public education which is currently threatened by white flight, shifting tax base, etc. As the testing issues unfold in South Carolina, it could represent the basis for a demonstration project in which we test our own, the South Carolina educational community's and the broader South Carolina community's capacity to correct longstanding, systemic inequities.

The timing seems right for such a move, and the state seems right for such an attempt. South Carolina has the most stable Human Relations Council through which we could work. The Education Coalition has been actively involved there, principally through Hayes Mizell. The Governor has implied a willingness to reduce social and economic inequity. There are competent assessment of South Carolina's educational strengths and weaknesses which could guide the efforts toward change.

By way of recapping, my feeling is that the ETS move could well serve as a moblization point in our efforts to encourage the correction of educational inequities, and for promoting popular support for public education. And this, not only in South Carolina, but across the region. ETS's move suggests the feasibility of wide and direct intervention, amd more importantly perhaps, intervention at the state level--an important factor when considered against federal revenue sharing in education.

Our approach to these issues might well include the following:

1. Encourage the broadest publicity of the ETS policy move in South Carolina.
2. Contact and arrange a meeting with the Task Force on Education Steering Committee, SCEA, NEA, ACLU, ETS, blact legislators, black teachers' organizations, Hayes Mizell, SCHR, SEF and the Education Coalition.
3. The TF on Education would plan a conference around these representatives; inviting their counterparts from other states in the region. The point of the conference would be four-fold:
   a) To broaden the appreciation for the specifics of ETS's move in South Carolina and its implications for comparable inequities inother Southern states or school districts.
   b) To engage conference participants around SRC's objectives in public education.
   c) To use the South Carolina experience as a model for teaching others the specific mechanism through which

these and other inequities have been maintained, thereby identifying specifically where changes must take place.

To assess the significance of the extensive use of the NTE in Southern states. (The NTE has extremely lmited use in non-Southern states.)

4. Encourage non-South Carolina based organizations to support and publicize the initiatives of groups based in South Carolina, particularly those initiatives designed to inform the state legislature, teacher training institutions, and the accrediting body.

GEH/gsapp

[6/21/73]

File — John Egerton

EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE PRINCETON, N.J. 08540

Area Code 609
921-9000
CABLE-EDUCTESTSVC

June 21, 1973

Subject: Use of NTE in South Carolina

On June 19, the attached statement was sent to Dr. Cyril Busbee, Superintendent, South Carolina State Department of Education. I thought you'd be interested in our decision.

We're sharing the statement with our Teacher Programs Advisory Board and a few people and organizations especially interested in test use/misuse. We hope to avoid publicity of the kind that might arouse antagonism and encourage intransigence. There is some indication that, if our position isn't used to belabor State officials, it may speed the enactment of the needed State Board resolution and legislative funding.

Should the Board and Legislature act to change the use of NTE with experienced teachers, South Carolina's use of the tests would be essentially in conformity with the Guidelines. If such action is taken before May 1, 1974, ETS would, of course, continue to make the NTE available to assist the State's certification process.

James R. Deneen, Director
Teacher Programs & Services

JRD:hmf
Enclosure

Jenne asked me to send this on to you -- I hope we have an opportunity to speak at greater length soon.

Jim

ETS Policy on Reporting NTE Scores to the South Carolina State Department of Education

As of May 1, 1974, Educational Testing Service (ETS) will no longer report scores achieved on the National Teacher Examinations (NTE) to the South Carolina State Department of Education. The May 1 date was chosen so that adequate notice could be provided to students planning to take the examinations during the 1974-75 academic year. ETS has taken this step because extensive correspondence and meetings with South Carolina officials over the past three years indicate that South Carolina's use of NTE scores to classify and compensate experienced teachers directly violates the Guidelines for Using the National Teacher Examinations.

The Guidelines, published by ETS in 1971, set forth the appropriate and inappropriate uses of the testing program and describes the steps that ETS will take where a misuse occurs:

> ETS will inquire into any allegation of misuses of the National Teacher Examinations. An ETS representative will discuss test usage with officials of schools or school systems and when an inappropriate use of the NTE exists, will endeavor to obtain appropriate changes.
>
> Should school officials decline to reconsider an NTE misuse, ETS will inform the appropriate professional organizations of the situation. This communication will detail the problems and measures that have been taken; ETS will offer to cooperate with the organization in seeking a remedy for the situation.
>
> If these steps fail to bring about change within a reasonable period, ETS will notify school officials in the system in question, and, as appropriate, teacher training institutions in the region, that NTE scores will not be reported to the system. The reasons for such an action will be explained, and colleges will be asked to notify their students that their scores will not be sent to that system.

The National Teacher Examinations* are used in many states for certification of teachers, by large numbers of school systems as a part of their process of evaluating prospective teachers, and by teacher training institutions to assess the preparation of their students. Standardized tests such as the NTE, when used in conjunction with college records and other credentials, assist state departments of education in judging the qualifications of prospective teachers. However, as stated in the Guidelines, the NTE scores

---

* See note at close of statement.

should not be used "in decisions affecting the retention or rehiring of experienced teachers. The best indication that a teacher can teach well is that he has taught well. When an adequate and reliable record of the teacher's performance is available ... any use of the NTE for rehiring or retention is improper."

The NTE has been used in South Carolina since 1942 when the State adopted it as a certification measure. At that time, the State used a system of graded certificates for salary levels, and the grade was determined by the NTE Common Examinations score. In 1969, the State Board modified the system, and teachers with an NTE Common score of 950+ were ranked as professional teachers; those scoring between 875-949, as "Warrant" teachers. If those in the latter category do not raise their score to 950 within 5 years, they may continue to teach but cannot advance on the salary scale.

The 1969 revision did not affect the status of teachers certified before that date. Thus, a substantial number of experienced teachers -- those for whom "an adequate and reliable record of performance" should be available -- are being paid at lower levels than their colleagues who achieved the requisite scores. It is this misuse that ETS has sought unsuccessfully to correct.

Beginning in 1971 with the publication of the Guidelines, ETS has corresponded and met with South Carolina officials to discuss ways in which South Carolina's use of the test could be made consistent with the Guidelines. It is clear that many South Carolina educators and Board members have been working extensively for such resolution. The Committee to Study Teacher Education and Certification Requirements, established by the South Carolina State Board of Education, has recently recommended that "the current provisions for Warrants and graded certificates be completely eliminated, and the subsequent effect on salaries be eliminated also."

However, there is not at present a system for implementing the recommendations, and the future course of action in South Carolina remains uncertain.

Educational Testing Service
Princeton, New Jersey
June 21, 1973

*The NTE consists of:

The Common Examinations

professional education (psychological foundations of education, societal foundations of education, teaching principles and practices)

general education (written English expression, social studies, literature and fine arts, science and mathematics)

Area Examinations

27 separate examinations in specific subjects (biology, mathematics, and others), or other professional specializations (reading specialist, guidance counselor, and others)

The Common Examinations take 3 hours 15 minutes, each Area Examination, 2 hours. Scores on each examination may range from 300 to 900; composite scores (Common Examinations plus an Area Examination) may range from 600 to 1800.

Busbee Hits Withholding Of Scores

By LEVONA PAGE

Governmental Affairs Staff

State Superintendent of Education Cyril B. Busbee accused the Educational Testing Service (ETS) of New Jersy of "sword flashing" Monday because of its notice to stop reporting to South Carolina the scores teachers make on the National Teachers Exam (NTE).

ETS, which authors the exam, wrote Busbee June 20 that it would stop reporting the scores May 1, 1974, because the State Department of Education has not reformed its use of the NTE.

South Carolina is reportedly the only state which still uses the exam score to partially determine teacher salary and that use has been criticized in recent months as being racially discriminatory.

The ETS letter to Busbee was publicized Monday in the July issue of "Your Schools," a newsletter published by the S.C. Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee. Director of the program is M. Hayes Mizell, a member of the Richland District One (Columbia) school board.

Busbee was frankly irritated by the ETS letter and its publication. He said the communication by ETS was premature because the State Board of Education has not yet had a chance to act on a recommendation by a special study committee on teacher certification, including the use of the NTE.

The committee recommended to the board June 8 that the exam continue to be administered to prospective teachers, but that the scores not be used to make differentials in salary.

Busbee said the board referred the committee's recommendations to its standing committee on teacher certification and it has already held a meeting. The recommendation of that committee will be reported to the board at its next regular meeting, July 13, Busbee said.

"For the ETS to indicate that the State Board of Education has not been responsive on this is a little far-fetched," Busbee commented. He added that the service has been supplying the exam to South Carolina since 1945 or 46 and "they have been a party to anything and everything we have done."

He continued, "They have been selling us that exam for 27 or 28 years and this is a poor way to treat a good customer. It bothers me that they should threaten us when we have been moving objectively" to do something about the use of the NTE.

Busbee said an ETS representative was present when the State Department of Education met to consider forming the study committee on teacher ccertification.

The state superintendent said he is uncertain about how the ETS position will affect the use of the NTE in South Carolina. He said he does not know whether the service will continue to supply the test but refrain only from giving the score after it is administered to teachers.

Concerning the publication of the ETS position, Busbee said, "They stated in their first letter to us that it was definitely not written for publicity, but apparently they gave it to the American Friends Service Committee."

He said a subsequent letter was sent June 22, stating that The first letter had contained errors, but it did not change the ETS position.

Busbee said he has not yet replied to the letters.

Under present use, a South Carolina teacher is given a "professional" certificate after achieving a score of 975 or better on the NTE. Those scoring between 850 and 974 are classified as "warrant" teachers. If teachers in the warrant category do not raise their score to 975 within five years, they may continue to teach but cannot advance on the salary scale.

In recent years, some veteran teachers have reportedly not been re-hired because of their low scores on the NTE, taken years earlier.

In the American Friends Service Committee news release about the letter to Busbee, it stated that the use of the NTE in South Carolina has been studied and questioned for years by Busbee and other state officials and changes have been recommended. "However," it stated, "there is not at present a system for implementing the recommendations and this inaction apparently prompted the ETS sanction."

SCORES MISUSED?

Teacher-Test Firm Says S.C. Cheats

By HENRY EICHEL
Observer Sports Writer

The prestigious Educational Testing Service (ETS) of Princeton, N. J., which gives the National Teachers Examination to prospective South Carolina teachers, says it will stop reporting test results to the state because officials are making improper use of the scores.

That means that unless ETS reverses itself, South Carolina education officials will not be able to use the exams to certify new teachers.

State Supt. Cyril B. Busbee, irritated by the ETS decision, said in an interview Tuesday, "There are plenty of other testing services we can use."

The ETS objects to South Carolina's use of the tests to partially determine teachers' salaries — sometimes for years after the teacher took the test.

The decision by the ETS, which also administers the college board and graduate record examinations, became public this week when a letter from ETS to Busbee was printed in "Your Schools," a newsletter of the American Friends Service Committee in Columbia.

Hayes Mizell, the Friends' program director in South Carolina and a member of the Columbia School Board, said in an interview that the letter was "leaked" to him.

Busbee said: "I don't understand their (ETS) position, when they're been a party to this use of the test since 1946."

As the test is used now, a score of 975 out of a possible 1800 is required for a professional certificate. A prospective teacher scoring below that, but above the flunk-out mark of 849, can be hired as a "warrant" teacher.

Warrant teachers have five years to retake the exam in order to raise their scores to 975. If they fail to raise their scores, they can continue to teach — but they cannot advance on the state teacher salary scale.

Until 1968, when it dropped the practice, the South Carolina Board of Education used National Teachers Examination scores to place teachers in one of four separate salary scales.

The ETS says that it is unfair to use test scores — intended to screen teachers for their first jobs — to judge a teacher's qualifications after the teacher has had classroom experience.

When a school board in Chesterfield County fired several black teachers in 1971, claiming they had failed to raise their teacher exam scores as required, the teachers filed suit and accused the school board of racial discrimination.

In that case, ETS official James Deneen testified that he did not think the board was making proper use of the exam.

"That situation was very similar to what we have now," Deneen said in an interview Tuesday. "A teacher who has measurable classroom experience should be judged on that experience."

Presently, the state Board of Education is considering a recommendation from one of its committees that it drop exam scores altogether as a factor in determining teacher salaries. Such a move would meet ETS's objection.

Busbee said Tuesday that ETS "is coming up with their position at this time, when we are objectively trying to remedy the situation."

The News and Courier, Wed., July 4, 1973 9-A
CHARLESTON, S. C.

Dept. Of Education Won't Get Individual NTE Scores

COLUMBIA (UPI)—Effective May 1, 1974, the State Dept. of Education will no longer receive individual test scores achieved on the National Teacher Examination (NTE).

The educational Testing Service of Princeton, N. J., which administers the test, has taken the action due to violations by the South Carolina Education Dept. on use of the NTE.

South Carolina is reportedly the only state which still uses the exam score to partially determine teacher salary.

The testing service wrote State Supt. of Education Cyril Busbee earlier this year advising him of its action. That letter was published this week in the July issue of "Your Schools," a newsletter published by the South Carolina Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

Busbee said Monday that the action was premature because the State Board of Education has not had a chance to act on a recommendation by a special study committee on teacher certification.

The committee recommended that the exam continue to be used but not to make differentials in salary.

Busbee said further action on the recommendatons is expected at the July 13 meeting of the State Board of Education.

Under present use of the NTE, a South Carolina teacher is given a "professional" certificate after achieving a score of 975 or better. Those scoring below 974 are classified as "warrant" teachers.

If teachers in the warrant category do not raise their score to 975 within five years, they may continue to teach but cannot advance on the salary scale.

The Greenville News—Greenville Piedmont—Page C-1—Wednesday, July 4, 1973

S.C. To Discontinue Teacher Examination

COLUMBIA (UPI) — Effective May 1, 1974 the State Department of Education will no longer receive individual test scores achieved on the National Teacher Examination.

The educational testing service of Princeton, N.J., which administers the test, has taken the action because of violations by the South Carolina Education Department on use of the NTE.

South Carolina is reportedly the only state which still uses the exam score to partially determine teacher salary.

The testing service wrote State Supt. of Education Cyril Busbee earlier this year advising him of its action. That letter was published this week in the July issue of "Your Schools," a newsletter published by the South Carolina Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

Busbee said Monday that the action was premature because the State Board of Education has not had a chance to act on a recommendation by a special study committee on teacher certification.

The committee recommended that the exam continue to be used but not to make differentials in salary.

Busbee said further action on the recommendations is expected at the July 13 meeting of the State Board of Education.

Under present use of the NTE, a South Carolina teacher is given a "professional" certificate after achieving a score of 975 or better. Those scoring between 850 and 974 are classified as "warrant" teachers.

If teachers in the warrant category do not raise their score to 975 within five years, they may continue to teach but cannot advance on the salary scale.

6-B THE COLUMBIA RECORD Wednesday, July 4, 1973

NTE Announces Plan To Refuse Scores

By United Press International

The Educational Testing Service has advised the State Department of Education that it will not furnish individual test scores achieved on the National Teacher Examination after May 1, 1974.

The Princeton, N. J. testing service said the action was taken because the state violated guidelines for use of the NTE.

South Carolina is reportedly the only state that continues to use the exam score to partially determine teacher salary.

The letter from the testing service advising State Supt. of Education Cyril Busbee of the sanction was published this week in the July issue of "Your Schools," a newsletter published by the South Carolina Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

Busbee said the action was premature because the State Board of Education has not had a chance to act on a recommendation by a special study committee on teacher certification.

The committee suggested that the exam be used but not as a basis for differentials in salary.

Busbee said further action on the recommendations is expected at the July 13 meeting of the State Board of Education.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

A Southern Institute to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 6, 1973

Mr. John Egerton
4014 Copeland Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

Dear John:

Enclosed are the materials for the Educational Testing Service related to the use of the NTE* in South Carolina and an internal Council memorandum regarding possible SRC involvement in this development.

I have talked with Hayes, who has had one press release about this subject in South Carolina although he feels the press has not sensed the significance of this development. He is uncertain as to what Busbee's feelings are regarding use of the NTE but Busbee has expressed public irritation at ETS because the matter has reached the media.

On July 13 a special committee is to report to the State Board about the NTE and the ETS Guidelines. Hayes does not feel that the "education fraternity" in S.C. really wanted to tackle the NTE and perhaps the better people welcomed the ETS move.

We feel that it is impossible to make a decision about next steps until after July 13, but a memo from you prior to that time with a supplementary note following the 13th would be welcome.

Certainly you should raise the question of the validity and usefulness of the test even when used within the Guidelines.

[* National Teacher Examination]

We would like to have a somewhat better rough-hand assessment of the impact of ETS's move on South Carolina. Hayes, of course, is a good place to start and he will expect a call from you.

We need more accurate leads that we now have regarding the use of NTE in other southern states and where possible abuses maybe occurring.

In general Hayes feel that publicity will be useful and that a seminar discussion involving the kinds of groups mentioned in the SRC memo on page 2, part 2 would be useful.

I think if you could get from Hayes and others some judgment as to what further steps would be useful in South Carolina as well as determine what might be useful ~~later~~ elsewhere for follow-up information or programs, it would help us. If an investigative report seems in order, a judgment would need to be made about the most appropriate timing (whether you are the reporter or not).

Many thanks. Call me if you have questions.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms
Attachment

[7/12/73]

July 12, 1973

Memo to SRC

From John Egerton

Re: ETS, the NTE, and SC

Here is the background on the Educational Testing Service change in policy regarding the use of the National Teacher Examination in South Carolina. At a meeting in Columbia tomorrow, the State Board of Education will be asked by a special study committee to adopt a new position on the use of the test; I will report on that meeting in a footnote to this memo. I will also be receiving some background information from Hayes Mizell, Richard Fields of the Legal Defense Fund, and two people at ETS, and I will keep it for future use if you decide after reviewing the situation that you want me to pursue it further. I will be leaving here in a week and be gone for a month, so this memo will be as much as I can do until September. From what I know about the subject so far, I believe it may warrant further investigation by SRC.

South Carolina is one of 13 states now using the NTE for any purpose at all (the list of 13 is being forwarded to me), but it is apparently the only state which as a matter of policy permits--requires--its use as one means of determining teacher classification, pay, and promotion.

Before 1969, South Carolina teachers were certified, graded and ranked at the time they were hired. The primary means of making these judgments was a test devised by the state in the 1940s. That test was later replaced by the NTE common exam, and after a cheating scandal, administration of the test was tightened by South Carolina education officials. During all this time--a period of about 20 years--the basic program stayed essentially the same: Every teacher seeking certification by the state prior to employment took the exam; those who scored 500 or above (out of a possible 900) were classified as "A" teachers, and were placed in the highest pay-scale "track"; those who scored between 425 and 500 were classified as "B" teachers; those who scored between 375 and 425 were "C" teachers; and those who scored between 332 and 425 were "D" teachers. Those who scored between 300 (the minimum possible score) and 332 were not hired.

Once in these four categories, the teachers were virtually doomed to stay there. They could take the test over in hopes of raising their letter grade, but few did, and ETS officials say the likelihood of getting a higher score by retaking the test is very remote. So no matter how effectively a teacher performed on the job, he or she was paid according to performance on a written test taken before beginning his or her teaching career. To give you an idea how much difference this made (and makes) in a teacher's paycheck, here is the 1973-74 salary schedule (i.e., the state portion, to which local districts add about 20 per cent) for a teacher with a bachelor's degree and 10 years' experience:

"A" Teacher	"B" Teacher	"C" Teacher	"D" Teacher
$7,500	$6,400	$4,600	$4,000

Since the local district's supplement to these salaries is based on percentages (i.e., 20 per cent of $7,500, of $6,400, etc.), the net effect is to create an even greater dollar gap between the A, B, C and D teachers.

In 1968, State Superintendent Cyril B. Busbee formed a study commission to review the whole certification process. That commission recommended to the State Board of Education, and the board adopted, a new credentialing system based on four things: (1) a bachelor's degree in a chosen area of specialty, and periodic in-service or advanced study; (2) a recommendation from the college awarding the degree; (3) a certificate of good health; and (4) a certain NTE score combining the common exam and a "specialty" exam. Instead of A-B-C-D categories, two new categories were created: Professional and Warrant. The Professional certificate was awarded to teachers who met the first three qualifications and had a composite NTE score of 950 or higher and who scored at least 450 on both parts of the exam. (Both exams had the same 300 minimum - 900 maximum grade scale.) The Warrant certificate was awarded to teachers who had composite scores ~~of at least 875, and who made at least 400 on each of the two tests.~~ of between 875 + 950, and who made between 400 + 450 on each of the two test. That began in 1969. All teachers hired since then--both Professional and Warrant--have been on the same pay scale. Warrant teachers are given five years to meet the qualifications of Professional status--which in effect means that they have five years to keep taking the NTE in hopes of raising their scores to at least 450 on each exam and 950 overall. After five years, if they have not done that, they will be frozen into a lower pay scale than the Professional teachers. Presumably, then, if the present policy is not changed, some teachers hired in 1969 will begin in 1974 to receive lower pay than their contemporaries.

For the moment, though, existing pay differentials affect only those teachers hired before 1969 and who are classified as B, C, or D teachers. A grandfather clause binds them to that status; the only way they can be reclassified as Professional or Warrant teachers is to take the NTE over and raise their scores. The inequity is compounded in several ways; for example, a teacher hired in 1968 who scored 475 on the NTE common exam is classified as a "B" teacher, and the state will pay him or her $6,400 in 1973-74. Another teacher, hired in 1969, may have scored only 450 on the NTE common exam, but he or she can be classified as a Professional teacher and be paid $7,500 by the state next year. The "B" teacher, in order to attain Professional ranking, would have to take the NTE exam in his or her area of specialty and score at least 475.

All this can get very complicated, but the essence of it is this: An undetermined number of teachers in the B-C-D categories are being penalized throughout their entire careers because of scores they made on a standardized test they were required to take before they first began teaching in South Carolina. In conversations with Jesse Coles and Joe Davis, two high-ranking officials in the State Department of Education, and in further talks with officials of the South Carolina Education Association, a member of the State Board of Education, and two representatives of ETS, I learned the following:

* Nobody professes to know exactly how many teachers are adversely affected by the policy in South Carolina, but the consensus of estimates is that about 6,000 active teachers (not counting others who have B, C or D classification but are not currently employed as teachers) are now being paid less than the going rate for the top classifications.

* Nobody professes to know how many of the adversely affected teachers are black and how many are white. Almost everybody I talked to, however, agreed that more than half are black, and one of the state department officials said he was sure "an overwhelming preponderance" are black.

* Nobody professes to know exactly how much money it would take to raise all teachers to the same pay level, but the estimates range from about $6 million to more than $10 million a year, in state funds, and a proportionate amount in local funds. It could be even more: If you had 6,000 people making an average of $2,500 a year less than top scale, it would take $15 million to bring them up to par.

This issue has been festering in South Carolina for a long time, and particularly since the beginning of school desegregation on a large scale. In a court case in Chesterfield County last year, half a dozen black teachers with "C" ratings did not get renewed certificates from the local board of education. The board said they were not qualified. They went to federal court for relief, and the Department of Justice was on their side, but the judge ruled that the board had a right not to rehire them. Justice Department lawyers waited until the last possible moment to notify the court that they would appeal the ruling, but that was several months ago and no appeal has yet been filed. Furthermore, efforts to find out who in the Justice Department is on the case have been fruitless. James R. Deneen, the director of teacher programs and services for ETS, gave a deposition in that case opposing use of the NTE as a device for determining pay, promotion, tenure or re-employment.

The National Education Association, when it sent an investigating committee into South Carolina awhile back, also raised the NTE issue, and urged that the state cease using the test for anything other than initial certification purposes. ETS itself has tried for some time to get South Carolina to change its policy regarding use of the NTE, and last month, ETS notified Superintendent Busbee that as of May 1, 1974, ETS will no longer report scores achieved on the NTE to the South Carolina State Department of Education, unless the state ceases to use the test "in decisions affecting the retention or rehiring of experienced teachers." (The ETS policy on reporting NTE scores is included in the file I am assembling on this subject.)

Busbee and others in the state department have known for some time that this problem would eventually have to be faced. A new study commission formed by Busbee has been studying the matter, and that commission has already made known its recommendation that a single professional classification be created for all teachers. The commission presumably will make that formal recommendation to the State Board of Education at the meeting scheduled for tomorrow. The distinct impression I am left with is that the decision-makers in South Carolina education don't want to fight ETS on this issue; they recognize that a change in policy is needed, and that it has to come, and most of them can be said to favor a change. (Whether or not they always have is another matter; my hunch is that that they have been stalling deliberately for years, waiting for death and

retirement and, in some cases, outright racial bias, to decimate the ranks of B, C and D rated teachers.) The issue they face now--the essential problem--is primarily economic, secondarily political, and last and least educational. In all probability, the State Board of Education is going to agree with its study commission that a single classification of teachers for pay and promotion purposes must be established. But the problem is going to be in getting the State Legislature to appropriate the funds needed to implement such a new policy. The state reportedly had a $90 million surplus last fiscal year; it can afford to make the change. But the legislature will not be in session again until next January, and apparently nothing can be done until then. Nobody I talked to seemed to feel any serious concern that the legislature might refuse to fund a single pay scale for teachers. I tried without success to locate Representative Harold Breazeale of Pickens, chairman of the House Education Committee and by all accounts the key man in the legislature on this and other education matters. He is considered a good man, and one who could be expected to be understanding of this problem and supportive of a change.

So the consensus seems to be that a change to a single classification for certified teachers in South Carolina is going to come about, and the ETS decision to stop supplying scores may prove to be the catalyst that will make the change possible. Even if that happens, though, some questions will remain:

* Will more black teachers be weeded out before a single classification is established (presumably 1974-75, at the earliest)? The court decision in Chesterfield County could well encourage other school districts to do the same thing, unless that decision is reversed on appeal.

* If the B, C and D rated teachers are brought up to the A pay scale (which is the same, incidentally as Professional and Warrant teachers are on), will they simply move up to the top level on a given date, or will there be a phase-in--or, conversely, will they be eligible for retroactive reimbursement? The state almost certainly will not offer retroactive reimbursement. Should it be sought in court?

* If a single Professional classification is adopted and funded, what will it be based on? Will the NTE be used as one means of determining who will be hired in the future? If so, will certain minimum scores be required? What will be the minimum? Should the NTE be used at all? Here is where ETS and SRC, as well as other interested parties, might part company. The South Carolina Education Association's Representative Assembly has passed a resolution urging the State Department of Education to stop using the NTE for salary, promotion and contract renewal purposes; they are in favor of having a single Professional category for all teachers. But Richard Fowler, the new SCEA president, told me emphatically that his organization does not want the NTE to be discontinued altogether. SCEA, NEA and ETS can be expected to be in full accord on this point; many others, including many black teachers, hold the opposite view, contending that the exam should not be used at all. (The SCEA, with an assist from the Professional Rights and Responsibilities division of NEA, has gathered information for a suit against the state to force a change in its policies regarding the NTE, but the suit has not been filed, and Fowler said he doubted it would be unless the state refuses to change its policy.)

A larger issue in all this has to do with the difficulty of evaluating teacher performance. Most educators acknowledge that there is no effective and equitable system of evaluation now in widespread use. South Carolina has avoided the problem by simply using a test to make an evaluation prior to the beginning of a teacher's career, and letting that evaluation stand regardless of how well or poorly the teacher subsequently performs. Clearly, that is discriminatory; but what alternatives are better? Given the certainty that South Carolina and all states now employ many teachers, black and white, who are not competent to meet the diverse needs of children, how can school systems remove them and hire better teachers to replace them? That question--or at least the first part of it (removal)--is not, or should not be, a matter that concerns ETS in any way. But it is a problem for all school systems, and none that I know of has solved it. It is really the tenure question, and I won't pursue it further here.

I hope to have (from LDF, ETS and Mizell) more information soon on court cases involving discriminatory use of the NTE, as well as more information on what states and school systems in the South (and what teacher training institutions) use the NTE for any purposes at all. And on Monday, I will append to this memo a report on the meeting in Columbia tomorrow.

July 16

The Columbia Record's account of the July 13 meeting indicated that the State Board of Education took no action on the ETS memorandum. One board member (unidentified) was quoted as saying the ETS notification to Busbee that it would stop providing NTE scores was a display of "extreme arrogance." An "education spokesman," also unidentified, commented that "if someone sells me a bar of soap, he isn't going to tell me how to use it." The state study commission's report recommending that NTE scores no longer be used to determine salaries has apparently been referred to committee for study. From the tone of the Record story, it is clearly not going to be a simple matter to get the board to change its policy; there was even some discussion of terminating the ETS contract and buying another similar test from some other firm or organization. James Blake, a black member of the board and also a member of the study commission, told me last week that "there is no question the State Board of Education feels this matter has to be resolved. We have to do away with the rated scale of paying teachers." But he didn't say that for public consumption at the meeting on Friday, and he wouldn't give Mizell a copy of the study commission's report. The board is meeting again in two days (Wednesday the 18th) to discuss the matter further. Mizell will probably attend. You might want to pursue it with him.

BOARD OF EDUCATION
Memphis City Schools
2597 Avery Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee 38112

F.C. John Egerton

July 13, 1973

Please reply to office of:
Shelby Counce
Deputy Superintendent

Dr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Esser:

The publication Promise of Progress is excellent. We thank the Council staff and Mr. John Egerton for your efforts in behalf of the City of Memphis and our school system. We are planning to make wide distribution of the publication and based on demands for it at this time, I would put it at the top of the list of "best sellers."

Thank all of the staff for us, especially Leon Hall who was so much help to us during our critical days in January, for your excellent support and help.

Sincerely yours,

Shelby Counce

Shelby Counce
Deputy Superintendent

SC:fj

cc: Mr. Freeman
Mr. Lane
Mrs. Coe

File: Egerton — (NTE) [7/18/73]

For Your Information
from
M. Hayes Mizell
South Carolina Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee

Board & department staff's recommendations

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

July 18, 1973

STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION POSITION STATEMENTS

JUL 19 1973

Morris College Teacher Education Program

The matter of the evaluation of the teacher education program at Morris College obviously can be resolved by a categorical "approval" or "disapproval," but we believe that another viable approach would be to place the teacher education program at Morris College on one year's probation with the following stipulations:

1. That the teacher education program be subject to re-evaluation by a visiting committee during the spring of 1974.

2. That the State Department of Education conduct monthly visits to Morris College for the purpose of providing assistance where possible and for maintaining a record of efforts by Morris College to meet the standards for the approval of teacher education programs.

3. That the college will at monthly intervals provide evidence to the State Department of Education that it is making substantial progress toward meeting the standards, with particular attention being given to the following points--

   a. Financial stability of the institution as evidenced by an unqualified financial audit.

   b. Evidence of the competence of faculty members offering instruction in subject matter areas in which teacher education graduates seek certification by showing that these faculty members have earned a graduate degree in the subject area in which instruction is offered.

   c. Evidence that faculty members teaching courses in professional education have had experience in professional situations similar to those for which the students enrolled in such courses are being prepared.

   d. Evidence of a substantial increase in the library holdings--books, periodicals, and other appropriate materials.

   e. Evidence of significant improvement in the condition of physical facilities--including both student dormitories and instructional facilities.

Moved to accept this recommendation
Seconded
Unanimously accepted

Programs for the Handicapped -- Supplementary Guidelines

The guidelines as presented have been extensively reviewed by personnel in the Department of Education. We have concluded that they are consistent with the provisions and mandates of law; and that they will assist local school districts in the development and maintenance of improved educational programs for the handicapped. We encourage their adoption, along with the additional guideline as attached.

Moved, Second, adopted

Teacher Recruitment, Training and Compensation Committee Report

This committee's report has been reviewed in the Department of Education, and we support its recommendations. We believe that their adoption would be appropriate and a viable next step toward the improvement of the examination and certification of teachers.

Considerable discussion
Moved
Seconded
adopted with amendments

REPORT TO THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
BY
THE COMMITTEE ON TEACHER RECRUITMENT, TRAINING, AND COMPENSATION

July 13, 1973

On June 8, 1973, Mr. Laurens Floyd, speaking for the Committee to Study Teacher Education and Certification Requirements, presented certain recommendations to the State Board of Education. His committee's recommendations were referred to the Committee on Teacher Recruitment, Training, and Compensation for study.

Following is a presentation of each of Mr. Floyd's recommendations (printed in italics) followed by a reaction or recommendation from the Committee on Teacher Recruitment, Training, and Compensation.

or some other measuring instrument

A. 1. *The Committee recommends that the State Board of Education maintain the use of the National Teacher Examinations (as a measure of cognitive knowledge of prospective teachers until a better measure of basic cognitive knowledge can be developed.*

~~or some~~ other

This particular statement reaffirms current State Board policy. No additional action or recommendations are necessary.

A. 2. *The Committee recommends that a minimum composite score of 950 on the National Teacher Examinations (Commons and Teaching Area) be established for receiving a credential to teach in South Carolina; and that within a period of five years the State Board of Education should appoint a new committee to reassess the minimum required score on the basis of supply and demand and performance by teachers in the interim.*

or its equivalent on another measuring instrument

The Committee on Teacher Recruitment, Training, and Compensation recommends that the State Department of Education develop proposed regulations and administrative procedures which would have the effect of eliminating the issuing of Warrants effective May 1, 1974.

We further recommend that effective May 1, 1974, a minimum composite score of 950 on the National Teacher Examinations (Commons and Teaching Area) be established for receiving a credential to teach in the public schools of South Carolina.

We further recommend that within a period of five years the State Board of Education should appoint a new committee to reassess the minimum required score as affected by supply and demand as well as the performance of teachers.

A. 3. *The Committee further recommends that the current provisions for Warrants and graded certificates be completely eliminated and the subsequent effect on salaries be eliminated also.*

The Committee on Teacher Recruitment, Training, and Compensation recommends that the State Department of Education be directed to prepare sample state aid teaching salary schedules in which the National Teacher Examinations will not be a factor. These new salary schedules will therefore have eliminated from them any reference to "B, C, or D" salaries. The salary schedules should be prepared in time to be recommended to the State Legislature for implementation by the beginning of the 1974-75 school year.

A. 4. *The Committee recommends that a special committee should be appointed to develop recommendations for issuing temporary credentials.*

The Committee on Teacher Recruitment, Training, and Compensation recommends that the State Department of Education coordinate the appointment of a committee, conduct appropriate meetings, and prepare recommendations for consideration by the State Board of Education for the issuing of temporary teaching credentials.

A. 5. *The Committee recommends that the State Board of Education should continue its study of various measurement approaches to insure potential competence as a professional teacher.*

This particular recommendation seems to reaffirm a commitment which the State Board of Education already has. Since the State Board of Education obviously will continue to study various measurement approaches to insure the competence of public school teachers, no further action or recommendations are necessary.

B. *The Committee recognizes that there is a general trend toward using approved programs of teacher education in various states. The Committee supports the action of the State Board in the adoption of "Standards for State Approval of Teacher Education," (National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification, 1971, Revised) as the criteria for evaluating programs of teacher education in South Carolina institutions of higher education.*

The Committee on Teacher Recruitment, Training, and Compensation recognizes that this statement again is supportive of State Board of Education policy. The Committee on Teacher Recruitment, Training, and Compensation believes that the evaluation of teacher education programs is a significant venture and it should be fully supported by the State Board.

C. *In the implementation of the "Standards for State Approval of Teacher Education" and the approved program components, special study should be given to the following items:*

1. *That credential titles be more descriptive.*

The Committee on Teacher Recruitment, Training, and Compensation recommends that the State Department of Education should study the problems addressed by this particular recommendation and submit a report with appropriate corrective recommendations, if necessary, as soon as possible.

C. 2. *That graduate degrees from specialized schools which do not have teacher education programs should not be recognized for certification purposes (theology, engineering, law, pharmacy, etc.).*

The Committee on Teacher Recruitment, Training, and Compensation recommends that the State Department of Education develop proposed regulations for consideration by the State Board which would have the effect of implementing this recommendation.

C. 3. *That only approved programs at the sixth-year level be acceptable for earning the sixth-year credential.*

The Committee on Teacher Recruitment, Training, and Compensation recommends that the State Department of Education investigate the matter of approved programs at the sixth-year level with appropriate collegiate and other educational personnel. This study will be followed by a report and any necessary and appropriate proposals to the State Board of Education.

Respectfully submitted,

James A. Blake, Chairman

Hughes - How will this affect teachers who are now in the system with less than 950?

Buske - I am assuming no teacher who has been certified in the past will have certification revoked.

Charlie Williams - State Dept. will draw up reg. with those qualifications - also salary schedule that reflects no B, C, D.

By using 950 you eliminate the bottom 2% (2 of 100)

Buske - Gov. people in such rural areas are bound to maintain certain titled vation which keep you in this situation.

State law says you have to have valid credentials before entering contract

State appropriations act includes salary schedule based on B, C, D.

New board member (Hughes) from Jasper:

Can't get people with 950+ to come to rural areas

many teachers we hire are from outside state, don't have NTE, pressure to make the minimum score

Hughes - We have competent teachers who haven't made 950

Greenville lady Mrs. Taylor - We're reducing it from 975 to 950. We need to upgrade schools in Jasper County

Connor - ~~If you take into consideration their past NTE score then you~~ You have to give all benefits

Rushel, Williams –
NTE doesn't predict classroom perform.
merely assures basic literacy,
handle number system, familiarity
with social science system

Charlie Williams – in light of ETS veiled threat
do we need to consider
additional ~~reqs~~
language in case
we can't reconcil
some diff.
with ETS

Williams
presses
again

NTE or other recog. test
950 or some other equivalent

Hughes - 950 in sole determinant

Analysis of problems & objectives —
U/O pp; double spaced, w-less —

Health & Health Policy

Income maintenance —
general objectives

Human Res. Develop.
M/P — outreach
Job Creation Voc. ed —

Sylvan Meyer
Proj Director

Interstate Committee Charters

File Human Resources Develop (SGPB)

Transportation

Although the Interstate Committee on Transportation has been created to provide interstate policy recommendations to the Southern Growth Policies Board, the first year's activities of the Committee should be directed toward the provision of recommendations to the Commission on the Future of the South. The topics which the Interstate Transportation Committee should address during 1974 include, but do not have to be limited to, the following:

- for the period 1975-1980 -

Helyhauer
Co Chm
Bruce Lantz
Geo Lothrop - CO
Consultant

1) state organizational frameworks for planning, financing, construction, maintenance and regulation of all transportation modes and systems.

2) formal and informal relationships between the states and their subdivisions with respect to planning, financing, construction, maintenance and regulation of transportation systems.

3) transportation expenditures by all levels of government and examination of sources of funds.

4) an analysis of the "donor" state issue with respect to national allocations of funds for transportation.

5) specific relationships between transportation and other governmental functions.

6) anticipated programs, policies, funds needed for the transportation function.

7) specification of areas and issues where further research is needed in order to recommend policies at the interstate level.

Bumpers - Pres Chm
V. Anderson
SRC
Tech Consultant

Draft Recs. to Governor
Middle of August

Human Resources and Public Services

Although the Interstate Committee on Human Resources and Public Services has been created to provide interstate policy recommendations to the Southern Growth Policies Board, the first year's activities should be directed toward the provision of recommendations to the Commission on the Future of the South. The topics which the Interstate Human Resources and Public Services Committee should address during 1974 include, but do not have to be limited to, the following:

- for the period 1975-1980 -

Teachers' Study

1) definition of the major categories of analyses, such as health needs, income maintenance, job development, and technical education, which will provide the basis for Committee activity.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

2) commentary on Southern governmental structures (local and state) for human resource development and the delivery of public services. sep. revised

3) distributional patterns of economic and social development. maps?

Quinsky

4) analysis of state/local expenditure patterns and trends for standard categories of services. Where possible, projections of the magnitude of future revenue needs should be prepared.

5) preparation of policy needs at the interstate level, and recommendations for policy at the intrastate level.

6) specification of areas and issues where further research is needed in order to recommend policies at the interstate level.

Askew
co-chair
Tech Comm
Johnstle Board

Land and Natural Resources

Although the Interstate Committee on Land and Natural Resources has been created to provide interstate policy recommendations to the Southern Growth Policies Board, the first year's activities should be directed toward the provision of recommendations to the Commission on the Future of the South. The topics which the Interstate Land and Natural Resources Committee should address during 1974 include, but do not have to be limited to, the following:

- for the period 1975-1980 -

1) definition of land and natural resources problems or opportunities which are of critical concern to the region during the period 1975-1980.

2) explanation of each problem through factual information and appropriate analyses.

3) relation of the land and natural resource areas to energy resources and their optimum utilization or conservation.

4) commentary upon the state and local governmental frameworks for managing land and natural resources.

5) production of broad but critical policy recommendations for the consideration of the Commission on the Future of the South.

6) definition of the interagency-interstate coordinative role of "functional" statewide plans for managing land and natural resources.

7) specification of areas and issues where further research is needed in order to recommend policies at the interstate level.

Growth Management Policies

Educ. Jon. Hous Ralph Widener Tech Consultat (Academy of Contemporary Problem)

Although the Interstate Committee on Growth Management Policies has been created to provide interstate policy recommendations to the Southern Growth Policies Board, the first year's activities should be directed toward the provision of recommendations to the Commission on the Future of the South. The topics which the Interstate Committee on Growth Management Policies should address during 1974 include, but do not have to be limited to, the following:

- for the period 1975-1980 -

1) federal/state/local administrative and legal structure for managing area growth.

2) definition of legal and economic incentives or impediments to growth management policies.

3) relationships between optimum energy distribution and use and growth patterns.

4) planning techniques and systems for shaping growth at the intrastate as well as interstate level.

5) growth management policies or technical systems to be used at the interstate level.

6) role of the citizen in the growth management process.

7) specification of areas and issues where further research is needed in order to recommend policies at the interstate level.

Cushman - Colony Sq.
Mathews - U of Okla.
Charles D Mathews Ark

Jos. Hager - Bethesda - Cochran
Dean Rusk
Wilson Wyatt
John P. LeBoeuf (La. -
Oleen Emmerich (Ed. McCook)
Archie Davis (N.C. Wachovia)
Leah (Ohla
Charles Frazier (SC)
Wilson (Tenn, Holiday Inns)
(Tex) Chmn. Ind. Develp.
Temple (Va V/P Develp. Va. Commonwealth)

5 @ Large
Mrs. McKenzie (Ga - wife of Ga Power ?)

[1972?]

PROPOSED MATRIX FOR EACH TASK FORCE AREA

TASK FORCE COMMITTEE ON_____

SPECIFIC PROGRAM AREAS	GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS	CONCERNED AGENTS AND AGENCIES
	BROADER PROBLEM CONTEXTS	
	1. Urban/rural Factors	
	2. Demographic Factors	
	3. Poverty Factors	
	4. Racism	
	CLASSES OF ACTORS (May be: Resource, agent for change, part of the problem)	
	1. Mass Media	
	2. Political and governmental agencies	
	3. Youth	

John Egerton

Deseg 1-1-1

This is the post-segregation era in American public education, and from Florida to New York to California, communities everywhere are experiencing the traumatic shock of a series of second-generation school desegregation problems.

The first generation began with the Supreme Court's famous Brown decision in 1954 and lasted 15 years. It was, for the most part, a Southern phenomenon, and its protagonists were segregationists fighting to maintain white supremacy and abolitionists whose aim was to eradicate segregation.

By about 1969, the abolitionists had achieved victory on paper. Segregation as a philosophical article of faith had been deflowered, dual school systems were falling all across the South, and biracial schools had become commonplace.

But the first generation was only a prelude. It was a head-to-head confrontation between one set of powers pledged to maintain and preserve a segregationist past and another set determined to introduce an integrationist future. The second generation, still just dawning, is infinitely more complex. It has to do not with abolition, but with creation--the creation of an equitable and integrated educational system of high quality for all children--and because it is always easier to destroy than to create, this generation of racial issues and problems in the schools promises to be long and difficult.

The first period of the post-segregation era had to do, quite simply, with moving warm bodies. Against a succession of defenses--interposition, nullification, states' rights, freedom of choice--an allied force of civil rights groups, government agencies and the federal courts pushed for school closings, rezoning, majority-to-minority transfers and finally busing to get

more

black and white children out of racially isolated schools and into classrooms together. And because it was only the Southern and border states which had laws requiring segregation, it was in those states that the major fighting over schools took place.

What has been happening in the past few years is of a different character altogether, and the full dimensions of it are not clear even yet. For one thing, the distinction between de jure and de facto segregation--between the South and the rest of the country--has become so blurred as to be meaningless. Segregation has come under attack in almost every state, and segregation in some Northern cities--Chicago and Detroit, to name just two--is now far worse than anything the South still has. There are even emotional and sometimes violent confrontations between white adults and black children, and theatrical stands in schoolhouse doors, all reminiscent of Little Rock and Tuscaloosa--but happening this time around in Pontiac and San Francisco and Brooklyn.

But the most significant and disturbing difference in the changed nature of school desegregation problems is not to be found in the logistical rearrangement of school children, or even in the super-charged dispute over busing. The real problems now--the second-generation problems--are in Phase II, after abolition. They can be reduced to a single question: How do you create stable, equitable, racially and socio-economically integrated schools that deliver high-quality education to all children? If there is a school system anywhere in the country that represents a functional answer to that question, it has escaped the attention of legions of searchers.

The manifold problems of school desegregation in Phase II are not susceptible to model solutions. Conditions and circumstances differ so greatly from state to state, city to city, school system to school system, that the very notion of a

national formula for equal educational opportunity seems ludicrous and naive. There used to be one basic problem: racial isolation, one-race schools, and the inherent inequality in that arrangement. Significant numbers of one-race schools still exist--more outside the South than in it--but for all the furor over busing in the urban communities of the nation, neither the racial isolation nor the busing are the really critical issues now. The most difficult and the most seemingly insoluble problems revolve around what happens after the isolation has been ended.

What can be done about white flight and resegregation, about the long legacy of isolation and social insest, about the class struggle and the clash of cultures? What can be done about the inexperience and unpreparedness of adults, and the impetuous hostility of children under pressure? How can democracy be made understandable or believable or workable in an institution that is basically authoritarian? What can be done about the cumulative effects of discrimination and inequality? What can be done about a curriculum that was designed to prepare white children for life in a white society--and didn't even do that well enough? What can be done for children for whom violence is almost a way of life, for whom discipline and order and delayed gratification and material comfort are not part of their experience? And what can be done for children who have known nothing but comfort and affluence, sheltered and isolated from anyone of a different race or class or culture? What can be done about ingrained, bone-deep white racism--the worse when it is unconscious and unintentional--and about seething black animosity toward whites? What can be done about teachers who teach subjects instead of children, and parents whose expectations are built around test scores and grades rather than knowledge and understanding? These are the kinds of issues that permeate second-generation school desegregation. They are apt to plague public education for a long time to come.

more

Busing, an object of so much abuse in recent years, is a sort of symbol of transition between the first and second generations, a vehicle that connects the past with the present and future. Busing, it has now been said a thousand times, has been a welcome and fully accepted fixture on the American school scene for over 50 years, and it was never seriously opposed until desegregation entered the picture. But it is not only a mechanical means of shifting school children out of racial isolation and into desegregated schools; it is also the last in a long line of techniques that have been used to reduce racial isolation, and it is clearly an essential tool in that process. The anti-busing movement has galvanized the basic interests of a wide variety of people, from avowed white racists to black separatists to elitist intellectuals to class-conscious suburbanites to people who simply don't want to be inconvenienced. And as newly desegregated schools have been jarred and shaken by a disruptive introduction to the complex problems of Phase II, the impulse has been to attack busing, to cut off the lifeline of desegregation, to send the children back into racial isolation--and to defer until later the facing of the consequences of that action.

Nothing but idle speculation can be brought to any consideration of what President Nixon or the Congress or the Supreme Court might say or do about busing. For the present, it is being widely used as the basic mode of school transportation and as a vehicle of desegregation. It need not be discussed further here, for the subject under consideration is not the shift from segregation to desegregation, but the conversion from desegregation to integration--this is, in other words, a paper about making desegregation work, rather than about simply making it possible.

Not only laymen but educators as well have been slow to grasp the significance of the changing nature of school desegregation problems and issues. One reality not often recognized is this: More than a century of bitter experience has taught all but the most unreconstructed segregationist that racial isolation has been a

more

monumental failure in education; it has created many problems and solved practically none. And one of the problems it has created is the general unpreparedness of many--perhaps most--Americans to function effectively in a multiracial setting. Desegregation thus has not been a magic solution to the problems of segregation; on the contrary, it has often opened up a whole new bag of problems. People in the schools have felt trapped between an unworkable precedent and a threatening antecedent, and they have had nowhere to take shelter. In the ensuing clash, the casualty rate has been high.

As difficult as the transition has been, however, it appears that the only viable option open to most American school systems is to press on to the achievement of integration and equity. There is nothing in the record of our history to justify a return to segregation, or to suggest that the nation's white majority would ever seriously attempt to make "separate but equal" work to the benefit of the nonwhite minority. Unless some new and as yet undiscovered alternative is found--some third choice that manages to neither segregate nor integrate the society--integration will be the only way out. Even though no school system has yet established a model for integration, some are clearly headed in the right direction. What must be recognized is that the process will be halting, glacial, fraught with peril, erratic, deceptive. Segregation in public education was enforced and entrenched over many long decades. Weeding it out root and branch and replacing it with an equitable and effective integrated system of education will take some changed attitudes, some new ideas, some funerals, and some time--not months but years.

One major difference between school desegregation issues now and a few years ago can be seen in the lineup of decision-makers. In the early stages of desegregation, when segregationists were fighting integrationists for control, the key decision-makers were found in the federal courts, in the Justice Department

and HEW, in civil rights organizations, and in community power structures. Today, it is school boards, administrative staffs, specialists and technicians and experts who make most decisions. As the issues have become more complex and more fragmented, there has been a marked shift not only of school populations, but also of reform constituencies, of pressure groups, and of influence and control. The locus of power has shifted from legal and political technocrats to educational technocrats--and that change cannot always be viewed as a completely unmixed blessing.

From the standpoint of students, parents and interested citizens outside the educational establishment, the change in decision-making, control, and informal governance in public education means very little: They have seldom been consulted or involved, no matter who was in control. To a lesser extent, the same can be said of teachers. Yet it is these very people--students, teachers, parents--who carry the major burden of responsibility for finding workable solutions to the second-generation desegregation problems in the schools. Whether or not they possess the power to make decisions, they are the ones most directly affected, and they will determine the success or failure of whatever decisions are made.

The civil rights groups and other organizations that brought pressure to bear on school systems in the first phase of desegregation are not much in evidence now; most of them have turned to other issues, or disappeared altogether. Whether national, regional or local, whether left or right of center, these organizations drew their strength from constituencies committed to the defense or the destruction of segregation, and when segregation ceased to be the overriding issue, the constituencies began to splinter and dissolve. Today, it is rare to find an organization with a long history of involvement in the school desegregation issue still active on that front. The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council are

exceptions, and even they have found it difficult to adjust to the changing issues and audiences. On the right, the once-feared Citizens Council is no longer a potent force, and even the anti-busing groups that have sprung up have tended to be transient, one-issue phenomena. Local citizens groups supporting desegregation and busing have been no less temporary.

It is true that George Wallace rose to national prominence on a platform anchored by a rigid anti-busing plank. But Wallace still symbolizes the resistance to first-generation desegregation--his freedom of choice-neighborhood school-no busing stance has little if anything to do with the reality of biracial schools, and everything to do with preventing them. Still, Wallace probably has the biggest following of any politician in the country, not excepting Richard Nixon and Edward Kennedy, and he has built that constituency around racial, social and cultural issues that are manifest in the public schools.

The "average man" Wallace has championed so effectively is the white working man whose children constitute a national majority in the public schools. He feels threatened not alone by desegregation and rising black enrollments but by the rising cost of education, the lack of Bible-reading and prayer in the schools, the advent of sex education, the decline of indoctrination and rote learning, the loss of rigid discipline, the changes in hair styles and modes of dress, the flight of the affluent to suburban and private schools, the demise of patriotism, the increase in drug traffic--in short, by all the manifest changes in the national culture. The schools are a reflection of the society, and Wallace has articulated the malaise of a large segment of the population that sees the society slipping rapidly from its grasp.

After the white working-class group represented by Wallace, the next largest group in the public schools is the burgeoning black minority, and on educational

issues it has no such visible spokesman. But blacks feel just as threatened and beleaguered by what is happening to them in the schools as the white middle Americans do--and usually for different reasons. For many blacks, desegregation has been more of a curse than a blessing. It has meant the demotion of principals and administrators, the dismissal of teachers, the closing of schools, the loss of student leadership roles, and a pervasive loss of black identity. And, it has meant painful exposure to a wide gap in academic achievement, to a white-oriented curriculum, to a white-dominated environment, and to a discriminatory system of discipline.

It is risky business to deal in generalities about large groups of people. Blacks and working-class whites do not constitute the entire American public school population by any means. Furthermore, not all blacks have been affected in a negative way by desegregation, not all whites are threatened by desegregation and other changes in schools, and not all schools are foundering in the debree of colliding cultures. But at the very least, the dissatisfactions of many black Americans and middle-American whites with the state of public education are symbolic and representative of what ails the schools. How the schools manage to serve these two groups, and how the groups manage to adjust to each other and to the swiftly changing society about them, are matters that reach to the heart of the educational system in Phase II of the post-segregation era.

872

pp 9 missing

INTRODUCTION

Your child comes home from school with an armload of textbooks. They are the basic tools of learning, the implements which connect the student and the teacher in a formal educational experience. You invest a lot of time and money and hope in that experience. But if you are a typical parent, you also assume without much question that your child's textbooks are the right tools; you take it for granted that they have been created, produced, selected and distributed in such a way that their appropriateness and their effectiveness are guaranteed. Textbooks are like prescription drugs: taken as directed, and taken on faith.

The purpose of this handbook is to give you something more than faith as a basis for understanding school textbooks. It is an introduction to many of the questions--and some of the answers--that go together to provide a description of the textbook process. Reading this booklet won't make you an expert on textbooks, but it may help you begin to see how and why your child's books were conceived and chosen, and it may help you to make some informed judgments about their value and their utility.

The process by which a textbook moves from conception to classroom use is intricate and complex, and it differs greatly from state to state, and even from school district to school district. The Southern Regional Council has prepared a background report which examines that process in some detail. This handbook, as a supplement to the research report, is designed to help you

determine who to ask and what to ask in order to become informed about textbooks in the schools of your state and your community.

THE PROCESS

A junior high school student enrolled in a course in American history is issued a textbook, and that book becomes the principal resource in an exchange of information and ideas and experiences between the classroom teacher and the students. The teacher may make use of other resources--newspapers, magazines, television, films, visiting speakers, field trips, library materials, other books--and it is proper to ask what is chosen, and why. But for now, consider just the textbook: Who wrote it? Who published it? How new is it? Why was it chosen from among the numerous textbooks on American history that are available to junior high schools? Who chose it? How was it chosen? Have there been any informed evaluations of its content, its style, its overall approach to the subject or its effectiveness as a tool of instruction? How much did the book cost? How long will it remain in use? What is the procedure for replacing it with a revised edition, or with an entirely different book on the subject?

These are some of the questions that can be raised about textbook content and selection, and they are pertinent to every book, regardless of its grade level or subject. As a means of getting at some of the answers, here are a few observations and some suggested points of inquiry:

<u>Money</u>: The Educational Products Information Exchange Institute in New York estimates that only 1 per cent of the public school budget in the United States is spent on textbooks and other instructional materials--yet about 75 per cent of a child's time in school is spent with those tools. Even so, the schools buy

almost one billion dollars worth of teaching equipment every year (about half the money goes for textbooks, and the rest is for a variety of instructional materials). To put it another way, an average of $10 is spent on textbooks for every American school child, and another $10 per child is spent on such things as library books, audio-visual equipment and the like. Most of the money comes from state governments, but local and federal government expenditures are also included, and some sales are made directly to individuals--parents of private school children, for example, and parents of public school children in the few states which do not provide textbooks free of charge.

What can be bought with one billion dollars? The EPIE Institute estimates that there are 17,000 elementary and secondary school textbooks on the market--and 200,000 different instructional materials of all kinds.

Narrow the economic focus to your own area of interest: How much does your state (and your local school system) spend on textbooks? What percentage is that amount of the total educational budget? How much does it figure out to per child? How much of the money comes from the state, and how much from local taxes, and how much from federal aid programs? And how do the figures compare with those of neighboring communities and states? Your state department of education and your local school board staff have specialists who can answer these questions.

Hardly anyone disputes the often-repeated assertion that the amount and percentage of expenditures for textbooks and teaching materials is insufficient to equip schools and school children with the tools they need to maximize learning. With the average cost of new textbooks now standing somewhere between $5 and $10 each, the amount of money available is hardly enough to buy an average of two new books a year for each child--and of course the maximum and minimum expenditures which combine to produce the average reveal vast inequities. When you compare your state and your local school district with the national averages cited above, you will be able to get an idea of the relative adequacy and equity of the expenditures.

Laws: Every state in the nation has its own laws governing textbook content, selection, distribution and regulation, and the differences in those laws are

so vast as to defy comparison. About half the states (including all eleven Southern states) have commissions which are responsible for administration of textbook programs; the rest--so-called "open adoption" states--leave all matters of choice and purchase up to the individual school districts. In varying degrees, state laws regulate such things as the number of books available for adoption, the number of years adoptions remain in force, the procedures for selecting books from the approved list, and the procedures publishers must follow in offering their products for consideration.

Some students of textbook law believe the states which have no textbook commission suffer from the total absence of regulation; in such laissez-faire situations, faulty products may find their way into the classroom more easily, and some school systems--particularly the smaller ones--have neither the time, the resources nor the expertise to make the wisest choices from the array of books and materials offered to them. On the other hand, excessive regulation appears to be a fault of many textbook commissions; some of them leave very little latitude of choice to the local school systems and individual schools.

Surprisingly, few states seem to have found a satisfactory middle ground between too much regulation and not enough, and no state in the nation can fairly be said to have evolved a body of textbook law that can be called ideal or held up as a model for other states to follow.

The Southern Regional Council background paper on textbooks provides some thumbnail comparisons of most of the states which have commissions. You can add to your own understanding of textbook law in your state by visiting your commission office in the state department of education and asking for a copy of the relevant law and the printed policies and regulations of the commission. Your local school board may also have written policies and procedures governing its own textbook program. The National Association of State Textbook Administrators is made up of

the state department of education officials in 22 states who serve as staff directors of textbook commissions. The names, addresses and phone numbers of those officials are listed under SOURCES AND RESOURCES in the back of this handbook.

Publishers: There are dozens of commercial enterprises producing textbooks and other educational materials for the school market, and they range from small outfits with a limited range of specialized offerings to giant firms which are themselves only a part of even larger business conglomerates. Most textbook companies competing for business in your state have resident representatives who handle their sales campaigns, and in many states, the publishers' representatives have an organization of their own. By reviewing the textbook laws and talking to the state textbook administrators and the representatives of the publishers, you can learn much about how the process of selection works in your state. Here are some questions you might want to pursue: How do publishers decide what books to publish? How do they choose authors and consultants? Do they have their own research and development programs? Once their new books are published, how do they go about selling them to state textbook commissions, and to local school systems?

When the state buys textbooks for the schools, the transaction necessitates a close connection between three separate institutional segments of society: politics and government, free enterprise capitalism, and the educational system. Inevitably, the different motivations and objectives of those three institutions sometimes come into conflict; what the schools attempt to teach is not always consonant with what the politicians want to be taught, or with what the publishers have to sell. One need only consider such issues as the "new" math, the theory of evolution or the portrayal of minority groups to see that decisions about what is taught and how it is taught are not made in a vacuum. Learning who the

decision-makers are, and what influences those decisions, should give you some insight into how textbook content is determined--and why certain books are chosen and others are not. Rarely are those decisions exclusively political, or commercial, or educational; behind every completed textbook there is a sizeable cast of actual or possible participants. Consider again that junior high school history book as an example: In one way or another, the contributors to it may include historians, writers, researchers, learned societies, government agencies, foundations, teachers, administrators, consultants, textbook commissions, publishers, legislators, professional associations, reviewers, evaluators, parents and students. (Ironically, the least likely of all those to be involved is the ultimate consumer--the student.)

In one sense, the publishers of textbooks respond to the expressed needs and wishes of their customers--they produce what there is a demand for. But the publishers are also competing with one another for business, and their own research and development activities are sometimes more attuned to future trends and styles than are those of the various academic disciplines. It may be more important, therefore, to inquire about what publishers and educators are planning to produce than to review what is already in use.

Selection: With so many textbooks and instructional materials on the market, the process of choosing is of critical importance. You may want to ask: What is the makeup of the state textbook commission? How are its members selected? How do they go about reviewing all the materials available? In making up approved lists from which school officials can choose, whose advice do they seek? How many different books in a given subject and grade level do they approve? At the local level, how do school administrators and teachers go about choosing from the approved list? Do parents and students have any opportunity to participate

in those choices? Do publishers have an opportunity to present their products to the commission and to local educators? How is the contact between publishers' representatives and state and local school officials regulated? Do small publishers as well as large ones have a chance to get their products on the market? Is there enough variety in the materials on the market to give local educators a realistic opportunity to make choices that closely suit their particular needs?

Textbook selection is often complicated by state laws or local ordinances that limit what can be taught, and also by attitudes and beliefs and customs that are unofficial but nonetheless dominant. Some states require the teaching of certain courses--state history, for example, or Americanism; other subjects such as sex education, may be prohibited. There was a time--and not so many years ago--when publishers of American history textbooks often provided a different version in the South than they sold elsewhere in the country, because whites who controlled the educational and political systems demanded it. There have been some changes in the presentation of racial and ethnic minorities in social studies textbooks in recent years, but there is still a considerable amount of unresolved controversy on that subject. A number of national organizations, including the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the National Council for the Social Studies, the Anti-Defimation League of B'nai B'rith and the Council on Interracial Books for Children, have made studies of textbook content as it relates to racial and ethnic diversity, and their findings should be useful to you in evaluating textbooks in your state and community.

Conflicting interests make the selection of textbooks a difficult task. Nevertheless, it is of paramount importance that the people who make the selections be representative of the people who must use what is chosen, and it is also essential that the selectors have the widest possible range of materials to choose from. What is chosen depends in large measure on what is available from the

publishers--and what is subsequently made available to local school systems by the textbook commissions.

Evaluation: Choice implies judgment. The people who make textbook decisions must be concerned about such things as cost and durability and appearance, but none of these is as important as content. Is the material consistent with the objectives of the school system? Is it presented in such a way that it can reasonably be expected to attract student interest? Is it organized clearly and effectively? Does it provide supplementary aids to the teacher? Has the material been adequately pretested with students to determine how they respond to it and what they derive from it? Does it promote critical thinking, or simply convey a set of facts? Is the material fair and representative and equitable insofar as it relates to various racial and ethnic and socio-economic groups?

And once again, it is necessary to ask who is in a position to answer these questions. The publishers should be able to provide partial answers. The commissions, with the aid of advisers and consultants and readers, should also be able to draw some conclusions of their own. And people in the local school systems--administrators, teachers and students--should have an opportunity to formulate their own answers. There is admittedly some risk in permitting individuals and groups from outside the educational system to have an input in the evaluation process, but within reasonable limits, it seems a risk worth taking. For good and ill, what the schools teach is a reflection of what the society values. That fact partially explains the perennial controversies that crop up here and there over such things as sex education and library books and reading lists for literature courses; it also helps to explain why the exclusion of minority groups from social studies textbooks is a less serious problem than

has had a long-standing interest in education issues, and the same may also be true of other organizations in your community. As for where you might find interest and expertise outside your area, here are some suggestions:

SOURCES AND RESOURCES

* The National Education Association has several divisions involved in matters that relate, directly or indirectly, to textbooks. The Teacher Rights Division, for example, has recently published a checklist for selecting and evaluating U. S. history textbooks. Write the NEA (1201 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036) and ask for information on what they are doing, and what you can do to gain a better understanding of the textbook selection process.

* The Educational Products Information Exchange Institute (386 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10016) evaluates textbooks and other educational materials and reports its findings in a newsletter, a more detailed product report, and other publications. Write them for information and subscription costs.

* The Council on Interracial Books for Children (29 West 15th St., New York, N. Y.) is engaged in a wide range of activities related to the portrayal of minority groups and women in textbooks. The council is currently sponsoring a series of seminars and workshops in those areas, and it is also preparing a detailed guide for evaluating books.

check address + zip code

* The Association of American Publishers publishes annual statistics on textbook sales in the United States, and also publishes, alone or in collaboration with others, some valuable reports on textbooks selection. It has a standing committee working jointly with the NEA, and it has similar ties with the National Association

of State Textbook Administrators. The offices of the AAP are at One Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016.

* In 1969, the Institute for Educational Development in New York, with funds from two foundations and the U. S. Office of Education, published a massive study entitled "Selection of Educational Materials in U. S. Public Schools." It is a bit out of date now, but still contains some valuable information. Unfortunately, the study is no longer available in printed form, but it is included in the ERIC microfiche information system of USOE, and many college libraries have it in that form.

* A number of magazines and periodicals have published informative articles on textbook content and selection from time to time. Among them are Learning, Phi Delta Kappan, American Education, Saturday Review, Integrated Education, Today's Education (NEA), the journal of the American Federation of Teachers, Scholastic Teacher, and Phylon. (?)

* The National Association of State Textbook Administrators is made up of the state department of education officials who handle textbook matters in those states which have textbook commissions. Here is a list of the members of the association:

list to come

#

According to a press release from the National Education Association, Americans spend twice as much money on food for their dogs and cats as they do on textbooks for their children--in round figures, one billion dollars a year on pet food and half a billion on textbooks.

The NEA used those arresting statistics to call attention to its issuance, with the Association of American Publishers, of a set of guidelines on the selection of instructional materials. "If Johnny and Jane can't read it may be because they don't have the books, or if they have the books, they may not be the right kind," the press release said.

There is little doubt that many Johnnies and Janes can't read, or that some of them don't have books, or that others have the wrong books. And, there is apparently not much doubt that the nation's pet lovers take good care of their own--perhaps even better than the nation's kid lovers.

Nevertheless, American book publishers sold 150,000,000 textbooks in 1971--an average of three for every child in school--and the half-billion dollars in sales figures out to $10 per child. However well the dogs and cats are doing, it is obvious that the textbook industry is booming--sales are up almost 100 per cent in 10 years, and these figures are just for elementary and high schools. The college market has tripled in the past 10 years, and in 1971 it amounted to $379,000,000 in sales.

How the $10 per elementary and secondary school child is spent, what it buys, and how well it serves the educational needs of the children are the principal concerns of this report. The inquiry is focused in 11 Southern states, with the textbook administration practices of Tennessee receiving detailed

attention. While the report is far from a comprehensive examination of the delivery and utilization of educational materials, it does raise some basic questions about the process, and in a few instances it suggests some possible answers to those questions. The operations of publishing firms, local school systems, and state and federal education agencies with respect to materials of instruction are so complicated and multifarious that it is difficult to place them in any sort of comprehensible perspective. These are some of the factors that cloud the picture:

* Textbooks, traditionally the basic and exclusive tools of classroom instruction, are now only one of many such tools. Instructional materials now include television, audio-visual and multi-media devices, standardized tests, softbound printed matter for such uses as individualized instruction and programmed learning, library books, reference materials, maps and charts, records and video tapes, academic games and other resources. The pell mell growth of educational technology is opening up exciting new options for teachers and learners, but it is also bringing serious confusion to the processes of previewing, selecting, utilizing and accounting for educational materials.

* About half of the states have commissions or committees which screen and evaluate textbooks and publish approved lists from which local school systems must choose. The rest of the states leave these matters entirely to the local districts. Practices in the so-called "open" or local option states vary widely, and in the "adoption" states (those regulated by commissions), there is an equally diverse range of activities and procedures. Some commissions are made up entirely of professional educators; membership on others is partially or exclusively reserved for non-educators. The size of commissions, methods of determining membership, length of terms, and provisions for serving more than one term differ greatly from state to state. There is no pattern to what the commissions concern themselves with:

Some concentrate exclusively on hardbound, non-consumable textbooks for classroom use, while others consider the entire range of instructional materials to be within their purview, and still others draw the line somewhere between those poles. Some commissions are granted by law the sole authority for approving or disapproving textbooks; others are merely advisory bodies for the state department of education. Some commissions have open meetings and public display of materials under consideration, and others operate without any public scrutiny at all. In some states, textbooks are adopted annually, while in others the adoption period may be as long as six years, and some commissions approve only a few books for each subject and grade, while others place no limit on the number. And finally, some commissions make special provisions for annual additions to the approved list and for experimental programs using materials not on the list; others are far less flexible.

* There is a marked trend in the publishing industry toward absorption of book companies by multi-purpose conglomerates, and an accompanying trend toward diversification of products. Industrial giants such as the Xerox Corporation, General Electric and Litton Industries have been acquiring independent publishing houses and, with the aid of new technology, expanding their products and services.

* The delivery of textbooks and other teaching materials is becoming more complex. Some states maintain their own depositories; in others, that is a function handled by the publishers or by other private firms. In some states, the purchasing of textbooks is centralized; in others, local school systems do their own purchasing. Most states provide free textbooks, but a few sell or rent them to students, necessitating the involvement of private vendors or book exchange facilities operated by the schools. And some states provide textbooks to both public school and private school students. That practice is being challenged in the courts.

* The economic dimension of the educational materials enterprise is larger, more complicated and more difficult to interpret than ever before. The doubling

of textbook sales in the past 10 years is only one part of the picture; in addition to the half-billion dollars spent on textbooks last year, the schools spent an undetermined amount--perhaps as much as another half-billion--on library books and the whole range of supplementary instructional materials. The money used for all these purchases came from a combination of local, state and federal sources, and there is no uniform means of accounting for the funds. Where textbooks are concerned, most states make allocations based on enrollment or average daily attendance. But many local school systems supplement those funds with allocations of their own, and there are several federal aid programs which permit funds to be used for textbooks. All of these sources require a separate accounting. Furthermore, many states have more than one budget line under which teaching materials may be purchased; for example, there may be one category for textbooks, another for supplementary instructional materials, another for teaching supplies, and still another for library and audio-visual materials. As a consequence, it is sometimes almost impossible to determine with finality how much a state's public schools have spent for all the books and other teaching tools that are an integral part of the instructional program. Almost invariably, state figures on textbook purchases differ markedly from industry figures on textbook sales--and for teaching materials other than books, there simply aren't any comprehensive figures available, either from the states or from the industry.

All of these complications--the shift from single textbooks to a multiplicity of teaching tools, the wide variety of regulatory practices, the effects of merger and of technology in the publishing industry, the problems of distribution, the lack of uniform and reliable accounting practices--add to the difficulty of any attempt to examine the American textbook and educational materials enterprise. But even the most cursory inquiry leads to some tentative observations and conclusions, half a dozen of which are noted here and will be elaborated upon

later in this report:

* In spite of the large and growing national expenditure for textbooks and other teaching materials--and in spite of the obvious fact that some of the money is spent unwisely--many school systems do not have sufficient funds to supply all of their students with the basic textbooks required by the curriculum, let alone with the supplementary materials needed to enrich their education.

* There is a gross inequity in the amounts the various states spend on textbooks--some spend more than twice as much per child per year as others--and the disparity is even greater between affluent school districts and poor ones.

* Some states are too restrictive in their regulation of textbooks, giving local school districts too little to choose from and requiring adopted books to remain in use for too many years; other states are too lax, giving local districts far more latitude than they have the time, the money, or the sophistication to use wisely.

* There is hardly any regulation at all of the educational hardware being produced with such rapidity--the electronic, computerized systems and gadgetry of the technological age. Most of it finds its way into the classroom without having been sufficiently field tested, and in any event, far too few teachers are prepared to use the materials effectively.

* Neither students nor parents have any involvement to speak of in the process of selecting textbooks and other educational materials for use in local schools, primarily because teachers and administrators are reluctant to share the responsibility.

* The movement of publishers toward a more balanced and equitable portrayal of racial and ethnic minorities in literature and social studies textbooks has been slow and cautious. Only in the past three or four years have significant

changes become evident, and further efforts will be necessary before an accurate and honest presentation is achieved.

One reason for the difficulty in examining textbook and educational materials practices of producers and consumers is that there is so little communication and coordination among the states, the local school systems, the publishers, the federal government, and the various independent agencies and associations having an interest in the subject. Twenty-two states are represented in the National Association of State Textbook Administrators, but most of the ones which do not have a state textbook commission are not included because they have no administrators primarily responsible for textbooks. The Association of American Publishers has a joint committee with the state textbook administrators' association and the Book Manufacturers Institute, but it meets infrequently. The AAP also cooperates through committees with the National Education Association, and that relationship has produced some useful reports on procedural guidelines for selecting educational materials, minority representation in textbooks, and state restrictions impeding the selection of educational materials. Two foundations and the U. S. Office of Education had a hand in the 1969 production of a major study of selection practices undertaken by the Institute for Educational Development, a New York research agency. (IED at that time was headed by Sidney Marland, now U. S. Commissioner of Education.) Other organizations, such as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Federation of Teachers and a number of civil rights groups, have paid particular attention to the treatment of minorities in texts. And another New York organization, the Educational Products Information Exchange Institute, has emerged as a sort of consumer protection agency to evaluate and preview new books and materials coming on the market.

But there is remarkably little intercourse among those groups. The AAP's

Hunt Report, an annual statistical summary of textbook sales compiled by the publishers, is an invaluable resource, but some state textbook administrators have never seen it. The IED study of selection practices can be found on microfiche in the U. S. Office of Education's ERIC information storage system, but copies of the report itself cannot be obtained from IED, and again, there are state textbook administrators and others interested in the subject of the report who have never heard of it. The Educational Products Information Exchange is the only independent evaluator of educational materials in existence, but most of the nation's schools and school systems do not profit from its services because they don't receive the institute's reports and newsletters. EPIE has been trying to get state departments of education to support its work, but only two--New Jersey and Pennsylvania--have agreed to do so. The NEA has done some excellent research work on the subject of textbooks, but it has no connection with such groups as the National Association of State Textbook Administrators. Millions of dollars in federal funds are used each year to purchase textbooks, library books, audio-visual equipment and a variety of other teaching materials, yet USOE does not evaluate the quality of those purchases or their effectiveness in the teaching process.

And so the transactions in the educational marketplace proceed apace, without any unifying sense of purpose or direction. The principals in this enterprise--the producers, the regulators, the evaluators, the distributors, the purchasers and the consumers--understand their own roles well enough, but they know too little about the contributions of the other parties.

For a closer look at how some of the component parts of the system work, the following summaries and sketches may be helpful.

Among the member states in the National Association of State Textbook Administrators are the 11 Southern states and 11 others. First, a summary of regulatory practices in some of the non-Southern states:

New Mexico: The State Board of Education vests executive control and management over the purchase and distribution of free textbooks and accompanying materials in the office of the State Textbook Director. Evaluating committees for the various grade levels and subjects are appointed by the Board of Education, and the board adopts a multiple list of books for each grade and subject, based on the recommendations of the committees. Adoptions are for a six-year period. Local school systems choose basal textbooks from the state's approved list. Purchases are then made by the State Textbook Division for the local systems.

Utah: The State Textbook Commission and Course of Study Committee is made up of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the deans of two state colleges of education, three local school system superintendents, and five lay citizens. With responsibility for determining courses of study and approving the textbooks to be used in them, the commission/committee combines curriculum develop with the process of selecting materials of instruction. Advisory committees of educators are used to evaluate textbooks and other kinds of teaching materials deemed to be "integrated instructional packages," or multimedia systems in a comprehensive set. Adoption is for a four-year period, but new books in all areas are considered for adoption each year, so that additions can be made annually. Local systems make their selections from the approved list. Provision is also made for pilot use of new texts prior to their adoption.

Kentucky: The State Board of Education appoints the Superintendent of Public Instruction, five classroom teachers, two school administrators and one professor of teacher education to the State Textbook Commission. The commission selects 10 books in each subject and grade, with no more than two in each list of 10 being from the same publisher. If less than 10 are offered for adoption, no more than one may be from the same publisher. Adoptions are for four years.

Local school systems then select one basal text from the state list for each subject and grade, and if no selection has been made by a designated deadline, the commission makes the selection for the school systems. Textbooks other than those on the state list may be used, under certain conditions, for instructional experimentation. Before a local school system can make multiple adoptions for a given subject or grade, it must have special permission from the State Board of Education. Up to 20 per cent of a school district's textbook funds received from the state may be used to purchase audiovisual materials, a variety of classroom resources, and other books not on the state's multiple list. The supplementary materials are purchased at the discretion of local officials, and unlike the basal texts, they are not subject to preview by the State Textbook Commission or any other body.

Oklahoma: The Governor appoints two educators from each of the state's six Congressional districts to serve on the State Textbook Committee. The four-year terms are staggered, and no member can be reappointed after his term expires. State law specifies that textbook adoptions shall be for not more than four years, and that no more than seven books or book series may be chosen for any subject or grade. The word "textbook" is defined in the law as including "all printed materials intended for use in teaching." Additions to the approved list are permitted only if seven books have not already been listed. Adoptions from the state's multiple list by local school systems are made by committees made up of three to nine teachers, one administrator, and one lay member.

New York: Local boards of education have the primary responsibility for textbook selection. Each superintendent appoints committees of teachers and administrators to select teaching materials for each grade and subject. The state makes a per-pupil appropriation for textbook purchases in each district, but there is

no state commission which lists approved materials.

Idaho: The State Textbook and Improvement of Instruction Committee screens, evaluates and recommends textbooks for adoption to the State Board of Education. Four teachers, three school administrators, three State Department of Education officials and three college educators comprise the committee. There is no limit on the number of books the committee may approve. Adoptions are for a five-year period, but new books or book series published within two years after an adoption may be approved by the committee and added to the list. Local school systems must choose their basal textbooks from the approved list. The committee also publishes annually a list of approved supplementary book materials. With permission from the State Department of Education, local school systems may carry out experimental programs using materials not on the approved list.

California: Unlike all the other states, California leases printing plates from textbook publishers and publishes its own books, rather than buying them directly from the publishers. In July of this year, the state legislature passed a comprehensive instructional materials law. Under the new law, local boards of education are authorized to adopt, purchase and distribute textbooks free of charge to all high school students (grades 9-12). For elementary school students (through grade 8), the State Board of Education will adopt no less than five and no more than 15 basic instructional materials and supplementary instructional materials for each grade or subject. Adoptions will be made every two years. A state commission will study and evaluate all instructional materials submitted for adoption and recommend to the State Board of Education the materials it approves for adoption. Prior to adoption, the board will put proposed new textbooks on public display for 30 days in designated centers around the state. The California law also deals with disposal of obsolete instructional materials,

state funding of all instructional materials, in-service training of teachers in the use of instructional materials provided by publishers and manufacturers, and selection by local school district governing boards of instructional materials on the state-approved list for elementary schools. The law also states that all public schools must choose "only instructional materials which accurately portray the cultural and racial diversity of our society," and it specifically refers to the role and contributions of both men and women in all professions and vocations, as well as those of "American Indians, American Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Asian Americans and other ethnic and cultural groups."

Oregon: All five members of the State Textbook Commission are school administrators. They are appointed to four-year terms by the State Board of Education, and they meet every two years to adopt, for a period of six years, textbooks and other educational materials in certain specified subject areas. Subsequent to any adoption, they may approve the request of a publisher to substitute a more recent edition of any officially adopted materials. There is no stated limit to the number of textbooks and instructional materials the commission may approve in any grade or subject. Local school districts select their textbooks from the state-approved multiple listing, but with the approval of the State Board of Education they may also use books not on the list. Any school district having an enrollment of 20,000 or more (and in Oregon, that means only the Portland district) may make its own adoptions, without regard to the state-approved list. All students in grades one through eight must be provided with all necessary textbooks free of charge; high school student may get their books free, or they may be charged for them. State law specifies that "No textbook shall be used in the schools which speaks slightingly of the founders of the republic or of the men who preserved the union or which belittles or undervalues their work."

Textbooks 12-12-12

All of the 11 Southern states are members of the National Association of State Textbook Administrators, and all of them have a system of state adoptions. Here is a summary of the procedures followed in some of those states:

Alabama: The State Textbook Committee has 16 members. Eight are classroom teachers, four others are either teachers or administrators, and two are college professors--all appointed by the State Board of Education. The other two members are appointed by the governor from outside the field of education. All members serve one-year terms. The state committee recommends at least six textbooks for each subject and grade (unless fewer than six acceptable books are available), and the State Board of Education, after allowing "a reasonable amount of time" for the general public "to be heard concerning any book recommended for adoption," then adopts at least four books for each subject and grade (unless fewer than four have been recommended), and the adoptions remain in force for six years. No changes are permitted within the six-year period unless recommended to the State Board of Education by the State Textbook Committee. State law expressly forbids "the use of textbooks in the public schools of the state by authors who are members of the Communist Party or members of Communist front organizations." Purchases are made through the State Department of Education. The law also guards against conflicts of interest, specifying that no person involved in the selection process, from the State Superintendent of Education to the local adoption committees, can have any financial interest in book contracts made by the state.

Arkansas: In grades 9-12, textbook adoption is left to local school systems. For the first eight grades, there are State Selecting Committees for each subject. The committees, composed of five teachers or supervisors appointed by the State Board of Education, serve for only one adoption. They recommend a minimum of

more

four books or book series, and a maximum of six books or series, for each grade, and the state board then executes six-year contracts with all publishers recommended by the selecting committees. Local schools must adopt basal texts from those approved lists. Exhibits are held in 31 centers around the state to give local selection committees an opportunity to examine all the books from which they must choose their basal texts. In the State Department of Education's published information on textbook adoption, purchase and distribution, no reference is made to supplementary texts and other instructional materials, or to the possibility of adding to the approved list at any time during the six-year adoption period.

Georgia: The State Board of Education appoints a Professional Textbook Selection Committee [redacted] each year, and the state board then makes five-year adoptions based on the committee recommendations. There is no stated limit to the number of books the committee may recommend or the board may adopt. All of the 12 selection committee members are educators. Local school systems receive their textbook appropriations from the state, and are responsible for making their own purchases from the state-approved list.

Florida: Twelve textbook councils representing the major fields and levels of instruction are appointed by the State Board of Education. The councils are made up of educators and laymen, their numbers specified by law, and they serve for one adoption period only. They recommend to the State Board of Education not more than five textbooks for each grade and subject in which adoptions are to be made. The law states it to be "legislative intent that material in textbooks used in elementary and secondary schools of this state shall not editorialize or propagandize communistic philosophy or other principles inimical to our form of constitutional government." The state board's adoptions generally follow

more

closely the recommendations of the advisory councils, and are also limited by law to no more than five textbooks for each grade and subject. Adoptions are for a five-year period, and local school systems must choose from the state list; it is unlawful to use any book not on the adopted list, "to the exclusion of a book adopted for the same subject." Textbooks are provided free to students at all grade levels, and local school systems make their purchases through the State Department of Education. Each local district may use up to 10 per cent of its textbook allocation for instructional materials not included on the adopted list. When new textbooks are adopted, the schools are required by law to continue using old books "until they are in such physical condition as to make them unsuitable for further use or until the content is obsolete."

Mississippi: The governor, the state superintendent and three educators appointed by the governor make up the State Textbook Purchasing Board. The three appointed members must be at least 30 years old. Three members of the five-member board constitute a quorum. The board hires its own executive secretary, who serves as the state's chief textbook administrator. The board has wide discretion. It adopts textbooks for periods of four to six years, and it may extend contracts with publishers for up to two additional years. To evaluate the books offered for adoption, there are rating committees for each field of study. The committees are made up of three educators appointed by the state superintendent and four persons, not necessarily educators, appointed by the governor. These committees recommend to the purchasing board three books in each grade and subject, and the board cannot adopt any book not recommended by the rating committees. (Another section of the state law apoears to be in conflict with this three-book limitation. It specifies that the purchasing board "may adopt five textbooks from those recommended by professional committees.") Local school systems, in choosing from

more

the state-approved list, can make multiple adoptions in certain specified subjects, thus making use of more than one book on the list in that grade or field of study. The board may require schools to continue using textbooks displaced by new adoptions for up to four years, or until stock owned by the state is exhausted. State law specifies that free textbooks "shall be distributed and loaned free of cost to the children of the free public schools of the State, and all other schools located in the State which maintain educational standards equivalent to the standards established by the State Department of Education for the State schools." Private schools--including racially segregated ones--are furnished books by the State Textbook Purchasing Board. The U. S. Supreme Court has agreed to hear a challenge to this practice.

North Carolina: State law provides for the appointment of a textbook commission and for the adoption of basic textbooks, but it does not say anything about length of adoption or number of books to be approved in each grade and subject. The governor appoints 12 educators to the State Textbook Commission for four-year terms--six elementary teachers or principals, five high school teachers or principals, and one superintendent. Each commission member, with the help of readers or advisers chosen by them, evaluates the books offered for adoption by the publishers and makes a written report to the State Board of Education. After a joint meeting of the commission and the board, the board calls for sealed bids on the books it has selected. Again, the law does not specify any minimum or maximum number of books the board may select in a given grade or subject, but a description of the adoption process from the State Department of Education states that "Bids are customarily received on five to eight books." The law states that the board may refuse to adopt any of the books on which it has taken bids, but it says nothing about how many contracts may be awarded or about the length of contracts. It

does permit the board, with the publisher's approval, to continue its contracts for from one to five years. The board may call for new adoptions at any time it sees fit, giving publishers 90 days notice that new books in specified subjects will be selected. Only basic textbooks are considered for adoption; the state plays no part in the selection, purchase or distribution of supplementary texts, library books or other instructional materials, except that it does allot funds to local school systems for such materials. The state maintains its own depository for basic textbooks. The effect of state laws and State Department of Education regulations is that basic textbooks are selected at the state level, and local school systems have a narrow list from which to choose. For example, fifth grade teachers around the state must choose their basic texts from a list that contains seven books in reading and English, three books each in mathematics, music and science, and one book each in social studies, spelling and health. For the eighth grade, there are seven books in language arts, five in math, three each in social studies, science and music, and one each in spelling and health.

Texas: Fifteen educators, a majority of them classroom teachers, constitute the State Textbook Committee. They are appointed to one-year terms by the State Board of Education. With the assistance of advisers, the textbook committee examines all books submitted for adoption, prepares and publishes a list of the ones it recommends, and the State Board of Education subsequently makes its adoptions from the committee's recommendations. The board adopts a multiple list containing at least three but no more than five textbooks for each subject and grade through the eighth, and a list of the same length for each high school subject. State law specifies that "the Confederacy shall be fairly represented" in United States history books used in the elementary grades. It also specifies that "no public school in the state shall use any textbook unless it has previously

more

been approved and adopted by the State Board of Education." Adoptions are made for a six-year period, and the adoption may be extended or renewed for up to six additional years.

South Carolina: Basal textbooks are provided free to pupils in grades one through eight and sold or rented to pupils in the upper grades. To assist it in the adoption of textbooks, the State Board of Education appoints the Textbook and Curriculum Advisory Committee, which is made up of eight administrators and supervisors from the public schools, five state department officials who are specialists in curriculum and materials, and one lay citizen. They serve staggered four-year terms. The board of education also appoints evaluating and rating committees for each subject in which adoptions are to be made. With respect to the number of books to be adopted in a given field, the length and sequence of adoption periods, the addition of new books to the state list, and the use of books not on the list, the regulations of the state department tend to be flexible and nonspecific. Customarily, the board of education puts three to five books on the list in each subject and grade, and contracts with the publishers are usually four years in duration. Selections from the state-approved list are made at the local level.

It is clear from these brief summaries that there are vast differences in textbook policies from state to state. The bewildering array of state laws and regulations makes understanding of the process difficult even for educators and publishers, not to mention the general population of parents and citizens who need to be informed about it.

Book publishers doing business in the several states are especially handicapped by the multiplicity of laws and regulations governing them. Almost every state has different requirements regarding bids, bonds, contracts, deposits, hearings, prices, copyrights, returns, samples, conflicts of interest, depositories, and sales representatives.

Educators--both those who make and administer policy and those who teach--may often be handicapped themselves by the complications of state law. The motives of the state--economy and efficiency, quality and equality, censorship, patriotism, indoctrination or whatever--do not always guarantee that the teachers and children in the schools will have the widest and best possible choice of instructional materials.

For all these reasons, about half of the states have not involved themselves with the adoption, selection and delivery of textbooks, and organizations such as the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers seem to favor "open" systems under which states stay out of the textbook field and leave selection entirely to local school systems. But there is nothing in the record to indicate that the "open" states have, in fact, a superior method of textbook selection and delivery. On the contrary, the absence of any state regulation at all often means that school systems are unduly influenced by persuasive book salesmen; that large school districts get far more attention, hence more choice, than small ones; and that more untested and shoddy books and materials get into the classrooms.

Textbooks 19-19-19

There is no correlation between the amount of money a state spends for textbooks and the amount of state-level regulation it imposes on the selection process. The only available figures on expenditures by state are those contained in the Association of American Publishers' Hunt Report, and they are an interesting study in themselves.

In the calendar year 1971, the nation's book publishers sold over $903 million worth of textbooks and standardized tests to schools and colleges in the United States and abroad. Included in that amount was $472,367,000 in "domestic textbook sales" to elementary and secondary schools-- "domestic" meaning the 50 states and the District of Columbia, and "textbook" apparently meaning hardbound and softbound texts, teachers' editions, workbooks, standardized tests, manuals and other forms of printed textual material. Only library books and "hardware" (audio-visuals, teaching machines and the like) were excluded. Breaking the figures down further, the publishers sold 99 million hardbound textbooks for use by pupils in the nation's public and private elementary and secondary schools in 1971, and those sales amounted to over $310 million.

When the total domestic sales for elementary and secondary schools--the $472 million--is laid out in state-by-state totals, the figures are revealing. Leaving aside the District of Columbia, where sales amounted to $14.62 per pupil, and California, where they totaled $5.40 per pupil, the next highest expenditures per pupil were in South Carolina, North Carolina and Mississippi, and the next lowest were in Alabama, Ohio and Maryland. (California's statistics are unrealistic because they do not include textbooks printed and distributed by the state.) The five states with the highest expenditures per enrolled student, and the five with the lowest, are shown in the following chart:

more

STATE	PUBLISHERS' NET SALES 1971	PCT. INCREASE OVER 1960-63	ENROLLMENT	SALES PER ENROLLED STUDENT
Five With Highest Sales Per Student:				
South Carolina	$ 8,839,000	166%	663,000	$13.33
North Carolina	14,539,000	140	1,216,000	11.96
Mississippi	6,672,000	152	559,000	11.94
North Dakota	1,882,000	55	162,000	11.62
Arizona	5,351,000	80	466,000	11.48
Five With Lowest Sales Per Student:				
Alabama	$ 5,969,000	51%	839,000	$ 7.11
Ohio	20,844,000	66	2,799,000	7.45
Maryland	7,894,000	99	1,052,000	7.50
Tennessee	7,152,000	70	939,000	7.62
West Virginia	3,305,000	38	417,000	7.93

Among the top five, only North Dakota is an "open," or non-adoption, state. Among the bottom five, Ohio and Maryland are non-adoption states.

It bears repeating that these figures are based on publishers' sales, and thus reflect purchases with local, state and federal funds. No breakdown is available on what amounts came from each source of funds.

The Institute for Educational Development's 1969 study, "Selection of Educational Materials in United States Public Schools," dealt in considerable detail with the statutes in the 50 states, with materials selection procedures in 10 states, and with the views of a wide range of educators, government officials and materials producers. The study, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation, was one of two major research projects stemming from a conference on educational technology convened by Carnegie in New York in 1967. (The other project resulted in a study entitled "Research and Development in the Educational Materials Industry.")

Throughout the IED report on materials selection, comparisons are made between adoption and non-adoption states, and the adoption states are shown to impose more limitations, impediments and constraints on the selection of teaching

more

materials. The study also makes some ratings of the states: Among adoption states, five are classified as having rigid adoption practices (North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Texas and Louisiana); seven are classified as moderately restrictive (Alabama, Florida, Indiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Oklahoma, West Virginia); and eight are rated as flexible (Kentucky, Oregon, Georgia, Kansas, Utah, Nevada, Wyoming and Alaska). Among non-adoption states, eight are said to have "laissez-faire" adoption practices (Idaho, Massachusetts, Colorado, Connecticut, Nebraska, Vermont, New Hampshire and Hawaii). The report seems to imply, perhaps unintentionally, that centralized regulation of materials selection is undesirable, while laissez-faire selection is generally the best approach. In its conclusion, however, the report says that with the exception of a few of the most rigid adoption states, "patterns of selection did not differ greatly between adoption and non-adoption states."

In February 1971, the National Education Association's executive committee established a committee to "look into the possibility of opening the textbook market in states with restrictive laws." Dr. Sidney Dorros, an NEA research consultant, brought the IED study of materials selection to the attention of the committee. He pointed out that some states, including Indiana, North Carolina and Kentucky, have liberalized adoption procedures since the 1969 IED study, and noted that even in the states with rigid or moderately restrictive procedures, "the restrictions are not quite as bad as they seem on the surface" because of loopholes that permit evasions. But he also suggested that "The writers of the IED report gloss over the seriousness of restrictive legislation."

The NEA has a resolution which "urges its affiliates to seek removal of laws and regulations which restrict the selection of a diversity of instructional materials or which limit educators in the selection of such materials." Of the 12 states the IED report classified as rigid or moderately restrictive in

their selection practices, nine are in the South.

Through committees, resolutions and research reports, the NEA has made clear its opposition to laws and regulations which limit educators in the choice of teaching materials. But in the opinion of one well-informed NEA official, the association has not been as diligent in attacking abuses in the non-adoption states. The official, who asked that his name not be used, expressed agreement with the NEA's criticism of restrictive laws, but added this: "We've ignored abuses in the open states. We haven't paid enough attention to the junk that passes for educational materials, and the states with good textbook commissions do a pretty good job of keeping it out. Some fly-by-night companies, and even some major ones, are producing shoddy, untested materials; others are selling out-of-date books and materials to the schools. There is a need for a national consumers union to test and evaluate all kinds of educational materials. The Educational Products Information Exchange is doing that on a small scale, and the educators want more of it, but the publishers and corporations resist it. Just as doctors have books listing all drugs and their good and bad effects, teachers need independent evaulations of teaching materials. We're a long way from that."

Since the financing of public education, including the purchase of textbooks and other educational materials, is primarily a responsibility of the states, it would seem from the evidence that they need neither a rigidly centralized selection procedure nor a process that permits the producers of books and materials to operate without any restraints. None of the states appears to have a model set of statutes relating to this subject. A national system of materials selection does not seem either necessary or desirable, nor does a high degree of uniformity among the states, but there is clearly room for improvement in all the states, and some state or regional efforts to draft

new legislation governing evaluation, selection and delivery of textbooks and all other materials of instruction would be timely and useful. The South, which has a history of interstate cooperation in education--as well as a history of moderate to extensive regulation through state textbook commissions--would be an especially appropriate setting for such a legislative and educational venture. Some new models of legislation, together with more independent pre-testing and evaluation of books and materials, could bring about a measurable improvement in the entire instructional process.

Independent evaluation is the primary function of the Educational Products Information Exchange Institute in New York, but its five-year struggle for survival indicates that educators and producers of educational material are not exactly clamoring for such a service. EPIE is a nonprofit corporation chartered in 1967 by the Regents of the University of the State of New York. In the beginning it operated with a planning grant from the U. S. Office of Education, but it has not been supported by any federal money since then. Several foundations have contributed to the work of the corporation, and EPIE now gets its basic operating funds from about 3,200 paying "members"--schools, school systems and other kinds of educational organizations. For a fee of $50, a member school or other agency receives nine issues a year of EPIE Report, a detailed evaluation of new books, products and other instructional tools on the market, and for an additional $15, members are sent a twice-monthly newsletter called EPIEgram. After the fashion of Consumer Reports, a highly respected and widely circulated magazine of product evaluations, EPIE is trying to establish itself in the field of education. It maintains a headquarters in New York staffed by five persons and has smaller offices in Chicago, Champaign-Urbana, Ill., Berkeley, Calif., and Princeton, N. J. With the help of about 100 consultants and 15 to 20 school systems around the country where products are tested and evaluated, EPIE is building its capacity

to serve its members. (None of the school systems that test products for EPIE is located in the South. One of the agency's consultants is John Shaver, an official in the North Carolina State Department of Education, and one member of its board of trustees is Jack D. Gordon, a Miami bank president.)

In testimony to a committee of Congress last year, P. Kenneth Komoski, the executive director of EPIE, said that in 1951 there were about 10,000 different school-focused instructional materials in use in the United States--for the most part, textbooks and films. Twenty years later, he said, well over 200,000 materials of all types made up the inventory. Komoski then estimated that "99 per cent of the materials school children are now required to use have not been put through even the initial phases of the learner-verification and revision cycle"--his words for pre-testing, evaluation, and modification--and he added that EPIE's investigation of textbooks indicated "that under one per cent of the approximately 14,000 textbooks being sold to schools has been systematically shaped through the learner tryout and revision process."

Komoski said the lack of learner-verification of materials is not entirely the fault of the producers--schools, by and large, are not interested in such information. Selection committees in the schools devote their time to product content and pedagogical approach, he said, but rarely do they ask for evidence that a given product (textbook, audio-visual device or whatever) has been tested in the classroom and proved to be effective.

To his charge that producers usually fail to conduct sufficient pre-testing of materials to verify their effectiveness, and his assertion that the selecters of materials are not sufficiently interested in their learning effectiveness, Komoski adds a third criticism: that teachers are generally unprepared to use the tools at their disposal because their training has been inadequate. In an interview, he said the colleges that produce teachers "are doing a lousy

job of preparing them even to be aware of the available tools, let alone how to use them." Teachers, he said, should be taught to be discriminating selectors and users of teaching tools, leaving most of the development and production of new tools to industry, the regional education laboratories and other groups.

Another dimension of the materials selection process having to do with the quality of teaching materials is the introduction of new or revised courses dealing with contemporary social issues. Black studies, sex education, ecology and drug abuse education are prominent examples. The portrayal of minority groups, particularly in social studies and literature textbooks, has drawn heavy criticism in recent years, and as a result there have been changes in the books, in other instructional materials, in courses, and in some laws governing what the schools teach. There has also been a flood of new "socially relevant" materials on the market, and it ranges, according to some critics, from the sublime to the ridiculous. There is, in fact, very little agreement even now on how well the new textbooks handle minority issues, or on how minority groups in American life should be portrayed.

In 1971 the National Education Association's 1.1-million-member representative assembly called on the NEA to "institute the development of a complete series of textbooks and other instructional materials planned and written cooperatively with scholars from all minority groups, in which the history of all minorities is integrated accurately." The following spring, a panel of about 25 educators, book publishers and civil rights leaders convened in Washington to discuss the treatment of minorities and women in textbooks and other teaching materials, and that group subsequently recommended to the NEA executive committee that NEA should publish, or cause to be published, a history series in which all minorities and women are represented accurately.

The panel also called for guidelines in the selection of books and materials, involvement of parents and students in the evaluation of materials, and the inclusion of materials selection as an item for negotiation in contract settlements between NEA affiliates and local school boards. And in all of these particulars, the panel stressed the need for specific attention to multi-ethnic representation in the materials.

One member of the panel--Robert J. R. Follett, president of Follett Publishing Co.--conceded that "inequitable treatment of minorities appears to be so common as to be almost the universal human condition," and he blamed the consumer--school administrators and teachers who select and purchase textbooks--for this prevalence of textbook discrimination. A 1970 study of minorities in textbooks done by Michael Kane for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was discussed by the panel, and there was concurrence with the conclusion of that study, which asserted that "no textbook, regardless of how inspired its treatment of any single subject may be, has been found which by itself presents a reasonably complete and undistorted picture of the many minority groups in America."

But what constitutes "a reasonably complete and undistorted picture" often depends on who you ask. In October 1972, just seven months after the NEA panel report was issued, a study commissioned by the rival American Federation of Teachers was released in Washington, and it asserted that the role of Negroes in American history is now being fairly and adequately treated in textbooks.

Irving Sloan, a Scarsdale, N. Y. junior high school teacher, wrote the report, which is called "The Negro in Modern American History Textbooks." It is the fourth edition of a study originally prepared by Sloan in 1966. In the three earlier versions, he had criticized most texts for either distorting or ignoring altogether the role of blacks in American history. But in the latest report, he said "The time has come . . . to praise what the American history

textbooks have at this point of time achieved in their treatment of black Americans." Sloan added: "Much, if not most, and in some instances all, that we critics, black and white, have been calling for through the years has come to pass."

An official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, John Morsell, responded to the Sloan conclusion by saying, "It is an extravagant statement, indeed, to say that the problem has been solved." That opinion apparently is shared at the NEA, where a spokesman said the association is working now to set up guidelines for accurate and equitable presentation of minorities in textbooks, and that it will be seven or eight years before the guidelines are fully reflected in new textbooks on the market.

The question of minority portrayal, like all other aspects of the textbook and educational materials enterprise, is more easily perceived than resolved. So many different groups and entities, with so many varying and often conflicting interests, have an investment in the subject of educational materials, and all of them can be expected to try to protect that investment. The commercial producers, the research and development groups, the government officials who administer funds for instructional materials, the teachers and administrators in the schools, and the parents and taxpayers all have something to say about the tools used to teach children. Only the ultimate consumers--the children themselves--are without any effective voice at all. With so many cooks to stir the pot, it is not surprising that the educational menu being served up in American schools should be as assorted, as unplanned, or as uneven in quality as it is.

For a closer look at how the process of selecting educational materials is handled in one state, this report now focuses on Tennessee.

Textbooks 28-28-28

The Tennessee State Textbook Commission publishes each year a list of textbooks approved for use in the public schools, and adoptions are made from that list by each local school system. Adoptions are staggered (social studies one year, mathematics the next, science the next, etc.); it takes five years to cover the entire curriculum, so contracts with the publishers are for five years, and all books, once chosen, remain in use for that period of time.

The state-approved list gives the local school systems a wide selection from which to choose. State law says the list must include at least four books in each subject and grade, and the commission customarily lists many more than that. The 1972 official list for all subjects and grades contains about 1,500 different titles, and 50 publishers have books on the list.

Further flexibility is afforded the local systems through the adoption of basal and supplementary texts. Commission policy requires that each system adopt one basal and no more than three supplementary books for each subject, but it does not require that every child in every class must use a basal text. Thus, selection in a particular subject may encompass four different texts, and they may be used in a variety of ways. For example, the 1972 approved list, in its section on high school American history, has 17 books by 14 different publishers. A local school system may choose one of those as the basal text and three others as supplementary, and then purchase equal numbers of all four and use them cooperatively and interchangably.

Since the textbook commission is concerned only with books purchased with state funds under a per capita allocation formula, the school systems may use other funds from a number of local, state and federal sources to supplement their instructional materials supply even further. Using the American history example once again: A school system, to the extent that it has certain local, state and federal funds, might use some of them for library books, films, paperback books,

more

magazines and newspapers, maps and charts, audio-visual materials or any other tools to supplement its instructional resources in American history.

It is difficult to pin down reliable figures on the purchase of all kinds of educational materials with funds from all sources, but some reasonably close approximations can be made, and from them it is possible to see the state textbook program in proper perspective.

Tennessee allocates for its basic program of free textbooks a total of $5.50 a year for each pupil in average daily attendance, and an additional $5.00 per pupil for the increase in attendance from the previous year. In 1971-72, these funds amounted to $4,725,000, based on $5.50 each for about 850,000 students (the previous year's total) and $10.50 each for about 10,000 students (the net increase in enrollment). In addition, the state allocates $2.00 per pupil for library books and a variety of permanent, or non-consumable, teaching materials (about $1,725,000 in 1971-72), and it provides some other funds which may be used to purchase instructional materials. It seems safe to conclude, then, that the state of Tennessee allocated close to $6.5 million to the public schools for textbooks, library books and other teaching materials last year.

The federal government spent about $80 million on elementary and secondary education in Tennessee in 1971-72, and while no breakdown is available on how much of that amount was used for all kinds of instructional materials, an estimate of 5 per cent ($4 million) does not seem unreasonable; Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which accounted for almost half of the federal total, is known to have spent about 10 per cent of its budget on all sorts of teaching materials and supplies, and about half of that amount on books alone.

The third major source of revenue for the public schools is local taxes, and in Tennessee that source produces more than $200 million a year. Without

making a district-by-district survey, there is no way to determine how much of that amount was spent for books and other teaching materials, but an arbitrary estimate of 1 per cent, or $2 million, seems conservative enough.

To recapitulate, the Tennessee public schools probably received about $12.5 million for textbooks, library books and all kinds of instructional materials in 1971-72--$6.5 million from the state, $4 million from the federal government, and $2 million from local sources. Since the total [redacted] revenue for the schools amounted to more than $500 million, the $12.5 million for teaching materials represented a share of less than 2.5 per cent.

As a sort of crude cross-check of these figures, some data on expenditures for instruction in the schools is helpful. There are three budget categories covering expenditures for textbooks, library and audio-visual materials, and instructional supplies. In those three categories, Tennessee's public school systems spent between $12.5 million and $13 million last year. Two other categories,-covering miscellaneous expenditures and contracted services for instruction, add more than $5 million to the total.

The point of all this is to show that the state of Tennessee spent at least $12.5 million for instructional materials of all kinds in 1971-72--and that only $4,725,000 of that amount (slightly over one-third of the total) was directly tied to the screening, evaluation and adoption procedures of the State Textbook Commission. Textbook sales for the calendar year 1971 in Tennessee totaled $7,152,000, according to the Hunt Report of the Association of American Publishers--and that figure, too, is considerably higher than the amount spent for state-approved texts.

Not enough is known about how the school systems spend funds for educational materials other than state-approved textbooks to elaborate on those expenditures in this report. Without a doubt, the money makes it possible to expand and enrich

the instructional program. It may also be true that wasteful, duplicative, unnecessary and unwise purchases are much more likely when they can be made without a shopping list from the State Textbook Commission or some other agency.

The State Textbook Commission has six members appointed to four-year terms by the governor. The commissioner of education is ex officio secretary of the commission and is its seventh voting member, but he rarely attends meetings, and his secretarial duties are delegated to the director of school textbook services, a member of the State Department of Education staff.

By law, the six appointed members include a county superintendent, a city superintendent, a principal, and three teachers or supervisors, one each from the elementary, middle and upper grades. It has become customary for governors to reappoint members as long as they remain in their public school jobs, and two of the current members have served since the commission was formed 21 years ago. One of them--G. Hugh Waters, an area superintendent in the Metropolitan Nashville school system--has been elected chairman by the commission membership in each of those years. One of the commission members is black, and three are women.

Here is how the commission works: Each July, all book publishers are notified that bids will be opened in October on books in the subjects up for adoption, and that hearings will be conducted at that time. The publishers are required to send samples of each book they wish to offer for adoption, together with a brief of each book and biographical sketches of the authors, to each member of the commission. The sealed bids of the publishers specify the lowest wholesale and retail prices at which the books will be made available, and guarantee their availability at those prices for five years. A bond of $500 to $2,000, based on the number of books being bid, is also required.

At the bid openings and hearings in October, representatives of the publishers are allotted time to make a presentation to the commission, and

more

after the hearings are over, the commission takes about two months to review the books and the bids and make its selection. Each member of the commission calls on educators in the school system to assist in the review and evaluation process. The number of books involved in the bidding in any given year may range from about 200 to as many as 1,500, and several hundred educators take part in the review.

The commission then meets in December to vote on the books to be placed on the approved list. In general, the commission seeks to eliminate only the most obviously unsuitable material--books that don't meet the physical standards and specifications of the Book Manufacturers Institute, or that have an old copyright and out-of-date contents, or books that are clearly not directed to the grade or subject for which they have been bid. The commission may also screen out materials that some or all of its members believe to be subversive, off-color, sensational or in poor taste, but the members prefer to characterize their [redacted] judgments as being balanced, moderate, objective--and for the most part, unanimous. "We wish to maintain the highest degree of integrity in the process, to be independent of political cross-currents, and to avoid advocacy," says Hugh Waters, the commission chairman, "and I think we have achieved that."

Certainly the commission could not be described as aggressive. It conducts its business quietly, out of the public's mind if not out of its sight. It has neither sought nor avoided books with socially relevant or controversial contents--sex education, for example, or civil rights--and its choices rarely are challenged, either by educators, publishers or groups of citizens. In its essence, the commission is a neutral body. "We are a screening committee," says Waters. "We don't adopt textbooks--committees in the local school systems do that. We believe in local decision-making, and our job is simply to eliminate only the obviously

more

unsuitable books." When Tennessee had an anti-evolution law (it was repealed just a few years ago), the commission, according to Waters, "generally listed all biology texts, including those that dealt with the evolution theory, unless they advocated one side or the other." And as for the portrayal of minority groups, the literature and social studies texts on the current list of approved books are clearly more multi-racial than they were a few years ago--not because the commission has sought out different materials, but because the publishers now offer it. Last year, when mathematics texts were adopted, the commission received bids on 234 books, and 194 of them ended up on the approved list. This year, with reading, industrial arts, fine arts and business education under consideration, about 1,500 books have been bid, and as many as 1,000 of them are expected to be approved.

After the approved list is published, the commission's major task is finished, and the scene shifts to the local school systems. Publishers are asked to send one to three sample copies of each book on the list to each of the state's 147 school systems, and local adoption committees are set up there to make final selections from the state list. Meanwhile, the publishers must sign contracts with the state--in effect, licenses to sell the books that have been approved--and they must post performance bonds of up to $5,000, the exact amount dependi[illegible] on the number of books they have on the list.

The local selection process takes about three months. Committees for the various grades and subjects--the number depending primarily on the size of the school system and the number of books to be considered--are named by administrators of the system, and in some cases are given release from their regular duties. Typically, each committee is made up of three to five teachers, and other teachers in the subject are invited to review the books and make suggestions. If they choose, school systems may invite publishers' representatives for hearings on the books, and close to half of the state's systems do that. The rest have little

contact with the representatives. Publishers are permitted to have no more than four representatives working in the state during the adoption period.

The state's allocation for texts is seldom if ever enough for a school system to purchase a complete supply of all the new books it adopts in any one year, and as a consequence, old texts frequently are kept in use for several years--often for as long as copies in satisfactory physical condition exist. In fact, that is one major reason for the five-year adoption cycle; even with five years to resupply the system with basic texts in all subjects, the available money is not sufficient to do the job. Many of the systems cannot afford to supplement the state allotment with local funds, and while they do buy other kinds of educational materials with federal funds, little if any of that money goes for basic texts. Tennessee's per capita expenditure from all sources for textbooks is only $7.62--only four states spend less--and that amount is clearly inadequate. The Tennessee Education Association is asking the legislature to add $2 per student to the $5.50 now appropriated for basic textbooks and the $2 allotted for library books and other educational materials, but the TEA wants it left to local discretion whether the additional $2 would be spent on textbooks or other things. "We don't want to get into the textbook vs. hardward debate," the TEA's research director said.

During the adoption period, the publishers having books on the approved list are working against time to make sales before the school systems make their choices and report them to the state. It is like the Christmas rush, and the competition is heavy. Since the books being adopted will remain in use for five years, most of a publisher's sales in that particular field must be made in the one adoption period. The temptation to be overzealous is great, but surprisingly, evidence of cheating is hard to find. Said one publisher's representative: "With so much competition, we have to keep our eyes on one another."

more

Once the school systems have made their choices, the publishers ship stocks to the Tennessee Book Company in Nashville, a private firm and the only textbook depository in the state. The school systems then order their books from the company, which handles virtually all of the transactions involving state-approved textbooks, and does a substantial business in supplementary books and supplies as well. The state does not have its own book depository because, officials say, they could not provide the necessary services as efficiently or as economically. The Tennessee Book Company warehouses and distributes the products of the publishers for 8 per cent of their sales through the company.

In large school systems such as the one in Metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County, the adoption process is especially complex. One of the system's area superintendents, William Wright, coordinates the work, and 10 or more committees of teachers are appointed each year to review the books up for adoption. In keeping with local policy, the committees must be biracial, and the teachers who serve--volunteers, for the most part--must come from different schools in the system. Most committees have five voting members, but other teachers are free to participate in the discussions, and opinions are solicited. The committee members are relieved of their teaching responsibilities for three days during the review process. There is a hearing at which the publishers' representatives make presentations to the selection committees, and except for that meeting the committee members and the representatives are not supposed to be in contact with each other. The rule apparently is observed fairly diligently by both sides.

When the committees have made their choices, the books are adopted--one basal text and from one to three supplementary ones for each category. Metro spends over half a million dollars a year on textbooks, including some local funds, and through its selection procedures is able to make multiple adoptions from the state list. Talks with some committee members bring out a consensus on

several points: teachers like the high degree of involvement they have in the selection of books, administrators don't interfere with the choices, students and parents are excluded from the selection process, the committees usually have an adequate list to choose from, and publishers have lagged in bringing out new materials with multi-racial and socially relevant content.

On that latter point, a case could be made either way. One of the developmental reading primers on the state-approved list and in some Metro classrooms is "Jack and Janet," which is reminiscent of the "Ben and Alice" of 30 years ago. The only noticeable difference is that on page 83, and intermittently thereafter, a little black kid named Bill enters the picture , raising the number of stereotypes in the book by one.

But "Jack and Janet" is one the way out; the slick new replacements are reading systems, sets and series geared to individualized instruction and illustrated with people who look and act and sound as if they might be made of flesh instead of cardboard. And the blacks and other minorities who are a natural part of these new materials do not appear as blackface whites.

In another subject--American history--the basal book for Metro eighth graders is "The Land of the Free," and its presentation of blacks in the context of the nation's history is balanced and equitable. Two supplementary texts for that grade, however, seem to include black Americans almost as an afterthought, tacked on rather than made an integral part of the narrative.

Book publishers make a lot of money in Tennessee, as they do in all other states--the volume of business for textbooks is high, and the overhead is low, with small staffs and practically no advertising. But the development and production of new books and teaching materials is costly and time-consuming, the business is closely regulated, the restrictions differ widely from state to state,

more

and the competition is intense. In order to get a share of the business in Tennessee, a publisher must make a bid, post a bond, distribute eight sets of samples, and persuade the textbook commission that his product should be on the approved list. If his books make the list, he must post another bond, send 150 to 450 more sample copies of each one to the schools, and put his representatives in the state on an around-the-clock drive to beat 25 or 30 other companies in a three-month sweepstakes. If he loses, he can try again in another state or another subject, or he can put his writers and researchers back to work on a better product. The winners may make a lot of money, but it's not always easy money.

With the trends toward multiple adoptions, individualized instruction, multi-media teaching systems and accellerated technology in general, the representatives of the publishers find their jobs becoming more complex. Not so many years ago, they sold hardbound books for old and respected family publishing firms; now, many of them represent subsidiary companies owned by giant conglomerates that also make refrigerators and missile systems, and the book salesmen are handling teaching machines, films and video equipment, records, programmed instruction materials and electronic devices as well as the traditional hardbound texts. Their companies have consultants who are more adept at in-service training of teachers than many college professors are--in fact, the consultants and some of the salesmen are often former professors themselves. Yet in some ways, the representatives operate in an outer circle that belongs neither to education nor to industry, and even the best of them may not be sufficiently respected or appreciated in either camp.

At the textbook commission's hearings in October, a representative of one of the nation's oldest textbook publishing firms--now a small appendage of a corporate giant--gave an informed and impressive presentation of his company's

new line of reading materials. He had been before the commission each of the 21 years since its inception, and he was cordially and attentively received. There was a little hyperbole sprinkled through his presentation ("unlike anything you've ever seen," "competence no other company can emulate," "only one on the market,"), but with all that there was also much useful description and detail. He said his materials were aimed at stimulating motivation, creating the desire to read, as well as at building reading skills. The morning paper had carried a story saying the state's human resources commission was urging the State Department of Education to adopt more multi-racial textbooks, and the veteran representative dwelled on that aspect of his company's materials. "We're proud of the manner in which we have achieved integration in our materials," he said. "This new program we are presenting today is multi-ethnic and multi-cultural, and there are no stereotypes in the characterization or in the content."

Later, the representative talked privately about his changing role in a changing business. Here are parts of what he said:

"There was a time, 15 years or more ago, when corruption was widespread in this business, but that day is past. There is a lot more self-regulation now, by the companies and by the educators. And tougher competition helps. There's still some fudging, I'm sure, but it's not a serious problem anymore.

"The purchase of the old-line companies has its good and bad sides. It may be tough on us, but it's good news for kids and teachers. Selling textbooks is not like selling toothpaste, and it took the industry people awhile to understand that, but things are improving now, and we're certainly benefitting from their technological capacity. The smaller companies are being absorbed by the major ones, and there's no reversing that trend. We're in an age of computerization, whether we like it or not. The management of the big companies is more efficient, but it's also more impersonal. If you perform well, there's great reward; if not, you're out in the cold. Change is the only constant.

more

I'm ambivalent about that, as I am about the times we live in."

"There was a time, about 20 years ago, when the publishers of history books had one edition for the South and another for the rest of the country. They catered to the majority views and prejudices. They were two-faced--like the historians who wrote the books. I think some remarkable strides have been made since then. The portrayal of racial and ethnic minorities in our textbooks should be visible, inclusive and integrated, and it should encourage pride in racial heritage and ethnic identity. I think we're getting away at last from the stereotypes and the constancy of characterization."

"The textbook commission in Tennessee is the best one in the South. It could be improved by changing some little things, but the basic structure shouldn't be tampered with. I like the adoption system. An open-door policy would be unmanagable--all the action would be at the local level, and the little school systems would either be ignored or preyed upon. Somebody needs to get rid of the unsuitable stuff, and then a local school system can choose from a fairly long list in the confidence that there will be good quality in whatever they choose. An open system would impair the process of quality education statewide. And with limited funds, staggered adoptions are essential. Otherwise, some units in the curriculum would end up with too large a share, and others would never be adequately funded. It might help if the time span were shorter than five years, though."

"Under the law, the commission has the authority to determine when books may be added to the approved list. Their policy has been to permit only the addition of new and virtually unchanged editions of books already on the list, and nothing else. I think they should allow new titles in an adopted series, new material which enlarges or augments a packaged series of materials which they have already approved."

"Publishers' representatives often have a better glimpse of the future than educators do, but in the eyes of many of them we're all just commercial hucksters, third-class citizens. But ironically, the educators are more threatened than we are. They are in danger of having industry take over the education of teachers. A lot of teachers now resent the poor quality of preparation they've received. Teacher education had better come of age and start getting people ready for the future, or outfits like Litton and Xerox are going to be doing their job."

It is possible to find opinions that conflict with the ones expressed by this publisher's representative, but his views on corruption in the business, on the pros and cons of corporate merger, on minorities in textbooks, on the status of salesmen and on the stature of the Tennessee commission seem to be shared more often than not.

One feature of the commission--the continual reappointment of its members--resembles the much-criticized seniority system in Congress, yet not one person interviewed complained about it. Mrs. Mildred Bosworth, who as the state's director of textbook services is the commission's secretary, points out that both Democrat and Republican governors have honored the tradition of reappointing members. "That keeps politics out of it," she says. "Members seldom leave the commission unless they change jobs, retire, or die, and what that gives us is well-informed and dedicated educators who do a lot of hard work without pay." Mrs. Bosworth is serving this year as president of the National Association of State Textbook Administrators. Among publishers' representatives and local adoption committees--the two groups most familiar with the commission's work--there is generally approval of its organization and performance.

A persuasive case could be made for instituting some changes in the textbook and educational materials selection process in Tennessee. The textbook commission could be more flexible in its treatment of new materials on the market,

more

allowing additions to the approved list frequently enough to keep the curriculum and materials of instruction from becoming obsolete. The commission could expand the scope of its scrutiny to include all kinds of printed and non-printed materials of instruction, on the theory that unless the worst junk is weeded out, some schools will buy it. The school systems and universities of the state could loan specialists in the various fields and subjects to the commission for short-term, full-time examination of all the materials subject to adoption. The commission and its cooperating educators, both paid specialists and volunteer evaluators, could include in their investigation a search for proof of the effectiveness of new materials being considered for adoption. The commission could make provisions for students and interested parents to have some input to the selection process. The commission could give attention to a problem that has been ignored by the schools and by the book industry: disposal of obsolete printed materials. Destruction of old books seems wasteful, and so is stockpiling, yet one or the other usually happens. Books are seldom given away, or cut up for further educational uses, and apparently they are never recycled. That possibility should be thoroughly explored by the industry and the schools, in cooperation with state commissions. Finally, the commission could enter into discussions with other state commissions, and it might reach some cooperative agreements that would result in better communication, better scrutiny of educational materials, and better laws to govern the process.

Suggestions such as these, together with the obvious one that the state of Tennessee should make a greater investment in the tools used to educate children, have been heard before, and no doubt they will be heard again. Over time, some of them may come to pass. Meanwhile, the process of selection continues, and if it is not all it should be, it is probably better than the procedures in most states--and better than it might be expected to be in Tennessee, considering how relatively little the state invests in textbooks.

#

John Egerton - Second Generation School Desegregation: Two Case Studies

It is convenient, if not altogether accurate, to look back on movements in history and classify them according to definition, duration and significance. World War II, for example, has a name, a beginning and an end, and a ranking in the wars of history. Other events and periods are similarly categorized--Prohibition, Reconstruction, the Renaissance--and history books are full of the dates and labels that identify them.

In that same style--and with the same risk of oversimplification--it is possible to describe the first generation of public school desegregation in the United States. It began in 1954 with the Supreme Court's famous Brown decision. It was in the main a Southern phenomenon, pitting abolitionists fighting to eradicate segregation against segregationists struggling to maintain white supremacy. It lasted about 15 years. By 1969, the abolitionists had achieved victory on paper: Segregation as a philosophical article of faith had been deflowered, dual school systems were falling all across the South, and biracial schools were becoming commonplace. At the beginning, the basic point of contention had been segregation itself--racial isolation, one-race schools, separate and unequal education. Against a succession of segregationist defenses--interposition, nullification, states rights, "freedom of choice"--an allied force of civil rights groups, government agencies and the federal courts finally began to prevail in their efforts to get black and white children and teachers out of racially divided schools and into classrooms together.

All of that is beginning now to find its way into the new textbooks on American history. It can be called the beginning of the post-segregation era, or the first generation of school desegregation, or phase one of the movement for equal educational opportunity. Whatever the label, that period has ended.

For the past four or five years, the shape and substance of the school desegregation issue has been changing. To be sure, many public schools are still entirely populated (or virtually so) by one race or another, and arguments still persist about whether such segregation is de facto or de jure, and whether it can or should be corrected by such techniques as busing. But in the schools where children of different races and socio-economic classes are enrolled together, segregation itself is no longer the dominant issue. For those schools

there is a larger question: How can stable, equitable, integrated institutions which deliver high-quality education to all children be created and maintained? If a school system anywhere in the country represents a functional answer to that question, it has escaped the attention of legions of researchers.

In the South, where desegregation is now more pervasive than in any other section of the country, no school system can be said to have completely eliminated all the vestiges of segregation and discrimination. Some big-city school systems have taken on the appearance of their Northern counterparts. Many school districts have been decimated by the exodus of whites to private schools. Hundreds of formerly all-black schools have been closed and thousands of black educators have been displaced by segregation plans weighted to the advantage of the white majority. White opposition to busing and to other aspects of desegregation has often been massive and tumultuous. And more and more blacks have become opponents of desegregation as the failure to achieve complete integration has persisted.

Yet for all that, many school systems in the South have made measurable progress toward full integration. This report examines two such systems in some detail: Hope, Arkansas, a small district with about 3,000 pupils, and Greenville, South Carolina, a consolidated city-county district with an enrollment of almost 60,000. The intent is not to present these two communities as in any way typical of the South--or, for that matter, as exceptions to whatever might be called typical. They are not necessarily models for other communities to emulate. They were chosen for review in part because they appeared on the surface to have made good progress in eliminating racial isolation in the schools, and thus might offer glimpses of educational operations fully launched in the second generation of school desegregation. They were also chosen for some arbitrary reasons: One is small, the other large; one is rural, the other urban; one is an Eastern Seaboard state, the other is in the interior of the Mid-South; one is in a county where one-sixth of the population is black, the other is in a county where blacks make up one-third of the population; and both are districts in which the plan of desegregation was devised locally.

Hope and Greenville are not integrated school systems, in the most comprehensive sense of that much-misunderstood word, but they have eliminated the appearances of segregation and racial isolation that

characterize school systems all over the country in the second generation of desegregation. The problems have been--and still are--serious and at times almost overwhelming. The possibilities are cause for some encouragement. Hope and Greenville, like a good many Southern school systems, have made progress, and they have the potential to make more. Their promise is tempered by the persistence of race and class discrimination in and out of the educational system, but they at least seem to be moving in the direction of greater quality and equality.

Hope, Arkansas is a community of 9,000 people in rural southwest Arkansas, 110 miles from Little Rock and 75 miles or less from the borders of Oklahoma, Texas and Louisiana. Its school district serves about two-thirds of the 19,000 residents of Hempstead County (the others are patrons of four predominantly rural school systems), and in recent years the county has begun to show signs of growth, reversing a long pattern of population decline. The arrival of some new industries, however, has not appreciably altered the agricultural character of the community, and in the estimate of some of its leading citizens, Hope remains essentially a conservative town--quiet, law-abiding, white-dominated and slow to change.

In the fall of 1969, after five years of piecemeal desegregation under a "freedom of choice" enrollment plan, the public schools of Hope became a fully desegregated unitary system for the first time in history. Hope never went to court to try to preserve segregation. Its freedom of choice plan and its final desegregation plan both resulted from negotiations with federal education and civil rights officials, and the final plan was drafted and approved by the local school board and its staff.

A year of planning preceded the change, and the preparation clearly paid dividends. No organized opposition to desegregation ever materialized in the community. There were no boycotts, no picketers, no protesters. No private schools were formed. Hope High School, formerly all white, became the high school for all children in the district. Yerger High School, a junior-senior high named for its black founder, Henry C. Yerger, became Yerger Junior High, serving all seventh and eighth graders. Hopewell School, once an elementary school for blacks only, became the sixth grade center for the entire district. Four

formerly all-white elementary schools in Hope were fully desegregated, as was a fifth, a two-room school serving grades one through four in a rural section of the district outside the town. Teachers and administrators were reassigned to achieve a racial balance approximating one black for every four whites on the faculty of each school, and the district's enrollment of more than 2,800 pupils, 38 per cent of them black, was distributed in such a way that each school had a proportionately equal ratio of blacks and whites.

The planning for the movement to a unitary system took small details into account as well as large ones. A rerouting of buses resulted in only a slight increase in the number of buses used, the number of pupils transported, and the total number of miles driven. Because the black schools were kept open, busing was a two-way process, not a change affecting blacks alone. Extracurricular programs were desegregated, with blacks guaranteed proportional representation. Efforts were made to change the curriculum to include a more balanced and realistic portrayal of blacks.

"We saw to it that every organization, every club, every part of the school system had black and white representation," Superintendent Jones later recalled. "We had some disagreements on the board, but when it came down to voting, they were never divided, and there was no hard-core opposition in the community. I don't guess we'd have made the changes if we hadn't felt like we'd be forced to, but in the end we accepted the challenge, and we had a smooth transition."

Compared to most Southern communities, it was exceedingly smooth. In the absence of any extreme reaction, the community acceded to the counsel of its school officials, and in so doing began a reversal of a social pattern as old as the town itself.

This is the sixth year Hope's unitary school system has been in operation. A visitor in the schools can find evidence to show that the promising beginning in 1969 has been followed by a comparatively favorable performance in the second generation of school desegregation. And at the same time, there are indications that the second generation has not yet run its course, that inequities still persist in the schools, that changed attitudes still lag far behind changed actions, and that desegregation of the schools apparently has had little effect at all on the larger community.

The smallness and stability of the town have helped to establish desegregation in the schools. Hope is not subject to great increases or decreases in the population or massive shifts in housing patterns, the way big cities are, and once it achieved racial balance in its schools--and no private school movement ensued--that alignment became the new status quo. What was done in 1969 remains in force now: Leaving aside Guernsey School, the rural facility where two white teachers have 13 black students and 37 whites in grades one through four, the other seven schools in the system have black teacher percentages of 20 to 30 per cent (the faculty for all schools combined is just over 23 per cent black) and black student percentages of 34 to 43 per cent (overall, 37 per cent of the enrollment is black).

The Hope schools have benefitted from the start of two new programs funded by the state--kindergartens and free secondary school textbooks (previously, only elementary children could avoid having to buy their own books). Furthermore, Hope voters approved a property tax increase of eight mills (to 48) in 1973, after two previous attempts to raise the tax for school improvements had failed. The system now operates on a $2-million-a-year budget--half from the state, one-third from the local property tax, and 17 per cent from the federal government.

Taking all these indicators together--the promising start of desegregation, the stability of racial balance, the financial improvements--Hope shows up as a successful unitary school system. It even got the added boost of a championship football team in the bargain, and that helped immeasurably.

But on closer examination, the day-to-day operations of the schools in the community reveal continuing problems of race and class, and desegregation shows itself to be a process, not an end result. For example, the problem of high school dropouts has suddenly become a serious concern, and the students who leave school are usually black and almost always poor. Performance in the classroom and on standardized tests shows blacks as a group to be trailing whites, and the gap does not appear to be closing. Except for a black social worker in the central office and a black counselor in the high school, the top administrators and all of the principals are white. Some principals and teachers say most problems and absenteeism involve black students, and some black students assert

that their teachers are insensitive and, at best, unconsciously racist. Many blacks also complain that they surrendered spirit and identity with the loss of their high school, and they say they do not feel completely at home in Hope High.

Listening to the comments and observations of several students, teachers and administrators brings these and other concerns into sharper focus, and also shows how complex the process of desegregation is.

In one elementary school, the principal searched her thoughts for good things to say about the changes that have taken place, but her remarks turned out to be mostly negative. The black children "want to do, they want to learn," she said, and their parents "are very nice to me." "But," she went on, "discipline is not as good as it used to be, and many of the black children are troublesome and unruly, and they fight a lot--more with each other than with whites. Academically," she said, "I feel they've pulled our educational program down--I can honestly say that. The Negro children don't read or write or comprehend or listen as well as the whites. The teachers have to spend more time with them, at the expense of the other children. I feel sorry for the black children--it's not their fault. Many of them have a bad home situation." And finally, "There's still a question in my mind whether desegregation is worth it. With some, yes; with others, no. We have a responsibility to do the best we can, and our teachers are trying harder, and on the whole, I think they're doing better--I hope. But I don't know, I really don't. I don't know what's going to be the result."

Those attitudes and feelings don't sit well with some black adults in the community. "We've got quite a few principals and teachers like that," said one. "They still seem to think all Negroes are alike--and all inferior to whites. They say 'Colored children are dirty, and they fight all the time, and they're dumb,' and they think they're doing us a favor by trying to help. But those people can't really help unless they begin to see that they're part of the problem. We've still got a lot of discrimination in this town, and in the schools, and we'll keep on having it as long as whites keep putting all the blame on us."

At Yerger Junior High, Principal Harold Dickerson thinks his

second year in that job is going much better than the first, and he offers a personal observation about what desegregation has meant: "I think it's eliminated my own prejudice. I used to think a good black student was the exception; now I know better. With my colleagues and with the kids, I've learned that we're all basically the same. The black parents want their kids in school--they're cooperative, sometimes more than white parents are. The black students as a group haven't caught up yet--more of them are in remedial and special education classes, and they present more discipline problems. But it's mostly an economic thing--many of them don't have a good home environment. The contact between black and white students is getting closer all the time, though, and things are just a lot better all around this year. There's still a tremendous amount of racial prejudice in this community--a lot of whites still have an untouchable attitude toward blacks--but over the years, I can't help but believe that will fade away."

At his home across the street from Yerger, Will Rutherford, the man Dickerson replaced, talked about his experiences in the schools, and about desegregation:

"When we unitized, we did it all, and it went pretty well. There was some resentment and dissatisfaction at first, but there was no racial friction, no major problems. They wanted to move me to the central office, or to Hope High as assistant principal, but I told them I wanted to stay at Yerger as principal, and I did. It was my choice--I had been there for 38 years, and I wanted to finish there.

"Some of the black students were reluctant to change--a lot of leaders had to take second, and our coach was made assistant coach, and it hurt in other ways. But at a convocation the first day, I said I felt different than I had ever felt on any morning I ever opened school--we had equal opportunity at last, and we didn't have to lie about it anymore. There was no more taking second hand--opportunity was equal.

"Educationally, it has been worth it, especially for the better students--they've had a chance to get into honors classes, and take courses we didn't offer. Socially, I think maybe it's not worth it. We've lost a lot. There's less pride, less identity with the high school. We used to have our own drama groups and clubs and sports. Now the school is larger, and the masses have less chance to participate, to stand out. It hurt the community, too--Yerger was like

a black community center. It doesn't serve that purpose now.

"On an individual basis, some black and white students are very close, but you still see a lot of separation. In the long run, I believe the change will prove beneficial to everybody. I believe my son and yours, if they've gone all through school together, played ball together and all, they'll be friends, and it'll make a big difference in the community. Things are opening up a little bit now--the stores and the banks have some token desegregation, and there's a Negro on the city commission, and one on the police force, and one on the school board, and a couple in the Kiwanis Club. The overall economic picture is improving--the new factories seem fair about employment, and the old ones have opened up some. The churches are still pretty separate, though, and there's a white and a black ministerial alliance. Housing is still segregated--Negroes all live pretty much in two sections of town--and we've got a lot of unpaved streets. And Negro business and professional people--beside teachers--are practically nil. What difference school desegregation is going to make in the long run, I don't know. We still lose our best young people, black and white, and I see no change in that. The potential leaders go off to college and never come back. They do well--but they do it someplace else."

At Hope High School, what statistical evidence there is of the academic consequences of desegregation indicates that white students as a group continue to improve at about the same pace they maintained before, while black student progress is less rapid than whites'. Standardized tests given to last year's senior class when they were sophomores and juniors showed a composite score for whites of 490 the first year and 540 the second (on a scale of zero to 850); the comparable scores for blacks were 380 and 400. In mathematics particularly, the relative position of the black students deteriorated; in the other areas covered by the Science Research Associates examinations--reading, language arts, social studies and use of sources--blacks also trailed, but the gap between them and the whites did not widen. Other indicators--enrollment in advanced courses, honor graduates, continuation in post-secondary education--also favor whites, both numerically and in proportion to their percentage in the student population.

Robert Whitmarsh, the high school principal and a member of its staff for 13 years, acknowledges that the immediate impact of desegregation was felt more by blacks than whites. "They were the ones who

were displaced," he said. "They had to fit in here. And keep in mind that this is only the first year of free textbooks in the high schools. I bet we had 10 times the textbook budget Yerger had before desegregation, because white parents could afford it. All that just made it more difficult for the black students to come over here."

Offsetting that disadvantage somewhat, Whitmarsh said, was the strength of the faculty: "We inherited a very capable staff from Yerger, and the black teachers made an easier adjustment than the whites. The good black teachers moved into a situation where they had better resources to work with and more well-prepared students. The white teachers, on the other hand, were less experienced in dealing with socio-economic and cultural differences."

Whitmarsh estimates that about 20 per cent of his white students can be classified as poor, while half of the black students are in that category. "The problems we have--discipline, absenteeism, poor academic performance, dropouts--are essentially socio-economic problems. Take absenteeism: We have a lot of kids who work, many of them at night, some of them in full-time jobs. They're often the ones who don't make it to school. And with the ready availability of jobs in the community, we're losing a lot of youngsters who go to work because their families need the money."

This year's senior class at Hope High numbered 156; in previous years, 200 or more students were graduating. When the present class was in the ninth grade in 1970-71, it had 203 members, and the subsequent fallout of almost 25 per cent is causing school officials some concern. An effort to locate the dropouts has thus far turned up 35 of them--23 black, 12 white, and virtually all from low-income homes. "The basic cause is need," says Whitmarsh. "It's not our teachers, or our curriculum--it's just that they can find work, and they need the money, and we can't hold them."

Whitmarsh estimates that 90 per cent of the students who cause discipline problems come from homes where one or both parents are missing, and his two counselors--one white, one black, both males--say 90 per cent of their time is spent dealing with the personal problems of 10 per cent of the students. "It's all tied together," the principal says. . . . ."discipline, absenteeism, poverty, unstable homes, lack of interest in school, poor grades."

Over the years, about 60 per cent of the white graduates of Hope

High have gone on to college. Whitmarsh says that ratio of college-bound whites has at least been maintained, if not increased, and it is his guess that more blacks go now than they did under segregation.

Looking ahead, the principal is optimistic about the long-term consequences of desegregation--but with some qualification. "You're going to find this generation of blacks and whites working shoulder to shoulder in the community when they're grown," he says--but he also notes that many of the best students don't come back to Hope to live, and when he talks about equality in terms of knowledge, money, power, influence and prestige, he concludes that "it may take a hundred years for this transition to be completed in every segment of our society." He adds: "People here accept desegregation, but I don't think most of them, especially the whites, think of it as an asset, a real opportunity. There's tolerance, but there hasn't been a completely positive change of attitudes. We desegregated successfully because we did a lot of planning, and becuase there was political support for obeying the law, and because there was a lot of student involvement in the process--and because of people like Jones and Rutherford and Barentine. I think we've made a lot of progress, but the job isn't finished."

Around the high school campus, there is evidently a good bit of one-to-one contact between blacks and whites, but wherever groups congregate, they tend to be racially separate. Even the faculty is that way: At lunch the white males usually sit at one table, the white females at another, and the blacks, male and female, at a third. There is limited after-school social contact between black and white students, and the rare sight of an interracial couple on anything resembling a date apparently is frowned upon by peers and parents of both races. White and black cheerleaders are together frequently, the same is true of athletes, and last year the football team, with a majority of white members, elected a black homecoming queen. But random conversations with students show most of them to be wary of the ~~opposite~~ other race--except for those individuals they know personally and consider their friends--and generally uninformed and unconcerned about how the other half lives. Said one white student: "We hang out at the Dairy Queen--I don't know where they go." And a black student asserted "I could speak up over there (at Yerger). Over here, I don't." To be

sure, not all students share those views--but even the ones who think blacks and whites have good rapport with one another also tend to feel that the school is ahead of the town, and that off-campus pressures keep contact at a minimum.

In Hope High's advanced math classes, in chemistry and physics and the foreign languages, black enrollment is sparse; in special education and remedial reading courses, blacks usually make up half or more of the enrollment. In athletics, black students more than hold their own. In dress and fashions, they are often the pacesetters, wearing stylish, colorful, attention-getting outfits that many whites seem to envy but don't dare to emulate. A prevalent counterstyle among whites is the "poor" look: faded jeans, work shirts, ragged tennis shoes.

The desegregation of Hope's school system can be measured and evaluated in countless ways, from batteries of statistics to the attitudes and feelings of the hundreds of students, parents and school employees who are involved in the process. Quite naturally, each evaluation differs somewhat from the rest, and taken together, they encompass the widest possible diversity of conclusions. But a consensus of sorts seems to emerge. Some of it is expressed by James Jones, the retired superintendent, when he talks about the 1969 changeover as a challenge the schools met successfully--but also the beginning of a much larger alteration, the outcome of which is still far from certain. And part of it is expressed by George Frazier, a local insurance man and former president of the school board, who credits strong black and white leadership, community stability and respect for law with making peaceful change come about--but goes on to note that the community has been slow to absorb blacks into the economic system, that the town's churches have been derelict in their leadership, and that it is "the kids"--the present generation--who will have to do what their elders seem unwilling to do: make equality a reality.

There are other dimensions of the consensus that seems to prevail about school desegregation in Hope--or perhaps they are simply conclusions a visitor reaches after spending some time in the schools and in the town. One of them is this: The public school system is the only institution in the community yet to attempt a complete conversion from the segregation and white supremacy of the past to a condition of

inclusiveness and racial parity. In some ways, that conversion has been rapid and genuine; in other ways, it has been gradual, ineffective and flawed, held back by white and black remembrance of things past. The day has not come--may not even be near--when the schools no longer hold out advantages to whites simply because they are white. Those advantages still exist primarily because the community at large still guarantees them, and the schools, however much they may be leading social change in Hope, are still influenced by--and inseparably bound to--the unwritten social constitution that governs life in the community. It has not yet been accepted by the white people of Hope that the black citizens who make up one-third of the population are essential to the future prosperity and wellbeing of the town, and that their full participation in its affairs is necessary before the community can realize its fullest potential. Blacks in Hope are tolerated by whites, at best; in the eyes of many, they are untouchables, to use Harold Dickerson's word. As long as that attitude is prevalent, the second generation of school desegregation in Hope will be incomplete.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

School desegregation came to Greenville, S. C. in February of 1970 with the suddenness of a winter snowstorm. After decades of segregation and years of litigation, a federal appeals court gave the school system one month to abandon its ineffective "freedom of choice" policies and to implement a plan of total desegregation.

That was about four years ago. Greenville still has one of the most thoroughly desegregated school systems in the South (comparatively speaking, at least) but what its most optimistic citizens thought had been accomplished in 1970 is still far from complete. Desegregation--the moving of warm bodies--turned out to be only the beginning. The search for fairness, equity and good results goes on, yielding by turns hope and discouragement, achievement and failure.

When Greenville took its first hesitant steps away from school segregation in the mid-1960's, it differed little, if at all, from scores of Southern communities facing federal court orders. Under the fair-sounding but discriminatory rubric of "freedom of choice," it acceded to a little bit of change and clung to the hope that it would be gradual and minimal. From the beginning of freedom of choice until the sudden changes in 1970, the city's schools were in what

could be called the first generation of desegregation, and that period differed in no significant way with what had gone on before. Since 1970, however, the changes have been substantial. Greenville has entered the second generation of school desegregation, a period characterized by efforts to achieve complete and equitable integration, and the nature of its problems has changed. The story of Greenville's odyssey out of segregation should be instructive to those communities which still face such changes. But it is the city's second generation school desegregation achievements and problems that need to be studied by most school systems, for they are what mark the path between segregation and integration. The question now is not whether racially separate schools can be maintained, but whether blacks and whites can get the full benefit of quality education in a unitary school system.

To lay the setting for an examination of the Greenville schools today, a brief look at some recent history and a few statistics should be helpful:

Greenville and surrounding Greenville County, with a population of almost 250,000 and an area of 789 square miles, have maintained a single public school system for about 20 years. In 1960, the schools enrolled almost 50,000 pupils, and grew at an average rate of 1,000 students a year through that decade, reaching 59,000 in 1969. Enrollment fell off slightly after that, but has remained at about 58,000. Blacks make up about 16 per cent of the county population, and 23 per cent of the public school enrollment.

Segregation prevailed in most of the district's schools in the fall of 1969, but the following January a long period of litigation came to an end when the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ordered immediate implementation of a plan calling for an approximate ratio of 80 whites to 20 blacks in the student body and faculty of every school. Specialists from the U.S. Office of Education helped the school system prepare for the changeover, but most of the features in the plan that was adopted were contributed by the district's own school board and staff. Superintendent M.T. Anderson said the court's action was "drastic, disruptive and disappointing," but he pledged that the schools would make "every effort to comply."

In retrospect, the immediacy and the unavoidability of complete

desegregation seem to have worked in Greenville's favor. Lacking any viable options, the city proceeded to face the inevitable. The school board appointed a citizens advisory committee to encourage peaceful compliance, the city's human relations committee and the chamber of commerce pitched in, the mayor and other public officials said their children would remain in the public schools, Governor Robert McNair promised compliance with the court ruling, the local newspapers spoke of the "solemn duty of citizens to make the best of a horrible situation," and before there was time for strong organized opposition to develop, the deed was done.

Numerous reasons have been given for the peaceful transition that took place, including the lack of organized resistance, the restraint of politicians and other public officials, the community's tradition of law-abiding moderation, and the weariness of the entire population with unsettled confusion and interminable controversy. To those reasons could be added the lack of militant hostility in the black community, the realization of many whites that racial balance guaranteed them perpetual majority status, and perhaps most important of all, strong leadership in some key positions.

The citizens advisory committee is one example of the difference good leadership made. The 32-member biracial group was chaired by Ernest Harrill, a Furman University professor, and in spite of internal differences it joined ranks to push for community support and acceptance of the impending change. Harrill recalled the crucial month:

"Our basic job was to try to inform the people and to assist the school system. We had volunteers manning a bank of telephones every day, taking down questions and then getting them answered by school officials. We got the newspapers to publish a special section of the most-asked questions and answers, and then we distributed 50,000 extra copies through the schools. We had a committee that worked with the student governments in the schools, and another group of volunteers that helped move books, meet buses and escort kids in their new surroundings. All in all, we had about 2,000 volunteers working. There was some opposition--a motorcade to the state capitol in Columbia, a delegation to Washington, a few pickets in front of some schools--but for the most part, the community pitched in and tried to make it work. People were going around wearing lapel buttons that said 'The Important Thing is Education!'--

75,000 of them were distributed free--and most of the churches were supportive. Our committee tried to stay out of the way of the teachers and administrators and do the things they didn't have the time to do. It was a tremendous effort."

One more reason for the success of the changeover had to do with the logistics of it. Before desegregation, students living inside the Greenville city limits were not permitted to ride school buses. Under the desegregation plan, bus transportation was provided to all students living more than a mile and a half from their assigned schools, yet even with those additions, the total number of bussed pupils only increased from 19,000 to 24,000. The 80-20 ratios thus were achieved in almost every school without a massive increase in the total amount of busing. The school district now operates a few more buses, and the fleet travels more miles each day, but every school opens at 8:30 in the morning and is out by 3:00 in the afternoon, and nobody gets on a bus before 7:15 a.m., and for those reasons the anti-busing movement has never gotten off the ground in Greenville.

If the plan satisfied most whites--or at least undercut their opposition to busing--it was far less welcome to most blacks. Of the 12,000 pupils who had to change schools, 7,000 were black--or to put it another way, 62 per cent of the black students and only 10 per cent of the whites were transferred. Most of the previously all-black schools were either closed or reduced in the grades they served, and with them went most of the black principals, coaches and other administrators. Said William N. Page, a board member prior to and after the changeover, "The way we did it involved the least amount of transportation and the maximum use of the best buildings in the system. It was correct mathematically, but it bothered me emotionally." It bothered a good many blacks even more. But when students from all-black Sterling High School showed up at Wade Hampton High, previously an overwhelmingly white school, they were given a warm welcome by the students there, and when they were pictured in the paper exchanging handshakes and compliments, it was clear that the decades of segregation and the years of token desegregation were over.

There was a collective and almost audible sigh in the community--

relief for some, resignation for others--and the remainder of the school year slipped by. The next fall, trouble erupted in several schools, and some of it was serious: walkouts, property destruction, police intervention, teargas and arrests. Second-generation school desegregation in Greenville had begun.

Since then, the Greenville school district--its superintendent and administrators, its board, its teachers, its students--has put together a collective response to the challenge of desegregation that is, on the whole, impressive, if it is viewed as the beginning of a long-term coming to grips with second-generation desegregation problems. Here are some examples of the system's forward movement since the 1970 changeover.

* In the fall of 1971, the school system undertook a major reorganization designed to enhance both desegregation and decentralization. Four areas, or subdistricts, were created, with each having about 13,000 pupils, about 20 schools, and a student and faculty racial ratio of about 80 whites to 20 blacks. (The Piedmont Project is an additional, though smaller, subdistrict, and it also has the same racial ratio.) Individual schools were reorganized along an elementary (K-5), middle school (6-8), high school (9-12) pattern, and substantial rezoning took place, with three outside consultants helping to design the new arrangement. The five areas, including Piedmont, are administered by area assistant superintendents, one of whom is black.

* The citizens advisory committee concept has been continued and refined. The first committee resigned after a year to give the school board an opportunity to review the concept, and the board then appointed a new 32-member group. In 1972, after the school system was reorganized, the advisory committee was restructured into five committees, with each school in the system having a representative. Five representatives from each subdistrict make up a system-wide committee which meets regularly with the superintendent and members of the school board, and the subdistrict committees also have regular meetings with various administrators and teachers. An effort has been made to maintain a good cross-section of races, ages, sexes and occupations, and the committees have involved themselves in a wide range of school issues and enhanced the concept of citizen participation in the operation of the schools.

* The small army of volunteers which helped in the initial

transition to a unitary school system has been maintained, and about 1,500 people still work without pay in a variety of jobs in the schools. Well organized and supervised, the volunteer program is now a formal part of the district's structure.

* With a grant from the federal Experimental Schools Program, the district has reorganized schools in the Greer community, on the eastern edge of the county, into a semi-autonomous subdistrict with a high school, a middle school and six feeder elementary schools. Called the Piedmont Schools Project, it is a concerted effort at across-the-board restructuring of the total educational process. One of only five such projects originally funded by the Experimental Schools Program, Piedmont has about 4,800 students, approximately $1.5 million a year in federal funds, and five years to demonstrate that such resources will make a measurable difference in the education of children. Piedmont seems to be trying just about every new wrinkle on the education scene, from individualized instruction, multi-aged grouping and differentiated staffing to out-of-school learning, year-round school, curriculum reconstruction, and alternatives to letter-grades and report cards. The point of it all is to establish the efficacy of a variety of educational reforms and to speed their introduction into the entire school system.

* A half-day kindergarten program has been started for the community's five-year-olds, and three new vocational centers have been built, and high school students who want to pursue vocational subjects are transported daily from the schools to which they are assigned. This dual-enrollment setup obviates the necessity of duplicating expensive equipment in every high school plant.

* Five secondary school extension centers have been opened, offering late afternoon and evening instruction in grades 7-12. Their purpose is to lure dropouts and working students back to the classroom. The schools are staffed by regular faculty members and by counselors, social workers and a psychologist.

* Greenville has gone in heavy for human relations training, offering workshops for students, faculty, administrators and community volunteers. Student human relations committees with access to faculty-administration-community participation, have been organized in every secondary school "to promote acceptance, understanding and communication between students, faculty and administration of different cultural ethnic backgrounds." The administrator of the district's

human relations programs, feels that significant strides in improving interracial understanding in the schools have been made. "We want to make the schools good places to be--racially, socially, educationally and personally," she says. "It's a constant challenge, and there's a lot yet to be done with all groups, but we have made measurable progress in the past two years."

* Two young men, one a black former social worker and the other a white ex-salesman, have been made ombudsmen for the school district. The ombudsmen, Jackie Williams and Nick Strange, are responsible directly to the superintendent, and they operate as free-floating advocates of good human relations. Their self-designed job description stresses one-to-one and small-group contact, with the emphasis on prevention of misunderstanding rather than on troubleshooting. They spend most of their time in the schools or in the community, staying in contact with their office by means of a radio "beeper." In a sensitive role vulnerable to misinterpretation, Williams and Strange have managed to gain acceptance in most quarters.

* The school district has made a concerted effort to equalize curricular offerings in the schools, and substantial changes have been made in the curriculum to correct and enlarge the racial and ethnic aspects of instruction. In addition, individualization of instruction and accountability for its results have become prominent ideas in the planning process, several special programs have been added to stimulate improvement in the teaching of reading.

* The relatively small loss of white children to private schools and the 1971 reorganization of the district have resulted in stable enrollments at most schools and maintenance of the overall 80-20 ratio. That approximate ratio has also been maintained at the faculty level.

* The school system budget is up to $41 million dollars, _____ per cent more than in 1969-70, with federal allocations to the system vastly increased and local expenditures up almost ____ per cent.

Taken together, these accomplishments represent the response of a majority-white, middle class, up-and-coming urban community in the South to the court-ordered imperative of school desegregation. Compared to most Southern communities, the Greenville record is impressive, and it is becoming more and more apparent that the South's adjustments to racial change in education exceed those in most non-

Southern cities. Furthermore, conversations with students, teachers, administrators and parents in Greenville indicate that each year since the implementation of the unitary school system has been better than the year before. Students in particular seem to be adapting to desegregation, and there is good reason to believe that if the attainment of genuine equality of opportunity were solely in their hands, they would be able to establish it in short order.

Having said all that, it is necessary to take a hard look at the shortcomings of the desegregation process.

Two indices--economic realities and housing--underscore the problem. The most recent available statistics on income in Greenville County show a wide gap separating blacks and whites. The averages for per capita income and family income among blacks are only one-half or two-thirds as high as for the county population as a whole, and while only 11.7 per cent of all families in the county have incomes below the poverty level, 31.9 per cent of the black families are below that level. Furthermore, the small black middle class is not growing very fast, and while the influx of new industries in recent years has added substantially to the number of whites in managerial and professional positions, there has been only a token addition of blacks in those categories. In short, the rising prosperity of the county has mainly benefitted whites, and the economic gap between whites and blacks appears to be widening.

Housing patterns reflect that gap. The black population is not concentrated in one or two impacted areas, but it is confined in scattered pockets, and it is kept more or less segregated by prejudice, price or preference. Discrimination does limit blacks in their choice of housing; so does the high cost of housing, and so too does the natural preference of many people to live among friends in familiar surroundings, rather than risk rejection and hostility elsewhere. Consequently, residential growth in Greenville County resembles development in most other places: it is suburban, and it is segregated by race and class.

The school system in moving toward integration, is thus ahead of the larger community, and can be said in some respect to be moving against the tide. It is attempting to do, and its job is made infinitely more difficult by that fact. Greenville has a desegregation plan that is inequitable as it pertains to blacks, and many of them

are dissatisfied with it. But the plan, for all its inequities, is fairly comprehensive, and it has immersed whites in the desegregation process, and many of them still resist it, or at least resent it. The school is the institution where these attitudes and feelings meet--and clash. It should not be surprising, then, that what Greenville did in 1970 was not the end but the beginning.

The outburst of disorders in Greenville's high schools in the fall of 1970 was a direct result of the black loss of identity brought about by the desegregation plan. The grievances of black students centered around a variety of symbols--colors, nicknames, mascots, songs--and around positions of recognition and prestige--class officers, cheerleaders, popularity contest winners. They also had to do with curriculum content, and with the observance of such things as Black History Week. With the passage of time, there have been numerous adjustments in these areas, and by most accounts they no longer present a serious problem. A black counselor in one of the high schools recalls that the first year was "very tense," and that symbolism was the focal point of the tension. "We're past that stage now," she said, "and we're anticipating problems instead of putting out fires. I can see a lot to be encouraged about. All of us had to bury some hatchets, but the kids are very open, and we're making strides. We haven't cured all the ills, but we're headed in the right direction."

A logical point to get in looking at desegregation is with the 1970 plan and its immediate consequences, as seen from the perspective of many black Greenvillians. In 1969, there were between 15 and 20 virtually all-black schools in the system, including five black high schools. Even the most dedicated segregationist would no longer contend that they were ever as equal as they were separate, but they at least had black adults in positions of authority--principals, counselors, coaches--and they had their own symbols of identity and respect: class officers, cheerleaders, school colors, nicknames and the like. When desegregation came, most of those schools and all that went with them were swallowed up. The high schools were converted to junior highs, or closed altogether; the plan made black students six times more likely to be transferred than whites; all that went together to identify the black schools was submerged beneath the identifying characteristics of the white schools.

Dr. William F. Gibson, a dentist and co-chairman of a community organization known as the Black Council for Progress, was extremely active in preparations for desegregation, and he discussed his own perception of school desegregation in Greenville with candor and directness:

"The black community here lent support to the creation of a unitary system. I personally feel it has erased funding inequities and it has led to improvement in the area of human relations. It is realistic, because it helps to destroy two myths: that blacks are stupid, and that whites are superior. There has been quite a bit of black resistance to being made a permanent minority in every school, but I say we're living in a society where we are a minority, and we have to face that fact. You can be captain of the football team or president of the student body in an all-black high school, and that's fine, but if you don't have a chemistry lab and there's only one microscope in biology, you haven't gained much. The problem is that blacks are not getting a fair shake. Our responsibility is to not let this thing come around to the point where there are no blacks in positions of authority. It's hard to pin down the black job loss under desegregation, because people are being pacified by simplified retirement plans and demotions with pay raises, but we're losing people, and we're losing schools. The rationale for closing formerly all-black schools is that they are in poor condition, but the whites built them to be inferior from the start, and we shouldn't have to pay the penalty for that. We expected a lot from the new administration. We assumed they were going to do what was right, and we went along in good faith. Maybe we were too optimistic. At this point, I feel like we've been had."

The evidence confirms Gibson's fears. The steady white movement to the suburbs since 1971 has substantially altered the relative burdens imposed on blacks and whites by the desegregation process. As the suburbs become more densely settled, schools are built to meet the needs of the expanding communities . . . and the schools blacks attend become further and further from where they live. Approximately 32 per cent of all blacks in the county live within the city limits of Greenville, yet new schools are not being built within the city limits. In fact, formerly black schools are being either closed or converted to other purposes. According to a local

attorney, only one black school in the city is continuing to operate at pre-1971 capacity. And a spokesman for the superintendent's office confirms that six black schools have been closed in recent years and that four more were considered for closing this year. Jackie Williams sums it up this way: "What has happened here is desegregation, not integration, and the problems with doing more than that increase with each school built in a white neighborhood."

The problems Williams is referring to are obvious ones. As schools are located further and further from the black communities, black children must travel further and further to get to school. Nobody seems quite sure how much, but there is general agreement that cross-town busing of black children has increased since the first year of desegregation. In addition, the shift in housing patterns has made maintenance of the 80-20 quota without massive busing increasingly difficult. Last year, the school board asked the court to determine how much variance from the 80-20 ratio was allowable and determined that no more than 30 per cent of each school could be black, but several schools are operating at that level now and it can only be maintained by more or less regular reassignment of pupils.

The problem of black job loss since 1971 is fairly hard to pin down. According to HEW records, there were 19 black principals in Greenville before desegregation and there were 14 in 1973-74. Another problem is that for the most part blacks in prestige positions tend to be relatively few. Twenty per cent of the elementary school principals in Greenville are black, but only two high school principals are black, only one head coach, and only one area superintendent is black. In Gibson's eyes, the problem is primarily one of submerged black administrators. He says, "There are still eight or nine of the old black principals around, but they are gradually getting moved into 'flaky' positions like 'assistant superintendent in charge of custodial services'. We need more obvious black leadership in the schools."

From inside the school administration, some of these allegations are denied. In general, however, no serious disclaimer is offered to the basic assertion that desegregation has resulted in the closing of many black schools, the busing of a disproportionately large percentage of black children, a reduction in the number of black principals, coaches and other figures of authority, and an overall

loss of black identity without a compensating loss by whites. And with all that, it is almost certainly true that white Greenvillians still tend to be more negative about the ideals and purposes of integration than blacks in the county, even though Greenville's approach to it has required far less of the white population.

The persistence of white dislike for biracial public education is by no means confined to Greenville, of course--but Greenville, on the other hand, may be no less burdened by that attitude than other communities where desegregation is not as advanced. The point is that negativism among whites is a serious second-generation desegregation problem no matter how well or how poorly the initial stages of change have gone.

There are whites in Greenville, as elsewhere, who express their dissatisfaction with changes in the schools directly. There is, for example, Bob Jones University, a thriving institution of 5,000 students where white supremacy is a badge of pride. There is a white property owners association which resists school tax increases and constantly attacks expenditures aimed at improving equal educational opportunity, and the group recently supported a successful candidate for the school board. There is a community group which has been trying for months to force removal of certain books from school libraries and classrooms--a tactic that many people in and out of the school system see as connected to the anti-desegregation movement.

Ernest Harrill, the Furman University professor who headed the school system's first citizens advisory committee, characterizes white attitudes in the community this way: "People have changed some, in spite of themselves. The sky didn't fall in when we desegregated. But I blow hot and cold on where it's taking us. It's no longer respectable to say 'nigger,' to make jokes in polite company, to demean blacks--that's just not stylish anymore. But underground, the resistance is still there. It gets expressed as law and order, or anti-busing, or anti-welfare, or it's stated in terms of declining discipline and morals, or pornography and vulgarity in books, but it's all tied together. What progress we have made has been because of the force of law. Sad to say, we've been moved only by the law, and not by our own spirit."

That difference--between what has been compelled by the law and

what has been "moved by the spirit"--is both subtle and crucial. The one sees desegregation as an onerous obligation, an unwelcome but unavoidable necessity for law-abiding citizens. The other sees it as an opportunity to increase stability and productivity in the entire citizenry of a community, a chance to turn the unfair advantages that have accrued to whites into advantages that fall equally to all those who pursue them, whatever their race or economic class. If random conversations with a variety of whites in Greenville can be considered as any sort of crude barometer of attitudes, the majority is clearly on the side of reluctant obediance of the law, and if the law as it has been applied there should be changed, the movement toward integration and equality of opportunity in the schools could be seriously jeopardized.

Black dismay over disparities in the desegregation plan, white unwillingness to see it as an opportunity instead of a sacrifice, the continuation of segregation and discrimination in the community, and the danger of a national abandonment of desegregation are all contributing factors to the troubles of the Greenville school system in the second generation of desegregation. They are among the shortcomings in the desegregation process, the obstacles that hinder the achievement of stable and equitable integration. And they are also external threats, originating outside the classrooms and corridors of the schools. There are internal problems as well, and some of them need to be briefly described and analyzed here.

If the problems of symbolism and recognition have diminished, however, they have left intact an array of issues that is far more subtle and complex. Many of them are not just racial but economic and social and cultural issues as well, and the school system can make no substantial claims of success in resolving them. For example:

* Standardized aptitude and achievement tests administered by the school system at selected grade levels show all students to be, on the average, a half a year below national norms in the elementary grades and a year below the norms in the secondary grades. School officials say they have made no attempt to correlate test performance with race or socio-economic class, but principals, teachers and counselors in the schools acknowledge that black children as a group score lower than those from more affluent homes. To the extent that standardized tests can measure the effectiveness of teaching and

learning--and their efficacy is a matter of strenuous dispute--their application in Greenville appears to indicate not only overall weaknesses in the educational process, but acute and particular inadequacies for the black and the poor.

* Beginning in 1970-71, the school system inaugurated what it called "the most intensive, comprehensive attack ever made on the problem of reading in the school district's history." Supplementary expenditures of more than half a million dollars a year have been applied to more than half a dozen special programs in reading, and the school administration has pledged itself to be accountable for the results. About 8,500 students have been affected by the programs, and "satisfying gains" have been reported. But hard evidence of those "satisfying gains" is not available. Several of the special programs have been found to be unproductive, and some of them, including one involving performance contracting, have been discontinued. Some teachers say privately that an alarmingly high number of their students cannot read at all, let alone at grade level, and one middle school principal estimates that at least one-third of his 1,200 pupils are two or more years below grade level in reading. The school system apparently keeps no records to indicate whether black children or poor children of either race are benefitting from the special reading programs or from any other changes which have been made since desegregation.

The school system's failure to assimilate black students effectively into the educational mainstream is underlined by the level of black participation in special education classes. Though black students comprise only 22 per cent of the total school population, during the 1973-74 school year 64 per cent of students in classes for the trainable mentally retarded, 56 per cent of children in classes for the educable mentally retarded, and 57 per cent of children in classes for the emotionally disturbed were black. Such figures give credence to black attorney Theo W. Mitchell's comment that "there is a lack of tolerance on the part of many white teachers--an inability to understand black children. Many teachers and administrators just haven't been able to adjust to the cultural differences."

* Statistics on the approximately 2,400 classroom teachers in the school system show impressive improvements over faculties in earlier years. More of them are men (17 per cent) than every before.

Their average age is 37.8 years--five years younger than in 1964. Virtually all of them have bachelor's degrees, one-fourth of them have at least 18 hours of graduate work, and almost nine of every 10 have an "A" rating on the National Teacher Exam. They average over 11 years of experience, and their rate of turnover in 1971-72--16.8 per cent--was the lowest in seven years. There is no question that the Greenville school faculties are better than they used to be, and there are some outstanding individual teachers of both races who handle difficult assignments with skill and sensitivity. Nevertheless, the inability of many teachers to cope effectively with students of diverse academic, racial, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds remains a serious problem. The shortcomings of teachers are cited as a problem by parents, students and school officals of both races, and even by teachers themselves. Considering the fact that older teachers, white and black, have known only segregation in their early careers, it is not surprising that many of them should be incapable of making a satisfactory adjustment to desegregation. More disturbing is the fact that many younger teachers have similar problems, primarily because teacher training in college has lagged behind the reality of desegregation in the schools. And in any event, the lack of an effective means of evaluating teacher performance and the negative aspects of the tenure system make it difficult to assemble and maintain strong faculties. Greenville is probably no more burdened by incompetent teachers than other school systems, and there is enough in the record to indicate that it is better off than many, but such comparisons do not diminish the fact that there are teachers in the schools who are unable to meet the basic needs of children, and there is no good way to remove them.

* In the spring of 1970, the Greenville school board adopted a code of discipline giving principals the authority to suspend students and establishing procedures for student expulsion by board action. According to school officials, about 4,800 suspensions were recorded in the 1971-72 school year (involving a lesser number of students, because some were suspended more than once), and 10 students were expelled. During the first month of the 1972-73 school term, there were 376 suspensions and no expulsions. No records were kept on disciplinary action prior to 1971-72. In the school district's administrative offices, the consensus is that the number of disciplinary

actions has not changed much since the schools were desegregated, and the school system's ombudsmen, Jackie Williams and Nick Strange, speculate that more blacks than whites are suspended. "Some principals feel it's the only lever that they have," says Strange, "and they tend to overuse it." Though Berea High is a notable "hot spot" in Greenville--it was one of the schools briefly closed during the 1971-72 school year--a comparison of suspensions at Berea before and after desegregation points up the extent to which suspension has become a major tool since desegregation. In 1969-1970, only 98 students--all white--were suspended from Berea. At least twice that number of students has been suspended every school year since. In 1970-71, 666 students were suspended, 435 blacks and 231 whites. Throughout the school system, blacks are suspended in disproportionate numbers. Of Greenville's 90 schools across the county, only 6 reported less than 29 per cent of their suspensions were black students. The per cent of suspended students who were black ranged from 9 per cent to 100 per cent, with a majority of schools reporting that 50 per cent of their suspensions were black students. Jackie Williams does not feel that the figures on suspensions and expulsions necessarily indicate overt racism on the part of the administration, but they do underline a critically serious second generation desegregation problem. Williams analyzes the situation this way: "A white kid called into the office is attending school in his neighborhood. He's in the majority in the school. He's usually talking to a white principal. He doesn't get so upset. But a black kid is outnumbered. He's talking to a white principal. He's sensitive to his position. He's a lot more likely to defend himself. And what the principal sees is insubordination." Discipline is a sensitive issue under the best of circumstances, and when race is involved, the potential for abuse of the practice is increased.

In his third year as superintendent, Dr. Floyd Hall expressed an optimism tinged with concern in discussing desegregation and other changes in the Greenville schools. He is personally convinced that a unitary school system with complete integration is in the best interest of the total community, and he is confident that the movement is in that direction and the goal is within reach. At the same time, he seems distracted and troubled by pressures from blacks who complain of inequities in the desegregation process, and from

whites looking for ways to turn back the desegregation tide. Hall thinks of both groups as militants and radicals who don't want integration to work, and his inclination is to ignore them and work with the people of both races whom he perceives to be at least resigned to the inevitability of integration, if not enthusiastic about it.

"White students are certainly no worse off, and blacks are much better off, in terms of academic progress since desegregation," he said. "There are whites who would have you believe that quality has deteriorated, but it's not so. I've said all along that it would take us one high school generation--four years--to work through all the necessary adjustments in attitudes and feelings inside the schools. We're on schedule, and I'm pleased with the progress we're making. We've been weak in terms of getting blacks into some administrative and coaching spots--not much had been done to prepare black administrators--but we've got a number of good people coming along, including several blacks who are going to be named principals and coaches. Within the next three or four years we're going to be in good shape. We're also looking at our building program, trying to avoid building away from the black community. The right actions on our part will gain the confidence of the community quicker than talk will."

Hall served for seven years during the 1960s as assistant superintendent of schools in Evanston, Illinois, a community which has received national attention for its approach to desegregation. Comparing Evanston and Greenville, he said Greenville is "farther ahead," and he added: "People here are more willing to work together. In fact, I think the South now enjoys a position it has never had before. Its potential is so great: It's not trying to hold on, like so many other areas, but is moving forward into a leadership position in education. There's a new visibility, a recognition. I just hope we can keep it. I feel very good about the South. There's not the hatred and bitterness so common in the North. There's less hopelessness, and an element of respect, and feelings are less violent. If we were to be forced by the powers that be--the President and the Congress--to move backward, the pressure on our school board would be great. I frankly think there would be a lot of bloodshed, and we'd never be able to put things back together again. I think the great majority of our people just want to be left alone, because this is a situation we can live with. The blacks--many of them--just

wouldn't go back, and many whites wouldn't either. The students, especially, wouldn't accept a return to segregation."

As the Greenville school district moves toward integration, the lingering consequences of segregation can be found sprinkled through the system. The pace is too slow for some, too fast for others. Shifting residential patterns cause enrollments in some schools to shift, and adjustments have to be made. The unpreparedness of teachers and administrators causes problems, and often nothing immediate can be done about them. Broader, richer, more balanced instructional programs can be found in all schools, but differences in reputation if not in fact, "better" than others. Even-handed discipline is an elusive ideal, complicated by emotion and misunderstanding. Attitudes of prejudice persist. The difficult job of equalizing opportunity without destroying diversity is far from finished. And there remains the threat of a federal intervention that could damage irreparably the unitary school system Greenville is laboring to build.

But when all that has been said, an overall impression of progress remains. The ultimate test of integration is inside the schools, among students and teachers and administrators. They are the ones who finally decide whether the best the school system can offer is good enough, whether formal education in Greenville is accessible, effective and productiv e. What appears to be happening in the schools now is that blacks and whites alike are getting a better education than their predecessors got, not only in terms of formal instruction but also in social and cultural terms.

At Greenville High School, once the pearl of the white system, a dozen students of both races talked about what it's like now. A black student said he doesn't feel that it's a white school anymore. Several other blacks disagreed--"This place hasn't got any soul," one of them said. A white student sided with them. "It's still a white school," he said. "We've kinda got it made." What would happen if the school system had to adopt a neighborhood school plan, and Greenville High (in a "changing" neighborhood) became predominately black? "Most of the whites would be glad to get out," a black girl said, but another, joined by several whites, disagreed. "If we had black schools again, I'd like it," said one of the blacks, but he added, "I probably wouldn't go there, though. There's a lot here.

I feel like I'm getting a good education." "People are getting to know each other better here," another black student said, "but it's slow." Do they have close friends of the opposite race? All but one said yes. "I;m just shy," she said with a faint smile.

With 2,000 students, Wade Hampton High School is the largest school in the system, and it has been in the news both as a place where initial desegregation went smoothly and as a setting for later disruption and racial conflict. Said Dewey Huggins, the principal: "This year, for the first time, we have some stability. Most of our upperclassmen were here last year, whereas two years ago, and the year before that most of them were transfers who couldn't identify with the school. And with stability and familiarity, we've found a big reduction in interracial and interpersonal conflict. There is wider participation in student government, in athletics, in extra-curricular activities of all kinds. Academically, 60 to 70 per cent of our students have always gone to college. The percentages have dropped some, but our standards haven't changed. White kids are doing as well as ever, and while blacks as a group don't do as well overall, there really isn't a great difference, and I'm confident of improvement as we move on. Their parents are just as ambitious for their children as white parents. All in all, I feel good about what we've done. The unitary school system is very definitely an asset for the community."

A group of Hampton's students, reflecting on their experiences there, sounded very much like the students at Greenville High. "Most blacks think this is still a white school," a black said. "They just don't feel a part. Being so outnumbered, we feel like we have less of a chance to make it." A white spoke up: "Some whites don't feel like it's their school either. There's a lot of apathy here. There's not much to feel a part of. But it was worse last year." Another black: "Yeah, things are better this year. Blacks are liking it better, and I think we'll all come to feel like it's ours. Some kids want the black schools back, but I can't see it. And it'll be better for the kids who come after us." "The blacks were just taken from their schools and plopped down here," said a white girl. "They lost everything. No wonder they were frustrated." A white boy said,

"The older integration gets, the better it gets. The ninth graders get along better than the seniors. Going back would be even worse than before." All of the students believed they're ahead of their parents in attitudes about race, and all said teachers are slower than students in adjusting to the changes ("They could help a lot, but they haven't."), and all said they're getting a better education, and all said that integration, if put to a vote, would win easily at Hampton. "The generation after ours is really gonna have it all together," one of the students said. "They may have a lot of other problems, but they're not gonna have any hangups on this race thing."

If there is a message in what the students say and think, it is that they are less and less inclined to be influenced by the racial attitudes of their elders. For all the imperfections of desegregation in Greenville, and for all the external threats to its ultimate success, it has brought whites and blacks together in the schools.

Egptar

Memphis 1-1-1

In the courts, there had been litigation for more years that most people could remember--hearings, orders, appeals, charges, answers, counter-suits, modifications, delays. In the schools, there had been segregation, desegregation, resegregation, annexation, white flight, teacher reassignments, black boycotts, white boycotts. In the city, there had been organized resistance and organized support, threats of disruption and rumors of violence, feverish strategy sessions, intensive planning, meticulous preparation.

And finally, the end and the beginning came to Memphis, Tennessee: On January 24, 1973, that city's public school system began implementing the initial phase of a court-ordered desegregation plan, and 65 buses--the first ever used in Memphis--rolled through the city streets.

The dominant atmosphere was one of subdued anticlimax. Absenteeism was high, but nobody bothered the buses, or the kids, or the teachers. "Quiet Day As Busing Is Started," read a one-column headline in the afternoon Memphis Press-Scimitar;"Absences, Calm Mark Busing," said the next morning's Commercial Appeal. The New York Times and the Washington Post had reporters in town for a couple of days, and the television networks noted the event briefly on their evening news programs, and that was it. School desegregation without disruption and violence is no longer a hot news item. To say it happened "without incident" is to say it will not be reported on any more.

Memphis has the 10th largest public school system in the United States, and a majority of its students are black. What is the significance of the events of January 24 there? What are the implications for urban school systems elsewhere in the country? How did Memphis do what it did, and why did it do it? What has

happened since then, and what is likely to happen next? A visitor to the city early in March, five weeks after the start of busing, could find a multiplicity of conflicting and corroborating answers to those questions. From piles of newspaper clippings, from reams of reports and memos and documents and statistics and studies, and from the minds of dozens of participants and observers, the complex story of a city's halting search for equity and stability comes tumbling out. And among the dominant impressions and tentative conclusions to be drawn from it all are these: Memphis has started to bus children to school in the face of strong opposition, and has done it in a manner that is, on the whole, impressive. The city is deeply and seriously divided within itself on the issue of school integration. The hardest phase of desegregation by busing still remains to be faced. The job of making integration a success for individual students and teachers is just now beginning. And the city's search for equity and stability is still a long way from being finished.

Understanding the way things are now necessitates a perception of the way they used to be--years ago, months ago, and in the days before and after January 24. When the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF) first filed a desegregation suit against the Memphis school system in March 1960, there were just over 100,000 students in the schools--about 55 per cent of them white--and segregation was complete. In September 1962, a handful of black first graders enrolled for the first time in previously all-white schools, and by 1967 there was some desegregation in all grades, though it was generally only token. In September 1968, LDF sought further relief from the federal district court, pointing out that segregation was still the predominant pattern in the vast majority of schools.

District Judge Robert M. McRae Jr. ordered desegregation of the faculties in May 1969, but he held that de jure segregation of students had been ended, and

the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati subsequently agreed with him. In March 1970, the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the district and appeals judges and sent the case back to Judge McRae for further resolution. After some adjustments in the desegregation proposals, the case went up again to Cincinnati, and in May 1971 the appeals court ruled that in light of the Supreme Court decision in Charlotte, North Carolina, Memphis would have to do more. A team of experts from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare was ordered in to draw up a plan, but the team was later removed from involvement on orders from President Nixon, and the school board's staff had to finish the job.

In April 1972, Judge McRae had before him several alternative plans that varied widely in the amount of desegregation and busing they called for. McRae chose the one that required the least amount of busing--some 13,000 students--and ordered it implemented in September. That proposal was known as Plan A. A series of appeals and stay orders resulted in postponement of the implementation until January 1973, but Plan A was eventually upheld by the Supreme Court, and in the months before it was put into effect, the people of Memphis came to their crucible with deeply divided minds.

As the Memphis school system has grown in the past decade, so has its percentage of black students. As the black enrollment grew, the city annexed portions of surrounding Shelby County and managed to retain a white majority in the schools, but by the fall of 1970 the enrollment of more than 148,000 was slightly over 50 per cent black. In 1971, a black boycott of the schools resulted in a realignment of the school board from an all-white body of five to a nine-member group that includes three blacks. And in 1972, after Judge McRae's busing order was issued, an organization of whites known as Citizens Against Busing (CAB) conducted a two-day boycott that removed more than 56,000 students--40 per cent of the total--from the schools. In September 1972, enrollment fell to 138,000--

fully 10,000 below the total two years earlier--and on February 5, about two weeks after Plan A was implemented, enrollment was down to 130,000, and blacks made up 60 per cent of the total.

This kaleidoscope of legal maneuvers, pressure-group strategies and statistical changes provides only the barest outline of what has happened in Memphis in the long history of the school desegregation case. A more complex and more illuminating story lies in the actions of powerful and influential Memphians in the final weeks and days leading up to January 24, when the city was finally faced with a court order that could no longer be avoided. The story tells little, if anything, about the educational side of school desegregation, about what has happened and is happening inside the classrooms; that chronicle has barely begun, and its telling will remain for another time. But what the adults of Memphis have said and done publicly and privately to accept the beginning of desegregation or to resist it seems more important now, for it is the actions of adults that will ultimately determine what options their children have.

* * *

On the first of March, spring was making an early bow in Memphis. The little clutch of ducks that live on the roof of the Sheraton-Peabody Hotel exited from an elevator promptly at 7 a.m., right on schedule, and waddled over to the fountain in the lobby for their daily swim beneath the overhanging fronds of a giant plastic bird of paradise. Out on the streets, buses taking children to school had become a familiar sight, and there was not much in the papers or on television about the subject that had preoccupied the city for six months. Somehow, Memphis seemed to be returning to normal.

Memphis 5-5-5

In the offices of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce, just off the lobby of the Sheraton-Peabody, David Cooley was cleaning out his desk. After four and a half years as the chamber's executive director he was leaving to head the chamber in Dallas, and he was in a reflective mood. "We've been working hard to help the leadership of this community address problems before they reach crisis proportions," he said. "When I came here in July of 1968, this town was on its ass--Martin Luther King had been murdered, people were scared, guilt-ridden, blacks and whites were estranged. This chamber of commerce has done something about that. I'm not taking any credit--the business community did it: They've acted for the good of the town, even though it was often against their personal feelings. The race situation here is better now. Things are not going to be back like they were, ever again. The atmosphere here is more conducive to good work than ever before."

When Judge McRae first told Memphis school officials in April 1972 that they would have to bus students to achieve desegregation, Cooley and the leaders of the chamber started getting ready. Through the spring and summer they met with school officials and community organizations, and by fall they were prepared to support peaceful implementation of Plan A. J. Mac Holladay, a young Navy veteran and Memphis native just back from Vietnam, was hired by Cooley and assigned to work full-time on the school crisis, and Herald Latham, a public relations man whose firm had been retained by the chamber to "sell Memphis," was given a similar assignment. With the school board split into anti-busing, pro-busing and middle-of-the-road factions and with the board's staff unable to break the logjam, the chamber found itself at odds with the community's political leadership and with the masses of white citizens--and closer than it had ever been to the city's blacks.

In October, chamber officials led in the formation of IMPACT--Involved Memphis Parents Assisting Children and Teachers--and with help from the school board staff they got a $90,000 grant from the federal Emergency School Assistance Program

to work in earnest on community acceptance of desegregation.

"This project, and the peaceful events of January 24, were a maturing victory for the clear-thinking people of this town," Cooley said. "It had to be done. We don't want this town to go down the drain. I'm damn proud of what we accomplished--and I say that knowing that the job is far from over. We didn't defend busing, or the quality of education--hell, we couldn't, it's not there, and it's probably not going to be there in my lifetime or yours. What we defended was abiding by the law, and preserving public education in this city, this country. Public education has to be salvaged--it's vital, essential. Without it, all of our major institutions are threatened. So we have to do this. We have to change."

IMPACT was launched early in November. "This program," said the Rev. James H. Holmes, the chairman, "has been developed over the past several weeks out of a groundswell of interest from parents, students, teachers, citizens generally, and a number of organizations." At that point, it did indeed have the support of a diverse group of people, but the idea for the organization was seven months old by then. Cooley, chamber president Frank M. Norfleet, Latham, Holladay, a task force of establishment leaders--most of them chamber members--and representatives of the school system, the Urban League and several other community organizations had had a hand in the early planning. By the time IMPACT was announced, its plan of action was already mapped out: newspaper and television advertisements, fact sheets, a telephone rumor control system, neighborhood meetings, a speakers bureau, church and organizational support, research and troubleshooting were all included in the strategy.

The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta was invited by leaders of the chamber, the black community and the school system to assist IMPACT in its program, and three representatives of the Council were in Memphis during December and January as participant-observers.

The anti-busing forces, meanwhile, were also busy. At a rally early in

September, the chairman of Citizens Against Busing, Ken Keele, brandished a two-by-four in his right hand and told the crowd, "The very first day, the very first moment that any bus rolls in front of any school, we want a phone call, and we'll meet those buses and they won't run." Also at the rally were two members of the school board, William Ray Ingram and Neal Small, and Memphis Mayor Wyeth Chandler. CAB could claim the backing of virtually every white politician in the city, and the support--in principle, at least--of state legislators, congressmen, Tennessee's two U. S. senators and the President of the United States.

Against such formidable opposition, IMPACT stuck to a simple line of defense: maintenance of public education as a viable institution, and maintenance of law and order. Its most effective advertisement was a picture of one of the city's biggest high schools with a "For Sale" sign in front of it. The ad said in part: "This is what can happen to our entire public school system if we don't get together and work things out." The message on television ended with a catchy identification: "IMPACT--not the pros, not the cons, just the facts."

James Holmes, the IMPACT chairman and an official of the United Methodist Church, described the organization as "a force, a front group, a flak-catcher--a little of all three. The chamber didn't inject itself--they made commitments and then left us alone. We were a meld of the chamber, school officials, organization representatives and just plain citizens. The IMPACT task force, made up real establishment people, was never out front, but they kept pressure on the chamber to stay the course, and they got the wealthiest men in the city to sign a newspaper ad urging obedience to the law. As for the IMPACT committee--the people who were on the firing line--some tremendous growth took place in that group. We found resources we didn't even know we had."

One member of that group was Bob Knott, a young insurance company representative. "I had some misgivings," he recalled, "but race didn't enter into it. I think integration is our highest necessity, we've got to have it. I used to be a teacher, and I have an abiding concern for education. As for busing, it's the only way now, but it's not the best way." Knott is a Republican and a native of Memphis. "I belong to a church that has lost two-thirds of its members since Dr. King was killed," he said. "I thought those of us who were left were pretty much together, but most of them have given me the cold shoulder since I became involved in IMPACT. The same thing has happened in a lot of churches: There's no real community. The people fighting busing define community as that area served by their branch bank. The only real community in this city is among blacks--and not all of them are together."

Knott described the 75 to 100 people most directly involved in the IMPACT program as "the same bunch, unfortunately, who always work on every cause: white middle- and upper-class women, mostly--liberals, the League of Women Voters, the Panel of American Women, the Urban League, and so forth. You always pick up a few new ones, including some conservatives and some poor people. Blacks generally lack the wealth or the time or the experience to do a lot of this kind of work--there were no more than 10 in IMPACT--but of course, the NAACP and the Urban League have had their own programs going. We had a 14-member steering committee of eight whites and six blacks that worked like hell, and we caught a lot of flak, but when the crisis was on us we mobilized 2,000 people. Holladay pulled us together, and we were a community in the truest sense."

The city's two newspapers, by all accounts, did a superlative job of covering the school crisis. One Commercial Appeal reporter in particular--Jimmie Covington--was meticulously factual in his coverage of the conflicting activities on all sides. Both papers took editorial positions that closely paralleled the chamber's stance.

But neither paper reported--perhaps was not aware of--the behind-the-scenes activities of IMPACT's blue-ribbon task force, nor did they investigate in any detail or the involvement of the Southern Regional Council, CAB's ties with anti-busing groups in other parts of the country. And, the papers did not report that the chamber, on at least one occasion, brought together representatives of the school board and staff, the NAACP and the Legal Defense Fund in an attempt to work out a compromise settlement of the case.

When the crunch came and all the options were reduced to two, the opposing sides lined up about as follows: Those who stood for implementing the court order included IMPACT, the chamber, six members of the school board, all but two or three members of the board's staff, the city's black leadership and most blacks generally, the newspapers, a goodly number of community organizations, the city's recently-appointed director of police, and a substantial percentage of students and teachers of both races. Those who still opposed implementation included CAB members and sympathizers, a number of churches, many politicians, and a large number of students and some teachers. three members of the school board, The city's colleges and universities were not particularly active one way or the other, and most religious and political leaders who did not openly support CAB tended to be neutral and therefore ineffectual. One notable exception was Bishop Carroll Dozier of the Catholic Church's Memphis diocese, who issued a pastoral letter in which he strongly supported desegregation by busing.

A week before busing was to begin, police arrested a 25-year-old white man and accused him of attempting to hire himself out to damage the buses and incapacitate them "for a sum of money." Ken Keele, the CAB leader, had notified police after the man, Robert Lawrence Payne, had approached him with the offer. Keele worked closely with the police in apprehending the man. "We have not advocated violence or even scheduled demonstrations or picketing," Keele said later. "The only way to stop busing is not to have children on the buses."

When all efforts to stop the buses by legal means had failed, Keele and CAB called for a total boycott of the schools and began setting up private schools throughout the white neighborhoods of the city, with churches providing most of the facilities. Several politicians, including Mayor Chandler and State Senator Curtis Person, joined in the boycott call, and in Washington, Tennessee Senator William E. Brock vowed that busing would be outlawed eventually and urged the anti-busing forces not to lose faith.

In the frantic maneuvering of the final days, the role of the city's police force was crucial. The year 1972 had been devastating to the reputation of the police; crime in the city was at an all-time high, several policemen and sheriff's deputies were indicted on murder charges in the beating death of a black youth, bribery and extortion charges were lodged against several people in the police department, and internal dissension in the department was rampant. In December, a former Marine general named Jay W. Hubbard was brought in as director of the department, and the tense situation surrounding the busing controversy became his first test.

Hubbard passed with flying colors. "I can't imagine how Chandler could have hired a man like that," a prominent Memphis attorney remarked. "He must have thought getting a hard-nosed military man would be a safe bet. He must regret it now."

Hubbard is a crew-cut, square-jawed man with a quiet manner and a disarming directness about him. Handsome and youthful looking after 32 years in the Marines, he exudes confidence and goes about his job with military precision. "The police here have been understaffed, underpaid, underequipped and underqualified," he said in his office. "I was persuaded by the challenge here. I see it as a kind of military assignment. The tasks that need doing in this country can't be done without sound law enforcement."

The busing crisis offered Hubbard an opportunity to demonstrate his philosophy of law enforcement. "When the date for busing arrived," he said, "we wanted it done in a normal environment--no force, no strong-arm tactics, no sea of uniforms. We were totally mobilized and ready, but we were in the background, not in the schools or on the buses. Our main contribution was in advance planning--the routes, deployment, rumor control and so forth. It went on for weeks, and we were candid about what we would do, but we didn't want anybody but school people involved in the actual movement of children.

"I know we've got some men with deep racial bias, but a real professional has to subordinate his personal feelings to his duty. We had a job to do, and we did it. Our precept is, 'If you can't be nice, be neutral. Don't mix personal hangups with your badge.' I think we've got a fairly enlightened and progressive department, but it's going to be better. Out of 1,140 officers, less than 10 per cent are black, and that's going to change. We're also increasing and broadening the training of officers."

Hubbard, speaking of his own early education in a predominantly Mexican-American school in the Southwest, expressed the belief that "kids and school people in Memphis can work things out" if adults will leave them alone. "Either we mean equal opportunity or we don't--and I mean it. I'm not for giving favors to blacks, even though there's clearly been a history of discrimination against them--I think it would be insulting to them to suggest that they should simply be handed things. But equal opportunity is essential. We need breakthroughs, we need to be making yards, and we've only been making inches. Attitudes have to change."

What Memphis did January 24 made Hubbard proud, and he thinks it will pay dividends in the future. "The restraint of this community was an hour of greatness," he said, "and it's still alive--it may even spill over into other

things. I personally don't approve of busing--it's phony, probably one of the most arrogant forms of government intrusion into the realm of individual rights. But it's not worth blowing up the city about. There must be better ways to get equal opportunity. I don't see that busing gives young blacks all that much more opportunity. The challenge is to bring better education to the poor communities, to attract good teachers. But the contrasts are so great--there is television, pounding into the consciousness of the poor: buy, buy, buy. Yet there is no way for them to earn enough to buy all that stuff."

On January 18, when a serious dispute arose between school authorities and the drivers who had been hired for the buses, three black leaders and four chamber representatives went to Hubbard for some assurances. The blacks wanted the police to maintain a low profile, to work in biracial teams, to enforce the state ordinance requiring vehicles to stop for buses, and to try to contact black community leaders if potentially violent confrontations arose in the black community. Hubbard quickly agreed to the suggestions.

Finally, after all the tumult, the buses rolled. Plan A dealt principally with elementary schools (a few junior highs were also included). In all, 45 of the city's 160 schools were affected by the plan, and about 25,000 students were reassigned, including 13,000 (7,000 of them black) who were eligible for bus transportation. Most of the 6,000 whites to be bused were absent the first day, and so were some blacks, and although estimates on total absenteeism varied widely, it is generally agreed that close to 40,000 children stayed away and about 98,000 were in school. The next day, about 28,000 were absent, and by Friday, the third day, the figure fell to 25,000 and about 9,000 students rode the buses. Within a week, absenteeism had fallen to about 10,000--about 3,000 above what school officials consider normal.

CAB officials estimated that about 75 per cent of the white enrollment--

some 43,000 students--participated in the boycott. If that is true--and the figure conflicts sharply with data from school officials--then the boycott at its height was less effective than the one CAB staged in the spring of 1972, after the court's busing order was first handed down. In any event, Memphis began desegregation and busing peacefully--there were no serious incidents, and no arrests--and within a week, tensions had eased and opposing forces were quietly regrouping for the next stage.

But more than 7,000 of the students who walked out didn't come back. Virtually all of them were white, and most of them turned either to existing private schools in the city or to the new CAB schools. By the middle of February, CAB claimed to have 28 schools opened and almost 8,000 students enrolled. CAB hired a young graduate student, Blythe Robinson, as superintendent of its schools, but Robinson resigned in less than a month. Keele said Robinson left to finish work on a degree, but Robinson said Keele should "tell the whole story," and he added, "For my own sake and because of the innocent people concerned, I hesitate at this time to go into all the reasons involved in my decision." Said Keele in response: "I am not going to get in a word battle with him. He had misrepresented some things."

Later, at his home, Robinson said he could not talk for the record about his involvement with CAB because "I was put in a difficult position. In order to get paid, I had to sign a legal agreement that I wouldn't tell anything about CAB."

Some ministers in the city said in February that they had been "pressured" to support the CAB schools, and a resolution expressing resentment against such tactics was introduced at a pastor's conference of the Shelby Baptist Association, but the resolution was not voted on.

National press coverage of the changeover in Memphis was short-lived. Walter Cronkite devoted about 10 seconds to the subject on the CBS evening news

the day busing began, saying that in excess of 40,000 students were absent and implying that all of them were white. ABC television also made a brief report, and NBC reported a week later on registration in the CAB schools. That was the extent of television coverage by the networks. The Washington Post and the New York Times had running stories for a couple of days, and Jon Nordheimer of the Times wrote an interpretive piece that drew mixed reactions from Memphians. "Change has never been a welcome word for most of the 625,000 residents of Memphis," Nordheimer wrote, "yet change pierces the city like a riverboat's whistle." He went on to describe some recent and current events in the city that both encourage and restrict change. "It was just some more of that Northern crap we've come to expect from the New York Times," said one incensed Memphian, and another said, "He was right on target. We are still living in the shadow of old Boss Crump."

Perhaps the most damaging outside publicity--at least in the eyes of school and chamber officials--was a February 19 story by Gregory Jaynes in the Atlanta Constitution. The headline said "20,000 Students Drop Out In Memphis Busing Furor," while the story itself said enrollment had dropped 7,532 between January 5 and February 5, and that "In all, close to 20,000 students have pulled out since the busing fight began a little more than two years ago." The story dealt mostly with the white response to busing and to the efforts of CAB, and it generally painted a picture of Memphis as a city in utter chaos. At one point Jaynes, a former Memphis resident, wrote: "And the hate talk, open conflict, and public meetings that end in bitter shouting matches are at a higher pitch than they were during the riots of 1968 in the bloody aftermath of Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination."

"That distorted coverage hurt us," David Cooley said in his office at the chamber of commerce, and some members of the school board expressed the same view. Ken Keele thought it was a fine piece of reporting.

Memphis 15-15-15

The CAB organization in Memphis, like anti-busing groups in other parts of the country, has gotten its strength from the large numbers of white parents who, for a variety of reasons, are passionately opposed to making the adjustments and sacrifices that are demanded by any effort to achieve school integration. Just how large that number is would be impossible to say. CAB claims to have 5,000 dues-paying members; in a city population that includes about 400,000 whites, that is not a large number. But without a doubt, far more than 5,000 Memphians have at one time or another given financial or physical or at least verbal support to the CAB movement, and from the available evidence it would seem a safe guess that a clear majority of the city's whites are sympathetic with the basic objectives, if not the tactics, of CAB.

The whites in Memphis who oppose busing are not a monolithic group; not even those who are actively involved with CAB are completely united. Some are unabashed white racists, people whose lives are very nearly structured around, even defined by, their fear and hatred of black people. Some are poor people who see what little they can lay claim to threatened by the prospect of black competition on an equal footing--their homes, their jobs, the schools their children have always attended. Some are resentful of government intervention in their lives, of being told and shown what they already know to be true: that unlike people with money and power, they cannot have freedom of choice. Some are people who have worked hard to gain the trappings of middle-class society, and do not want to open the rites of passage into that society to others who are "different." Some are middle- and upper-class people by birth, by inheritance--people who share little except skin color in common with working-class and lower-class whites--and the social incest that has restricted and impoverished their understanding of black Americans renders them almost incapable of perceiving what the urge for equality is all about. And all of them, in and out of CAB, can fundamentally and fairly

be said to lack the conviction that in a city where 400,000 whites and 265,000 blacks coexist, one group cannot have peace or freedom or ultimately even survival unless the others have it too.

Inside CAB, the mixed motives and perceptions of individual people have at times produced conflicts that barely show above the surface. There have been internal disputes over tactics, with some people advocating physical acts of resistance to the orders of the court and others counseling less overt behavior, some favoring recruitment of blacks who disapprove of busing and others opposing it vehemently, some advocating pressure on vulnerable whites to participate in the movement and others resisting that approach. The schools CAB has opened have been almost literally organized overnight, and in that frantic process there have been bitter disputes between what could be called the educational and the political wings of CAB. One disgruntled CAB supporter, speaking anonymously after a particularly stormy and vitriolic encounter, summed up the internal splits like this:

"I have a philosophical commitment to freedom from big government. I'm against forced busing because it's not what the people want, and this is supposed to be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Education in this country was based on religion, and I want to see Bible-reading and prayer restored. I want to see discipline restored too. CAB has stressed the importance of all these things, and that's why I joined. But what is happening is that some people are trying to make political hay out of it, and some are trying to make money out of the schools. They talk about their religious convictions in public, but they get in these meetings and cuss a lot--one woman called the children we're trying to serve 'little bastards'--and they bring drinks to the meetings. There's a lot more than race to it. The so-called leaders are a sorry bunch. Some of them are so idealistic they can't face the facts--they're against busing more than

they're for education. This school system has been thrown together. They've been hiring people over the phone, without interviews or credentials or anything. That's just not right. A lot of good people are involved, but the hard-core people are the problem. Let's face it: There are always going citizens against busing, lower case, even if there's no more CAB, and the farther the public schools are pushed on forced busing, the more resistance there will be. But it won't help to have white racists and black racists churning up the waters. The kids are just pawns--nobody really cares about them. I think Keele is in it for the principle; I have no personal complaints against him. But too many of the others are really harming the children."

Ken Keele is indeed "in it for the principle." He estimates that he has devoted 30 hours a week or more to CAB in the past six or eight months, and his small food-brokerage business is suffering: "If I stop, it stops--and I've had to neglect it a lot." Working out of an office in an apartment complex in south Memphis, he stays busy seven days a week trying to hold things together. In the office on a comparatively quiet Saturday afternoon, he talked about what drives him:

"I'm an ultra conservative, I come from a conservative family. I think the federal government has gotten too blasted big. I've seen the trends of socialism and communism coming through the schools, and I finally got sick of what I was seeing. Judicial tyranny led me to this fight, and I'll sacrifice whatever is necessary to win it. I've got three children--that's why I'm in it. Too many people are not willing to stand up and be counted. We're going to see the destruction of public education unless the federal judges stop this insanity.

"I started this movement in Memphis. Violence is the worst thing that could happen here. It's no answer. We tried boycotts, but they failed because they didn't give people any alternative. The law says children have to

go to school. But the law also says in Tennessee that anybody can start a private school on a temporary basis as long as they meet the requirements of the safety and fire codes. So that's what we're doing, and we'll work on through toward accreditation. We're in it to stay, as long as we can't have neighborhood schools.

"We started the private school movement two weeks before busing. Some people took a brief look and said it couldn't be done, but we were determined, and foolish enough to go ahead, and within two weeks we had 27 schools open, and over 5,000 children in class. Human resources and determination can do what needs to be done--and the quality of our schools is second to none. Our teachers are certified. I can show you an order for $40,000 worth of new textbooks--the same books they use in the public schools. We've got everything but a chemistry lab, and we're going to get that. Of course, we hope ultimately to get back into the public schools. We'll get a Constitutional amendment outlawing busing, and we'll be back in eventually.

"We pay our teachers $20 a day, and we charge $25 a month for one child, and slightly less for each additional child from the same family. If parents can't afford the cost, we have scholarships provided by donations from businesses and by various money-making projects."

Keele expressed some resentment against the efforts of some churches to open private schools that are too costly for working-class people: "That new Southern Baptist system is going to cost a lot--$1,000 just to join, and tuition above that. Harding Academy, which is operated by the Church of Christ--my church--is the most costly private school in Memphis. I personally resent my church making education too costly for its members."

How much does race have to do with his feelings and actions? "I have no hangups on black people," Keele said, "if they're Christian, and believe as I do in individual rights, in discipline, in keeping up their property and so forth.

And they should expect the same of me. As long as they believe in God and country, and abide by the Bible, that's fine with me. My children were in integrated schools, they were exposed to blacks. We have two black children in our schools, and four black teachers on the payroll. Many people fail to realize one fact: Choice is what only the wealthy have, while we're told we must do this, and we have no right of appeal. I'll defy until I'm six feet under, a federal judge telling me I must mix, I can't live where I want to. If the public schools would stop turning out illiterates and stop this Communist intrusion, a lot of people would go back. No, it's not a racial thing, not with me anyway."

As a Christian anti-Communist and a devotee of neighborhood schools, Keele can take both comfort and alarm from the government and religious leaders to whom he pledges allegiance. President Nixon is building bridges to the Communist world and promising to rebuild the bridges and dikes and cities of North Vietnam--and he is also promising the return of neighborhood schools, and government aid to private schools in the bargain. Many churches seem willing to get into the private school business--even as the Catholic Church appears to be trying to get out--but as often as not, they are pricing what Keele calls "just average people" out of the market, leaving the masses of whites to remain with most blacks and other minorities in the public schools. What the people in CAB are left with is their own limited resources--and the empty promises of political and religious leaders who may share their attitudes and beliefs, but not their powerlessness or their poverty. It is not so much the true believers in CAB who threaten public education in Memphis as it is the thousands of whites who want to retain, without sharing, the advantages American society has given them--and who have the money to do it. As Keele himself said, "Choice is what only the wealthy have."

Memphis 20-20-20

In the brief hiatus that followed the hectic weeks of December and January, the people of Memphis had an opportunity to reflect on what had happened. The school board faced an early March deadline for submitting to Judge McRae their proposals for completing the job of desegregation they had begun under Plan A. More busing would clearly be required, for 115 of the city's schools had been untouched by the first phase of change, and most of them remained segregated. The board's staff had been working on several alternative plans, and members of the board appeared deeply and perhaps irreconcilably divided. The black community in general was accepting desegregation and busing cooperatively and seemed ready for complete reassignment to take place. Whites, on the other hand, appeared to gravitate toward one of three alternatives: Many were fleeing to private schools; another group, much larger, seemed destined to remain in the public schools, if only because they lacked the money to move; and the rest were committed to public education and to integration, and expressed a determination to stay and make it work.

CAB continued without pause to develop alternatives to the public schools, and other private schools announced opening plans. East Park Baptist Church said it was leading in the formation of the Briarcliff Baptist School system, with 12 new elementary schools to open next fall and a high school to be added a year later. The elementary schools, a church spokesman said, will be located in Southern Baptist churches in the city, and an estimated 2,400 students will enroll in them. "This has been under study for two years," the spokesman said. "We're definitely not connected with the CAB schools--we're in no way trying to oppose desegregation. Our interest is in academic excellence, and we aim to be the best quality school in Memphis. The Catholics and the Church of Christ have quality schools, but the Baptists don't. Now we will."

Compelled by necessity to press on in preparation for September, the people involved in both the public schools and the private schools could not afford

to rest. In both camps, conflicting forces were at work--morality, the requirements of the law, racism, animosity, fear, idealism. Some still hoped for reconciliation; others were resigned to permanent division.

IMPACT, one step removed from the schools themselves, entered February in the unaccustomed atmosphere of a calm. "The problem we face now," said Bob Knott of IMPACT, "is holding together. For three months, we were in the midst of a continual crisis. Now that crisis has passed, and I wonder whether we can crank up again in preparation for September. We were together out of dedication and out of ignorance--we didn't know what would happen. Now we know more, we see the whole picture. Ignorance--the total absence of knowing how to proceed--was really an asset; we just went ahead. Now we'll be trying to follow the pattern we set, and I doubt if we can do it. You can't sell a similar car the same way twice--that's not selling, it's taking an order. The strategy will have to change. We did a job, and now that's over, and there's another job to do. This time it'll be a lot harder. But I'd do it again--and in every city, somebody better be doing it."

Mac Holladay, the chamber staff member who held the pieces of IMPACT together, faces the prospect of reorganizing for the second phase. Whether the chamber will devote as much time and energy to desegregation a second time will depend on who replaces David Cooley in the top job, and the people who knew Cooley best say he will be difficult to replace. Cooley, more than any other single person, is mentioned as the man who brought the Memphis business community together for the desegregation fight. "He's done three things here that he can be proud of," said Herald Latham, the chamber's public relations consultant. "The bridge between blacks and whites has been built over his back; he has made the active leadership of this community aware of the interrelatedness of problems; and he's made this community aware of itself. 'When are we gonna get off the nigger problem?' some businessmen used to ask, and Cooley's answer

was, 'What you call the nigger problem is the basis of all the other problems.' I think a lot of people learned that lesson, and Cooley's departure won't erase that. I'm optimistic."

Latham, Holladay, Knott and others who were closely involved with IMPACT share a natural pride in its contribution, and there can be little doubt that the organization was instrumental, perhaps essential, in the peaceful implementation of Plan A. The CAB forces, in the hostility they showed to the effort, are a measure of proof that it was effective. IMPACT is also criticized, though, for being "do-gooders for the moment, without any long-term commitment," and for "backing into involvement apologetically." Richard Fields, a staff member of the Legal Defense Fund, said of IMPACT, "I keep getting the feeling they aren't really talking about integration. It's like they're saying, 'We don't like busing either, but we want to obey the law.' They did a good job of publicity and public relations, and maybe they just felt they couldn't take the community with them if they hit any harder. They were really established because the chamber of commerce felt it couldn't do the job themselves. But the chamber should have just come out in the open. They got blamed anyway, so what difference did it make?"

The Rev. James Lawson, a United Methodist Church minister, has been in the midst of racial issues in Memphis for the past 10 years. "The black community has brought the white business community into a number of issues over the years," he said. "Even in the late 1950s they were confronted, and in the past decade the power structure has been faced time and time again. IMPACT may suggest that they are now taking some initiatives instead of simply reacting, but I'm somewhat skeptical. Had the chamber not played such a low-key, background role, had IMPACT been made up of visible community leaders instead of relatively unknown people, had they spoken directly to the need for justice and equity, I would feel differently. But I will say that Dave Cooley has been a good ally. He has

brought the chamber a long way in its understanding of the need for change. He never let up, he worked persistently with his board, and he was able to question some of their myths and fears."

Lawson expressed some optimism about changes he has seen in Memphis in the past five years--and tempered it with some criticism. "Since 1968 there has been a fairly sizeable explosion of concern among individuals and social service organizations of various kinds. A lot of people have gotten involved as volunteers, and the employment picture has improved. Still, it hasn't affected institutional change very much. We've got a foundation to build on, but one of the biggest drawbacks is political leadership. We are far better as a people than our politics or our politicians. The police situation is better, the press is better, Memphis State University has begun to make a contribution, but the University of Tennessee, which has more power, has been less help. The board of education is still unprepared to give leadership to the community. We've still got a long way to go."

Just how far Memphis had to go before its educational crisis would be over could be seen as the school board wrestled in the early days of March with its desegregation plans for the fall. In the offices of the Legal Defense Fund, attorney William Caldwell reviewed the latest efforts of the board to prepare a plan for September. "Nothing they've come up with yet is satisfactory by a long shot," he said. "The board's approach has been to pacify the whites in Memphis, to placate their fears. I don't think it's as bad as they make it seem. They can't adopt a plan that's less than the Constitution requires just to assuage whites. We could desegregate every school in the system without busing any child more than 50 minutes, and Tennessee law allows a maximum of one and a half hours. And, it could be done for no more than 3 per cent of the school budget. The state average for transportation costs is 4 per cent."

Caldwell is optimistic that Judge McRae will require a complete desegregation plan, and in any event, he feels the LDF "is on strong ground at the appeal level." He is sanguine, too, about the long-term prospects for school integration in Memphis: "Eventually, things will stabilize. By the end of next year, a lot of whites will be back. The alternatives won't survive for any except the wealthiest few, so it should shake down to about a 60 per cent black system, and it could even become majority-white again. We don't have the problems of the worst Northern cities. This isn't St. Louis or Chicago or Detroit--we don't have problems as serious as theirs yet. Even if our schools end up 75 per cent black, it can still be a good school system. Some things are happening here to offer some hope. The business community and the media seem to be on the right track, and the police under Hubbard are a very positive sign. He's what we've needed for a long time. But the politicians are still obstructionist, and that's our biggest liability."

At the Board of Education, the addition of three black board members and some staff changes at the top in the past two years have changed things--and so has the exhaustion of all legal options in the fight against desegregation. "The battle went all the way to the Supreme Court, and every possible avenue has been used," said Shelby Counce, the deputy superintendent. "Now some of us want to go ahead and do the job. I do, the superintendent does, some members of the board do, most of the staff does. Our top priorities have to be a unitary system and the elimination of all racism. We've got some principals who aren't worth a damn--blacks and whites both--and I worry sometimes that the entire education profession may not be capable of meeting this challenge, but we've got a lot of good people too, and we've got one of the best race relations staffs in the country, working hard to change attitudes and to prepare our faculty and administrative personnel for the job ahead. We're going to have stability eventually--not this year or next, but soon after. It could be a 70 per cent black system when it stabilizes,

but if we can get out of the legal hassles, out of this fishbowl, with all the unrest and confusion, things will settle down. If we can get a unitary system, then we can get on with the pursuit of quality education."

Memphis desegregated its teaching staffs two years ago, and every school has close to a 60 per cent white-40 per cent black faculty. Among the 11 people at the assistant superintendent level or above, there are three blacks.

The school board includes three blacks and four women. The three blacks--George H. Brown Jr., Carl Johnson and Mrs. Maxine Smith, executive secretary of the local NAACP chapter--have consistently advocated maximum desegregation. Three whites--Neal Small, William Ray Ingram and Mrs. Juanita Watkins--have just as consistently fought for relief from the courts and as little desegregation as possible. The other three whites--Mrs. Frances Coe, Mrs. Barbara Sonnenburg and the president, Hunter Lane Jr.--have tended to be swing voters, siding from time to time with one faction or the other.

While it was getting prepared to implement Plan A, the school board and its staff were also deeply immersed in the design of the second phase of desegregation--a plan for total elimination of the dual school system, which had to be presented to Judge McRae by March 5. A staff committee had been at work on alternative proposals since December, and the board had been meeting frequently to review and revise the committee's efforts.

Half an hour before a scheduled board meeting on March 1, Superintendent John P. Freeman was on the phone. "It's gonna be a lean, hard, mean year, son, so you better get your fighting britches on," he said, and then hung up. He lit up a long, thin cigar and leaned back, looking out the window.

A month earlier, Jerry Robbins and Barney DuBois of the Memphis Press-Scimitar had written a story about Freeman in which they quoted him as saying he hoped "the next desegregation plan we develop will be the last." In that

interview he talked of being able "to get back to the business of educating children," of establishing "a program that everyone . . . can depend on," of getting into "a period of tranquility, where all races understand we are doing the best we can." Earlier, Freeman had called busing "regressive," and said he favored the neighborhood school system. But when the legal action had come to a climax, he had said, "We have a court order. It is not important whether we as individuals agree or disagree with it. We have to get on with the business of complying."

In his office, Freeman seemed pensive and preoccupied. At 54, he has spent 30 years in the Memphis school system and less than two years as its superintendent, and the strains of the job showed in his face. What had convinced him, he was asked, that Memphis had to turn from obstruction to positive pursuit of a fully desegregated school system? "If I peeled it all away," he said after a pause, "it comes to this: If this country is going to survive, it's going to survive in the cities. We have to do it. Segregation won't work. The two cultures have got to live side by each, with a broader overlap than in the past. I don't know when I came to that realization. I can't answer that. My children are part of the answer--they've reshaped me, redirected me in some measure. If the cities fail to solve the complexities of crime and all the other problems, we won't make it. It's going to be resolved in the cities--and in my opinion, pretty quickly."

Freeman also talked about other institutions in the society besides schools. "The churches have failed," he said. "With notable exceptions, they are not a viable institution in this community. They will send missionaries to Africa, but people are starving here. I shouldn't be too harsh, but in the main it's true. The typical pattern is to preach Christ, and pay your $25 a month, and do nothing. (Freeman, like Keele, is a member of the Church of Christ.)

"Without positive, active, daily political leadership, our job is so

much harder. The politicians speak in platitudes. They make promises, they do what is expedient, and then they go back to Washington or wherever. And the colleges--I don't think they've come to grips with it yet. Our younger teachers on the whole may be more humanistic, more flexible, more qualified than our older ones--but if so, I suspect it's more a result of their generation than their college training. Our professional staff overall is outstanding in its preparation and experience--personally, individually, whether they're competent and prepared to deal effectively with different cultures and different levels of achievement is harder to say. It's hard to get prejudice and insecurity out of people, in spite of some excellent in-service training in human relations.

"The schools are being asked to undertake fundamental social change, and the rest of society seems unwilling to make as much of an effort. We're struggling to get stability in the schools, but if we're left with only poor whites and poor blacks, it'll be a disaster. We could be 70 per cent black next fall."

If all that makes Freeman want to throw in the towel, he doesn't show it. He looks tired, but he also looks tough--and determined. "Are we going to win?" he says, repeating a question. "Hell yes. We have to."

In the board room, sandwiches and coffee had been brought in. When the meeting began at 5 p.m., the black board members were absent. Two of them had angrily walked out of a board meeting the previous evening, after a delicately constructed majority coalition had come apart and a desegregation plan for the city's high schools had been rejected. The plan--called Plan I--would have desegregated all junior and senior high schools. After the blacks had gone, the others voted five to one, with Frances Coe dissenting, for Plan II, which would leave four junior highs and two high schools all-black. Barbara Sonnenburg and Hunter Lane had been part of the shaky coalition in favor of Plan I; when they switched to opposition, its defeat was assured, and at that point, George Brown and Maxine Smith walked

out. Carl Johnson was absent. Then the board came back for its second meeting, to consider further desegregation changes needed at the elementary level to complete the job that had begun in January.

"Are we being boycotted?" Neal Small asked, smiling faintly. Nobody seemed to know for sure. The meeting began with O. Z. Stephens, the director of research and planning and a member of the staff team, explaining in front of a large map one of their proposals for the elementary schools. The outline of the school system on the map resembled a horse's head in profile, with the Mississippi River as its mane. Stephens proceeded expertly through a bewildering succession of numbers, percentages, racial ratios, grade organizations, school capacities, bus routes. The plan would make all desegregated elementary schools at least 30 per cent white, but leave 18 all-black. (Overall, the Memphis elementary school enrollment is 65 per cent black.) The strategy, apparently, was to have as high a percentage of whites as possible in every desegregated school, even if it meant leaving some schools segregated.

Problems kept popping up around the room: The physical plant is out of date, and it was built for segregation. The worst schools are in the inner city. Whites won't go to those schools. Do you concentrate physically handicapped kids, or disperse them? (And how about slow learners, or discipline problems, or the gifted, or the educable mentally retarded, or pregnant girls?) What should be the maximum time permitted for a one-way bus ride? The City Council has to approve the budget--including the money to contract for bus services--and we'll never get it out of them. The CAB is seeking a referendum to allow voters to repeal the one-and-a-half-cent sales tax for schools (it produces over $10 million a year). Every school should be desegregated. No, a 50-50 split should be our objective, even though that will mean several schools will stay all-black.

The hours dragged on. Too many cigarettes, too much coffee. The room

had a stale, smoky odor. Eyes were red and baggy, tempers were short. It would be impossible to calculate the number of man-hours the board and staff have put in on the desegregation issue since Judge McRae's April ruling.

No vote was taken on the elementary school plan. Discussion turned to Plan II, the secondary school scheme approved with so much rancor the night before. Some modifications were proposed, and the seemingly endless process continued. At one point, Small said to Freeman, "Did you speak to these plans last night?"

"I didn't have an opportunity to," Freeman replied.

"Would you now?" Small asked him.

"Sure." Freeman was hunched over the table, cigar between his teeth, looking over his horn-rimmed half-glasses at Small. "Plan II, this plan, has disadvantages compared to Plan I," he said.

Mrs. Coe said the court would never buy Plan II because it left too much segregation. Small said, "Look at Atlanta--the plaintiffs down there are now saying, 'Let us have some black administrators, and we'll let you have some segregation.' Atlanta is a prime example of what happens when you try to flip-flop a system." Ingram said, "You can't have integration without both races. If you keep on doing things to drive whites out, you'll make integration impossible."

Charles Patterson, director of race relations and a member of the planning team, suggested that the guiding principle should be to show equity and consistency. "That will convince the court of our sincerity," he said--and the unspoken implication was that Plan II lacked either equity or consistency.

Finally, votes were taken on four alterations in Plan II, but the plan itself was not reconsidered, and it stood as the official choice of the board.

Yet another meeting was scheduled for Sunday afternoon, when the board would take a final vote on a total elementary and secondary plan for submission to the court the following day.

By then it was 10 o'clock, and the five-hour marathon mercifully came to a close. On the way out, Ingram was asked if he would vote for any plan calling for more desegregation, in light of his opposition throughout. "I haven't decided," he said. "I'm not worried about my constituents. Most of them are not affected anyway."

Frances Coe has been on the school board longer than any other member, and is the most liberal of the white members. The longer the Memphis case has dragged on, the more she has advocated two points of view: that the system must strive for maximum desegregation within reasonable bounds of practicality, and that it must get out of court and get on with its primary responsibilities. Plan I was sometimes called the Coe Plan because of her contributions to it. "I expect the three segregationists can carry Plan II if they vote," she said. "But I doubt if they'll support it. I think they'll abstain."

At her home in a quiet and attractive neighborhood two mornings later, Maxine Smith made no bones about the fact that she was "tired, worn out, angry, disgusted." She talked about the efforts that had been made to reach a compromise around the Coe Plan, about how at one point every board member except Ingram had agreed to support it. "Then Sonnenburg came in with Plan II, and the whole thing came apart. My disgust is not with the racists--it's with Sonnenburg and Lane. What got me was not the breakdown of the coalition, the defeat of Plan I--it was the trickery, the hypocrisy. I'm not an unyielding person, I'm willing to compromise--but I don't have the right to compromise on Constitutional principles."

Mrs. Smith is an upper-middle-class black woman who has been fighting civil rights battles in Memphis since 1957, and she is not given to timidity.

"I am an integrationist," she said, "because I believe it is the only way for black people to survive in this society." (The day before, another black leader had expressed the same view: "If they will be honest with you, blacks here generally will say that there's nothing magic in putting black and white children in the same classrooms. But they will also say that the white man puts his heart where his children are, and the goodies will be delivered where whites attend school in numbers, and the only way blacks will get their fair share of those goodies is to be in those schools.")

Her election to the board in a 60 per cent white district--over the opposition of three anti-busing candidates, two of them black--is an indication of Mrs. Smith's persuasiveness and strength as an outspoken advocate of integration. She is pro-black, but she is not anti-white; she speaks highly of John Freeman, David Cooley and some other white leaders in Memphis, and she is equally as forthright in her criticism of the city's political leadership. But the school controversy has left her bitter. "There is so much inconsistency, so much dishonesty," she said. "The whites are afraid of majority-black schools. They can stand a little bit of black, but only a little."

When the board met again on Sunday, the blacks showed up, but no agreement could be reached, and the next day their attorney asked Judge McRae for a one-week postponement. The judge agreed, setting March 12 as the final deadline for submission of the plan.

On March 9, the board came at last to its time of decision. Neal Small presented a resolution calling for the board to submit all the plans still under consideration--Plans I and II, and three different elementary school plans--to the court without any recommendation. "We were specifically instructed by the judge to come up with a plan," Mrs. Coe said. The resolution was defeated six to three--the three being Small, Ingram and Mrs. Watkins. Then Mrs. Coe moved for

adoption of Plan II. "I knew it didn't have majority support," she said later, and I voted against it myself. I just wanted to get it out of the way so we could adopt Plan I." The vote on Plan II showed Lane and Mrs. Sonnenburg for, Mrs. Coe and the three blacks against, and the other three abstaining.

Then Mrs. Coe moved for adoption of Plan I, confident that it would pass with six votes. But Mrs. Sonnenburg voted with Small, Ingram and Mrs. Watkins against it, and Lane, whose vote would have broken a four-four tie, abstained. "I felt like I had been hit over the head with a sledge hammer," Mrs. Coe recalled later, "and so did John Freeman. Hunter and Bobbie had promised us they would support Plan I if Plan II was voted down."

A recess was called, and when the board came back to try to break the tie, Small reintroduced his resolution calling for all plans to be submitted to the court, and he added an amendment: that the judge be told that Plan II and an elementary plan Mrs. Sonnenburg had devised were "the least disruptive and the least expensive." The motion passed by five to four, with Lane breaking the tie and the three black members and Mrs. Coe in the minority. The next day, the entire package of plans and the Small resolution were presented to the court. The Legal Defense Fund will be given time to answer the board's presentation, and hearings will be scheduled by Judge McRae, after which he will issue his ruling. And in September, some degree of further desegregation will proceed.

* * *

In all of the intricate and convoluted maneuverings that have gone on in public and behind the scenes in Memphis since last April, there has been enough emotion to elate and depress and exhaust everybody. That no overt physical violence has occurred in that stormy period can only be seen as a hopeful indication that this city, however divided it is, has had its fill of violence. At this point in its history, Memphis undoubtedly has more visible and influential citizens, black

and white, who are openly committed to community-wide equity than it has ever had before. In many measurable and specific ways, it has made encouraging progress out of its segregated past.

But the legacy of that past still lingers, and it too is measurable and specific. It can be seen in the actions, if not the words, of many thousands of whites who long for the past to reappear. It can be seen in the conditions that thousands of blacks still live under--the poverty of mind and body, the anger and anguish of rejection, the paucity of marketable skills. It can be seen in the failure of institutions--economic, political, educational, religious institutions--to eliminate from their bodies the cancer of white supremacy.

It is hard to be sanguine about the prospects for stability and equity in the public schools. The masses of black citizens apparently are still committed to those goals, in spite of years of frustration and disappointment. But the masses of whites are not, and those who could contribute so much to the realization of the goals--the middle and upper classes--are the very ones who have fled from responsibility first, leaving their fellow whites who have less economic independence to work out the complexities of desegregation as best they can.

Always, the tantalizing prospect of salvation, of escape, lies just beyond the grasp of the whites who are imprisoned by their fear of the black man. President Nixon will rescue us, they say, or Senator Brock, or Mayor Chandler. Our church will give us sanctuary. The suburbs will be safe. God will save us. But crime and drugs and ignorance are everywhere. No city anywhere can hope to segregate blacks from whites, the rich from the poor, the erudite from the ignorant, the young from the old, the skilled from the unskilled, the criminal from the law-abiding, the cruel from the compassionate. We will hang together, or we will hang separately.

Memphis 34-34-34

The Memphis public schools have no choice but to take the children who cannot or will not flee and do everything humanly possible to educate them. It will take a heroic effort by all concerned. If it fails, Memphis will then be forced to face a crisis of stupefying proportions. If it succeeds, the city will join a small circle of urban metropolises that has chosen integration as an antidote to catastrophe.

#

FUNDS TO ALL COLLEGES UNCHANGED

Black College Share of U.S. Aid Soars

WASHINGTON (U P I) — Federal aid to predominately black colleges and students has increased 58 per cent since 1969 while aid to all colleges virtually remained unchanged, a government report said Saturday.

The increasing black college share of the federal education dollar took place primarily in direct student aid and construction money. Scientific research funds increased slightly but remained a minor part of the budgets of black colleges.

The 115 black colleges surveyed last year enrolled 208,000 or 2.4 per cent of all college students and received $171 million or 4.4 per cent of all federal aid to colleges, the Federal Interagency Committee on Education (FICE) said in its third annual report on aid to black colleges.

Leading recipients of federal funds from 19 agencies last year were Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn., $16.1 million; Howard University, District of Columbia, $15.1 million; Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., $5.4 million; Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., $4 million; Federal City College, District of Columbia, $3.8 million; Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, $3.5 million; Prairie View A & M College, Prairie View, Tex., $3.4 million; North Carolina A&T State University, Greensboro, $2.9 million; Fisk University, Nashville, $2.9 million, and Florida A&M University, Tallahassee, $2.8 million.

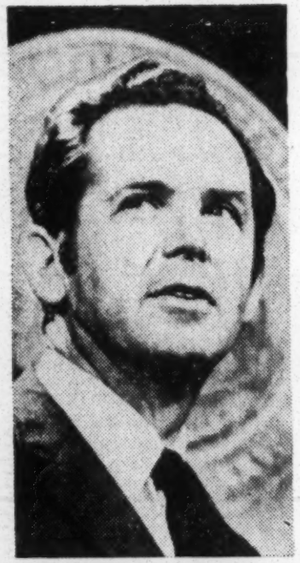
The report said that financial aid to students attending black colleges increased from $56.5 million in 1970 to $73.3 million last year; construction funds from $11 million to $19.5 million, and research and development money from $5.1 million to $9 million.

In 1971, black colleges received 0.6 per cent of federal scientific research aid to colleges, compared to 0.3 per cent the previous year. Officials said that black colleges are primarily undergraduate schools and that few have the laboratories, specialized facilities and research workers to compete for federal science funds.

The bulk of 1971 aid to black colleges, 44 per cent, went for student aid. Another 24 per cent covered operating expenses and 15 per cent went for the training of professional workers. The rest was for building expenses and research.

On the other hand, research and development accounts for over 40 per cent of federal aid to all colleges.

U. S. Education Commissioner Sidney P. Marland Jr. said in a statement that the overall increase in federal aid to black colleges, from $108 million in 1969 to $170 million last year "is the result of a concerted effort on the part of this administration to demonstrate with money as well as rhetoric its concern for the future of some of our nation's most valuable resources."



APPEAL TO YOUTHS, MILLIKEN SAYS

Miami Beach, Fla. — Michigan Gov. William G. Milliken called on Republicans to "open our party to participation by young people, by blacks, by the poor, and by women. We will win in November, but winning alone is not enough," Milliken told the GOP National Convention's Platform Committee. "Mere survival through the election of 1972 will not be all that is needed to guarantee a strong and greater Republican party in the years ahead."

11-13-72
ATL. CONST.

Agribusiness State's Largest

By SALLYE SALTER
Constitution Business Writer

Georgia shoppers may take for granted the availability of food, but its production, processing, distribution, and marketing requires the employment of at least 316,200 people — or 16 per cent of the state's workforce.

A recent study of the economic influence of Georgia's food industry also said that agribusiness, with an annual volume of $5 billion, is the state's largest industry.

The study was published in the current issue of the Atlanta Economic Review.

Although using data which "are minimums for the food industry and its impact on the Georgia economy," James E. Morrow and James R. Miller of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research at Georgia State University said the state is in "a position of leadership" in the food field.

Nationally, food is one of the nation's four largest industries, and its vast market is reflected by the writers in the U.S. Department of Labor 1970 figures which show an urban family of four on an intermediate budget spends 23 per cent of its income on food.

Georgia is the top state in the nation in the production of broilers and peanuts and second in commercial egg production.

"Georgia products and Georgia brands are distributed nationally," the report said. "Georgia-based food distributors cover wide regions of the South, East and Midwest. Many national food and related firms have major operations located in Georgia."

Of the state's $2 billion in cash farm receipts in 1970 livestock and livestock products accounted for 56.5 per cent or $710 million; crops for 36.9 per cent or $463 million; and governemnt payments for 6.6 per cent or $84 million.

Commercial broilers produced 15.4 per cent of the cash receipts and commercial eggs, 15.3 per cent.

Georgia farmers derive $500 million income from broilers, $170 million from peanuts, $117 million from beef, and $100 million from tobacco.

Citing Census Bureau figures showing 56 per cent of the state's farms accounted for 97 per cent of the total 1969 farm cash receipts, the writers estimated that in 1970, 42,000 Georgia farms accounted for $1.2 billion in cash receipts — an average of $29,052 per farm.

11-17-72

* * *

TWO BLACKS WERE KILLED as police tried to retake a college building.

It wasn't immediately known how the two died during the 10-minute battle for the administration building at Southern University, Baton Rouge. The students had been ordered to leave the building when, police said, a tear-gas grenade was fired from a crowd in front of the building. Other students started throwing missiles, and police responded with tear gas. "Nobody shot one round," Sheriff Al Amiss told Gov. Edwin Edwards. "We didn't use anything but tear gas." Later, Amiss told reporters deputies had heard pistol shots from the crowd and added: "It looked like" the two victims "were trampled. Their faces were all swollen."

Students at the mostly black school had boycotted classes for two weeks at its Baton Rouge and New Orleans campuses. They demanded ouster of the president, more student power, and better food and housing.

W-Sun 11/17/72

Muskie urged Jean Westwood to resign as Democratic national chairwoman. "We need a chairman who isn't identified with the divisions that have plagued us," the Maine Senator said. Mrs. Westwood again said she would fight to keep her job.

REVIEW *and* OUTLOOK

W-S-J 11/24/72

'Advocacy Scholarship'

Those who admire Ralph Nader might find it tempting to dismiss his critics (some of whom are quoted alongside today) as economic cranks or the agents of special interests. His public following seems to feel, with some justification, that, if he has made occasional errors of fact or interpretation, he also has brought to light a good deal of valuable information, and in any case, his victims were long overdue for a drubbing.

But a few of Mr. Nader's younger associates, having received this public indulgence, now seem to be attempting to claim it as a matter of principle. This tendency first appeared in the summer of 1971 when a critical review in The New Republic attacked the Nader Study Group report on antitrust enforcement.

"Scholarship it is not," wrote the reviewer, Professor Richard A. Posner, "if by scholarship one means an honest and rigorous search for truth rather than merely a parade of learning."

To which the author of the report, Mark J. Green, has since replied, in effect, that his aim is not scholarship but "advocacy scholarship." As spokesmen for a clearly defined point of view, righteously pursued in the public interest, Mr. Green and some of his fellow authors insist that they have no obligation to give full scholarly consideration to the counter-arguments of their critics. Their only obligation, they appear to contend, is for the accuracy and documentation of the side they choose to present.

Advocacy in its own right has an important place in American law and politics, and the Naderites have played an honorable role in this function. But a dangerous confusion results when the advocate presents his arguments as the product of unbiased scholarship, or the scholar subordinates his research to the demands of partisan advocacy. This confusion has affected some scholars of considerably greater age and distinction than the Naderites.

One expects a true scholar to adhere to a dispassionate standard of judgment, balancing arguments and evidence, avoiding ad hominem attacks or insinuations about a critic's motives. It is because of a presumed devotion to this code that academic figures receive a respectful hearing in the debate of public issues. Notions like "advocacy scholarship" threaten to hasten the already advanced erosion of this standard.

Professor Karl Brunner of the University of Rochester recently observed that the need for intellectual responsibility is especially great in the discussion of public policy, "because the cost of bad policy is very high." Since the Naderites are having some influence on public policy these days, we suggest they would do more for the public good if they abandoned the misleading slogan of "advocacy scholarship" and adhered instead to the traditional spirit of objective research.

Ed - Higher South

Resumption of Classes SUNO Officials' Hope

But Students Promise to Continue Boycott

By CLARENCE DOUCET

Officials at Southern University in New Orleans will try again Tuesday to resume classes after a day of meetings Monday with students who vowed to continue the boycott.

In Baton Rouge, meanwhile, Gov. Edwin Edwards said police would be tried if it is determined they deliberately shot two black Southern University students who were killed in front of that school's administration building Nov. 16.

Edwards, appearing before an unofficial board of inquiry formed by blacks to look into the shooting, answered "absolutely" when asked if police would be prosecuted if an investigation reveals they deliberately shot the students.

"That's what it's all about," he said, "the FBI, the attorney general, perhaps this committee."

"But," he added, "I think you're going to find in the long run that this is just one of those things that happen when people flaunt authority."

Two hearings, one by the unofficial black group and the other by the group formed by Edwards, opened Monday in Baton Rouge where about 200 young blacks and whites marched from the predominantly white Louisiana State University to the steps of the State Capitol.

The governor told the group — and later, the black investigating committee — that student leaders must bear responsibility for the deaths because they defied the law.

"There's no justification, reason or excuse whatsoever for them to have stood there in front of the administration building defying the law," the governor told the black committee. "There was nothing in their grievances that was justification for them to ransack a building."

Earlier on the capitol steps, Edwards gave the student protestors this advice:

"Tell your brothers and sisters anything at all they're going to get they will get from me with logic and reason. I may not get another black vote when I'm through, but black people will be able to walk around with dignity."

Both Southern in Baton Rouge and SUNO have been closed since Nov. 16. Classes in New Orleans were to resume Monday.

Instead, a crowd of about 300 to 500 young blacks gathered outside a classroom to hear speeches and then broke up shortly before noon, apparently following the urging of speakers who called for them to boycott as long as necessary to get their demands.

One of the speakers, Earl Picard, president of the SUNO Student Government Association, said that, during similar student disturbances in 1969, the students "got the same promises from (former Gov. John J. McKeithen) we are now getting from Edwards."

Referring to regular classes, he said, "We can't consider going back to class until our problems are solved both in Baton Rouge and here."

Many students did return, though, for 1 p.m. departmental meetings, and meetings were still going on late in the afternoon between Dr. Asa Sims, dean of academic affairs, and students, in an effort to remove the proposed resumption of classes Tuesday.

Picard, who told students there is a concerted effort "to eliminate colleges like SUNO" and urged them to "quit worrying about graduating and worry about the university surviving," was one of three speakers to address the rally.

Another speaker, identified as Brother Sababu, said he was in Baton Rouge in the Nov. 16 incident and asserted that Edwards called in the police because "white folks had an image of him that he could not handle his niggers." He said the governor is naive in handling SUNO and SUBR separetely. "He doesn't realize we are one people."

There was a pushing-and-shoving incident during the rally involving newsphotographers trying to take pictures of the rally. The scuffle was between students and television crews plus Associated Press photographer Jack Thornell, whom the students apparently mistook for a policeman.

All the speakers echoed the theme that the SUNO boycott would continue until all student demands are met. They also called for unity.

The second panel to open its probe in Baton Rouge was the one headed by Atty. Gen. William Guste, appointed by Edwards to head the 12-man official board of inquiry, which includes six blacks, including students.

A witness at the private sessions was to include Dr. Hypolite Landry. East Baton Rouge Parish coroner. The panel was also to view films of the violence at the SUBR campus.

A witness before the black inquiry group, George W. Baker Jr., a SUBR professor who has been fired since the confrontation, said most of the students' grievances had been settled by the time the violence occurred.

Baker said the only point on which agreement could not be reached was whether Dr. G. Leon Netterville would resign as Southern's president.

Baker said Netterville told him he could not resign in good grace as the students wanted him to do.

"He also said his resigning would pull the rug from under certain people," Baker added. "He didn't identify them. We reached an impasse on it and that impasse was still present Nov. 16."

W-S-J * * *11/29/72

Southern University students had permission to occupy the Baton Rouge school's administration building shortly before police stormed it under cover of tear-gas, a student leader said. Nathaniel Howard told an all-black investigating committee that: "No doors were blocked. No one ever asked us to leave the building." Howard said the school's president, G. Leon Netterville, had given the students permission to stay in the building.

* * *

Black Panel Blames Officials For Shootings at Southern U.

Ed-Higher South

Wash Post 11.30.72

Associated Press

BATON ROUGE, La., Nov. 29—College administrators, police and state officials were entirely to blame for the Nov. 16 shooting deaths of two black students at Southern University, an unofficial panel of black investigators said in a preliminary report today.

D'army Bailey, a Berkeley, Calif., city councilman and chairman of panel, said committee members reached the conclusion that the students were killed by shotgun-wielding sheriff's deputies and unanimously agreed there was "more than adequate reason for criminal prosecution of those responsible for the deaths."

The committee's conslusions were read at a news conference by Bailey and did not cite specific testimony of witnesses interviewed. Bailey said a detailed report would be issued in two weeks.

The black panel's findings drem immediate criticism from Louisiana Gov. Edwin Edwards who termed it "as much blackwash as they accuse the state of a whitewash."

"It was my feeling that very few of the members of the panel had come to Louisiana with an open mind," said Edwards, who appeared before the black group Monday to answer their sometimes hostile questions.

An official investigating committee appointed by Edwards and headed by state Attorney General William Guste is looking into how and why students Denver A. Smith, 20, of New Roads, La., and Leonard Douglas Brown, 20, of Gilbert, La., died.

The unofficial committee was formed by blacks who said they didn't trust any official inquiry.

The state-appointed committee was in recess today, with hearings scheduled to resume Thursday.

The students died of buckshot wounds to the head during the police-student confrontation on the steps of the Southern University administration building. Law enforcement officials have said no live ammunition was fired by the officers, only tear gas cartridges. But Bailey said his committee was sure the deputies had fired buckshot.

Bailey said the committee also concluded:

- Students had not occupied the administration building, as university officials maintained, on the day of the confrontation.
- Prior to the violence, student protesters had made sincere efforts to negotiate their complaints, while university administrators "acted in bad faith."
- Police officers called to the campus by the all-black administration behaved in an undisciplined manner, used more force than necessary and precipitated the violence by firing the first tear gas.
- Edwards was "irresponsible in his public statements" about alleged acts of violence by students.

Guste's committee staff has interviewed more than 100 witnesses, and plans to question many more before drawing any conclusions, the attorney general said. The black committee met for two days and interviewed a dozen persons.

Edwards criticized the black committee for "attempting to portray this incident as something it was not, namely a black-white conflict." The governor has maintained the problem at Southern involved black students against black administrators, and that white politicians and law officers acted only as peacemakers and arbitrators.

PPF SURVEY NO. 99 Ed TF Higher Ed NOVEMBER 1972

The Employer and Higher Education

PERSONNEL POLICIES FORUM

A report on employer policies & practices

THE BUREAU OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS, INC., Washington, D.C.

Copyright © 1972 The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.

Morning Advocate 11-7-72

Little Said Revealed In Official Investigation Of Library Explosive

Investigations begun after the discovery Wednesday night of a small explosive in the LSU Library have not determined the identity or purpose of the person who readied the device to explode, officials said Monday.

An LSU student spotted the device in a study cubicle of the second floor science section of the library and police bomb experts disarmed the explosive.

The explosive is described as a grenade simulator available only in the military. It was set to explode if a student pulled back a chair in the study cubicle.

There have been no other bombs or substnatial bomb threats reported on the campus since campus police evacuated the Chemistry building Friday afternoon after an unidentified person telephoned campus police that a bomb would explode in the building at 3 p.m.

Campus Police Chief Charles Anderson said of the original explosive incident, "No, unfortunately we haven't learned anything."

Chief Anderson said federal officials now have the explosive device and are examining it. Possession of the explosive and the placing of it in the library violates state and federal laws, Anderson said.

City Police Chief E. O. Bauer said Monday he will stand by his statement last week that the explosive was in some way connected with student disturbances at Southern University.

LSU is predominantly white and Southern is predominantly black. Classes were suspended at Southern last week after protesting students marched on the administration building demanding the removal of Southern President Dr. G. Leon Netterville.

Bauer refused to reveal any information to support his statement. Chief Bauer said intelligence agents of his department had information militants sympathetic to the Southern student protest probably planted the bomb to explode in the library.

But, Bauer said Monday his department is not investigating further, because the case is not theirs to investigate.

THE TIMES-PICAYUNE, NEW ORLEANS, LA., MONDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 4, 1972

SECTION ONE—PAGE FOUR

'It Won't Work,' Senior Says of SUNO Warning

'Boycott More Important Than Graduation'

By BILL SHEARMAN

In response to a statement by the chairman of the State Board of Education that students fail to resume classes at Southern University in New Orleans on Jan. 3, the school may be converted to another use, a SUNO student spokesman said Sunday "quite simply, it won't work."

Keith Medley, a SUNO senior, said that the statement, Saturday by Enoch Nix of Bossier City was an effort to put "pressure on the students to break the boycott," and that the "harassment, threats and intimidation have not deterred students but solidified their resolve."

In his statement, made on the Dillard University campus, Nix said that "unless students return to class (on Jan. 3), we shall recommend to the governor and the legislature that a study begin immediately to determine a more effective utilization of the physical properties of the (SUNO) campus."

He added that "this action, of course, would be taken only in the last resort. If students refuse to avail themselves of the use of this university, it has no hope of maintaining its accreditation."

Nix also said that for seniors, graduation would be impossible at the end of this semester and that for underclassmen, because of the time involved, there would be no credit given for this fall's work.

Medley, himself a would-be graduating senior, said in response to Nix's comments, "this (boycott) is more important than graduation."

"The school has threatened to flunk students," said Medley in regard to the boycott, but he added, "The (SUNO) professors back the student demands for sure and will not resort to such tactics."

Continuing, Medley said, "The governor and the state board have attempted to deceive the people as to the real issues surrounding the boycott of SUNO."

"The boycott is not the issue—the issue is that the state board of education has never dealt with serving the needs of the Southern University system."

Medley said "the students are not asking for control of executive council made up of the school's student leaders, faculty members and advisors to discuss policy and changes affecting the school.

"The president (Leon Netterville) would have the right to veto or ratify anything the council suggests," said Medley, who added that the current student demands "have been endorsed by the entire SUNO family of students and faculty."

He said the SUNO Student Government Association "is powerless" to affect change on the campus and that "disruption of the educational process is the only way to get our demands noticed."

"We stand united, solid as granite," said Medley who added that the boycott "is on until the demands are implemented."

A meeting has been set for 7 p.m. Monday at St. Augustine High School, 2600 London Ave., for interested SUNO students, their parents and interested persons to discuss the current problems.

Medley added that Netterville and the entire administrative staff of SUNO has been invited.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

REPORT IS DUE ON NOV. 16 CLASH

12-6-72 T.P.

Ballistics Data Sought in Two Deaths

Ed - Higher South

BATON ROUGE, La. (AP) — A special investigating committee, hopeful of finding the gun that killed two Southern University students in a campus clash here Nov. 16, hears a report Wednesday from its ballistics subcommittee.

The panel, headed by Atty. Gen. William Guste, already has determined the students, Denver A. Smith and Leonard Douglas Brown, died of wounds inflicted by "pellets from a shotgun."

Ouachita Parish Sheriff Bailey Grant and Sidney Cates, former assistant police commissioner in New Orleans, have been working with ballistics experts for several days in an effort to determine who fired the fatal shot or shots.

The 20-year-old black youths feel beside one another as sheriff's deputies and state police chased students from in front of Southern's administration building. The violence climaxed three weeks of campus turmoil.

BEGAN NOV. 27

The Guste Commission, which has been staging a closed-door, grand jury-style inquiry, was in recess Monday and Tuesday to allow the attorney general's staff to catch up on paperwork. The panel began its inquiry Nov. 27.

A spokesman for the attorney general said the commission would resume its investigation by viewing more films taken at the scene of the tragedy, hearing the report from Grant and Cates, who are members of the panel, and by listening to testimony from state police officials.

Col. Donald Thibodeaux, the superintendent of state police, is among the witnesses lined up for Wednesday's meeting.

Several unidentified students are scheduled to appear at the official inquiry Thursday, and East Baton Rouge Parish Sheriff Al Amiss will testify Friday, the spokesman said.

The commission reported Friday it had decided law enforcement officers tossed the tear gas canister that set off the wild melee.

As the committee prepared to resume its investigation, there were these other developments:

—The head of the NAACP in Louisiana, Emmett Douglas of Baton Rouge, said his group supports the demands of protesting Southern University students.

THE REAL ENEMY

Douglas earlier took issue with the demand that the university's president, Dr. G. Leon Netterville, be ousted.

He told newsmen Tuesday, "We support the students. The big problem was with the demand that Netterville step down. The NAACP's real concern is that we fight the real enemy—the all white state Board of Education."

—A spokesman for a Baton Rouge group known as Taxpayers Education Association said pickets would protest Wednesday the Guste Commission's "civilian review board" type inquiry.

—Netterville, in a prepared statement, pleaded for a "return to reason" when the university is reopened Jan. 3. The Baton Rouge campus has been closed since the turmoil.

"The future of the Southern University system is clouded at this time, in fact, its very existence as we know it today could be altered by the actions and reactions stemming from events of the past four weeks," he said.

He promised to attempt to meet student grievances and added: "Southern University will always honor its commitment of enhancing the future and upward mobility of poor and black people," but he said the university's commitment depends on a return to normalcy.

—AP WIREPHOTO.

NINE-YEAR-OLD Danny Roberts of San Francisco demonstrates how he sometimes helps firemen of Engine Company 41 after a blaze. Danny knows routes to fires, the codes and most of the men in the company and is waiting for 1982 to join them.

ETF — Higher Ed.

TO: H. Bowie, G. Harris

FROM: L. Hall (LH)

RE: Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.

DATE: 12-6-72

CC. E. Via, C. Esser

I received a call, 12-6-72, from Dr. Laura Hicks, a member of the counseling staff at Southern and professor of counseling education.

Dr. Hicks heard about some of the work of SDP and called to request our help. She feels there is a need to develop a program at Southern to train student leaders in communications skills (such as communications workshops held at both institutes and of the type Dr. Rachel DuBois does). She also feels this type program must be instituted at Southern immediately (with a small group of students, preferably, before school resumes). She asked for any help we could provide. I urged her to quickly develop the idea on paper and send it to me immediately. Her thoughts are that these type activities are needed in order that students not only at Southern, but other predominately Black colleges threatened by merger can be better equipped to state their case and not necessarily run the risk of another or more Southern, Baton Rouge type explosions.

I surmise that she is hoping to sharpen and provide skills in organizing and communications. She estimates a cost of near... (hold on) $10,000. Upon receipt of her letter, I will make specific recommendations.

LH/apg

SUNO BOYCOTT IS NEAR-TOTAL

Ed. Higher South

No Indication That It Will End Soon

12 8 72 T.P.

The near-total boycott of classes at Southern University in New Orleans entered its ninth day Thursday with no indication that it will end soon.

Students have vowed not to return to class until their demands are met, and Gov. Edwin W. Edwards, a central figure in the disagreement, has refused to meet with them while the boycott is on.

Among student demands is establishment of departmental and executive councils at the school.

The proposed councils would include students, faculty and administration members, but the students would be in the majority.

Earl Wright, SUNO director of public information, said Thursday morning that only 3 to 4 per cent of the school's 2,700 students were attending class.

Gov. Edwards, whom some blame for the deaths of two students on Southern's Baton Rouge campus Nov. 16, was invited to meet with a group of militants Wednesday.

The governor, in a telegram to Earl Picard, president of SUNO's Student Government Association, said he will not negotiate with students during a boycott.

"I do not believe the proper atmosphere exists for negotiation and, furthermore, could not enlist the kind of public support needed to implement changes," the message said.

It added: "The boycott has succeeded in dramatizing students' complaints and campus conditions which you seek to remedy. Other than that, it has brought interruption of educational benefits, hardening of positions, loss of public support and uncertainty of graduation dates for seniors."

The students are also at odds with the state Board of Education, which they describe as "insensitive" and interested only in "total control of the Southern system."

Picard said Wednesday an all-Negro board of governors for the Southern system should be established.

He said students had agreed to meet with the board last week, but that the group canceled the meeting at the last minute.

Wright said he knew of no meetings between students and SUNO administrators Thursday.

Eleven students were expelled from SUNO Tuesday for unauthorized use of the Science Lecture Hall. Wright said there have been no other expulsions.

BOARD'S SUPPORT TO NETTERVILLE

12-9-72 T.P.

But More Student Voice Asked at Southern

By TOM JORY

BATON ROUGE, La. (AP) —The Louisiana Board of Education gave Southern University President G. Leon Netterville another vote of confidence Friday, but suggested that the 65-year-old administrator give students more of a voice in the running of the school.

The board, in a telephone poll, approved a report prepared by a special seven-man committee set up Oct. 27 to examine the student grievances that led to three weeks of campus turmoil.

The committee began its work before the clash between students and police here Nov. 16 which left two young blacks dead and led to the closing, through the first of the year, of the school's Baton Rouge campus. The report did not touch on the violence.

The newly adopted policy statement shaped up as a possible breakthrough in the now months-long student-administration dispute at Southern.

STUDENTS MARCH

Students marched on the state Capitol in late October to demand Netterville's ouster and to seek more of a voice in the administration of the university.

One of the vehicles for increased participation in administrative affairs was the creation of departmental councils—suggested by students but up to now rejected by most officials as throwing the school to the dissidents.

The board's committee proposed among other things, that colleges and universities in the state establish departmental councils, composed of faculty members and elected student representatives, with advisory authority in educational matters.

As the committee was releasing its report, Atty. Gen. William guste's commission of inquiry, set up to investigate the violence, was winding up the second week of its examination.

A spokesman said no witnesses appeared Friday, and that the panel would return to work Tuesday or Wedneaday to hear student testimony.

TROUBLE TOLD

The attorney general report-

Cont. in Sec. 1, Page 5, Col. 5

NETTERVILLE BACKED BY BOARD

Continued from Page 1

edly has had trouble rounding up student witnesses.

In its six-page report, the committee headed by board member Jesse Bankston of Baton Rouge recommended:

—Netterville be retained as president of the nation's largest black university, at least through the "present unsettled conditions..."

—The Southern administration "expand its channels of communications to the point of including students at the departmental level."

—Special attention be given to Southern students with disadvantaged backgrounds, perhaps through "special developmental training which requires a high ratio of faculty to students."

—Some procedures be set up to provide for the periodic evaluation of teachers, with some weight given to student judgment.

—The board set up a policy for the future selection of presidents for all colleges in the state.

MORE OF A VOICE

—Faculty and staff members at Southern be given more of a voice 'in the development of the institution's programs, planning and budgeting cycle."

Some state officials and student leaders have suggested for weeks that all the student complaints, except one — that one against Netterville—were settled in advance of the confrontation.

The Baton Rouge campus was closed through the first of the year after Denver A. Smith and Leonard Douglas Brown were killed in the wild melee. Administrators have attempted, with little success, to keep Southern's smaller New Orleans branch open.

The committee's report said that while Netterville should be retained at the present time and be given full support in his efforts, something should be done about the future selection of college presidents.

It suggested the creation of a qualifications committee composed of faculty, staff, students and alumni, which would prepare recommendations for the board of education.

'SEARCH' PANEL

A "search" committee, representative of all segments of the university community, including the public, would then submit a list of candidates to the board.

The board has been criticized in the past for the way it chooses college presidents.

As a second major step in upgrading the university, the committee pointed to "a need for more intensive individual counseling and guidance" for the disadvantaged, and suggested that this might be accomplished by providing more money for the purpose.

The panel applauded Southern administrators for their efforts in establishing good communications with students and faculty, but said more must be done.

It called for the creation of the departmental councils, but added: "full and final responsibility for administering the institutions of higher learning shall rest with the president . . ."

The committee said student grievances regarding particular faculty members must be handled at the administrative level first.

MORE REPORTS

"Additional reports will be made as we continue to delineate the existing problems and to assure the maintenance and preservation of the academic excellence of Southern University."

The decision came three

Ath. J & Comet 12/10/72

All-Black Board Asked for Colleges

NEW ORLEANS (UPI) — A student leader at Southern University-New Orleans has called for the establishment of an all-black board of governors to administer the school's three-campus system.

Earl Picard said such a board should have powers similar to the Louisiana State University Board of Supervisors — administering the affairs of the southern campuses at Baton Rouge, New Orleans and Shreveport.

Louisiana Riot View Disputed

Atl. Const 12/11/72

By PAUL DELANEY

BATON ROUGE, La. (NYT) — Members of a biracial commission investigating the deaths of two Southern University students said Sunday they disputed the official version of the incident that occurred last month on the school's campus.

The commission, appointed by state Atty. Gen. William Guste, will hear the last few witnesses, mostly students, this week and make its report shortly thereafter. The report is then to be presented to a grand jury.

Commission members — six blacks and six whites, including two black students — met with Gov. Edwin W. Edwards Thursday night and informed him of their preliminary findings. Members said privately Sunday that their findings were critical of the roles of the state police and the East Baton Rouge Parish (County) sheriff's deputies. Some members also criticized certain of the governor's public statements since the incident occurred on Nov. 16.

According to sources close to the investigation, the commission has made the following findings:

—The authorities have just about pinpointed the spot from where the fatal shots were fired. Some members of the commission believe that it is now possible to identify the person or persons who fired the shots.

1. The two students, Leonard Douglas Brown and Denver A. Smith, both 20-year-old juniors, were killed by the same shotgun blast by the police. The authorities recovered 23 of the 29 buckshot pellets that killed the two. The police at first maintained that the shots were not from their weapons.

2. Some deputy sheriffs carried their own weapons, in addition to regulation firearms.

3. There was a mixup in orders and general confusion, especially among deputy sheriff's officers.

4. The sheriff's department has displayed a lack of professionalis. To date the department has not initiated an investigation of the incident.

At their meeting Thursday, the commission members told Gov. Edwards that he had been misled by the state police on what set off the shooting. Based on what the state troopers told him, the governor concluded, and was widely quoted as saying that the "precipitating incident" occurred when students threw a tear-gas canister at the police.

The students have denied that they had any weapons. The commission's findings were said to support their contention that the police first fired tear gas at them.

"The television films show and testimony has confirmed that a state police lieutenant tossed a defective teargas canister at the students," one commission source said Sunday.

"The canister had a delayed fuse on it and gave the students a chance to pick it up and toss it back at police," the source said.

"There was a mixup in orders and the lieutenant should not have thrown the canister. Films show that there was much confusion. The deputies didn't have on their tear-gas masks. The film showed that many of them didn't even know how to put them on.

"Another deputy is clearly shown resting the stock of his shotgun on the ground with the muzzle pointed in his stomach while he tried to put on his mask."

The incident occurred on the main campus here after students had conducted three straight weeks of demonstrations and boycotts of classes.

Better Schools A Must—Nix

Ath. Const. 12/12/72

ATHENS (AP) — State School Supt. Jack Nix said Monday that education is in financial trouble all over the country, and in order not to commit "educational suicide" schools must give the voter better results for his tax dollar.

Nix said the reasons for the financial dilemma of education vary. "But basically they can be summed up in the fact that public education — as it is perceived by the people who vote in bond elections — is no longer in the same category with mother, the flag and apple pie."

Nix spoke at the Center for Continuing Education at the University of Georgia.

"As the bill for public schools has gone up and up the voters have become more careful of their pocketbooks and more demanding of results for the money they spend," said Nix.

Citizens are becoming more inquisitive and skeptical of public schools and other institutions, he said.

"We can commit educational suicide by persisting in our old patterns of keeping education and the functions of government in the control of a select few, or we can respond to the citizens' right to know about and have some input into the functions of his government, including public education," he said.

Nix said "accountability" would go a long way toward restoring some of the confidence public education has lost.

"Very simply, accountability would involve the setting of educational goals and objectives by a school system, the measurement of student performance in relation to achievement of the goals and objectives, and the public reporting of the results of the measurement."

"A fourth and very important—even overriding—aspect of a toal system is the subsequent improvement of the educational program and individual student performance by the application of education dollars in those ways determined by evaluation to be most effective," Nix added.

He said this approach to improving education is a complete departure from the way schools have operated in the past.

"Until now our efforts to increase the quality of education have been expressed in the number of teachers, textbooks, classrooms, school busses and so on we have provided to the systems with tax funds."

He said emphasis has been on "measurable quantities of tangibles rather than on the nebulous attribute of quality."

Black Studies

JAN 29, 1973
Ed - Higher

BLACK STUDIES RUN INTO TROUBLE ON U.S. COLLEGE CAMPUSES

Born in turmoil, courses on Negro history and culture continue to generate controversy —and, on some campuses, demands for overhaul.

A searching re-examination of "black studies" is under way at colleges and universities throughout the country.

These courses came out of racial conflict erupting on campuses in the late 1960's. Today they are being offered at perhaps 600 institutions, large and small.

At an estimated 200 campuses, studies ranging from African tribalism to U. S. urban problems have been organized into full-fledged programs—some in departments of their own and a few offering degrees in black studies.

Now, however, this controversial innovation is running into trouble.

Enrollment in black studies is leveling off nationwide—and declining in some places. Qualified teachers for many of the courses are hard to find.

Furthermore, many black students who once greeted these programs as educational emancipation for Negroes, are beginning to wonder what black studies will do for them on the job market.

The result is that black educators are looking at what needs to be done to preserve the foothold these studies have won on America's campuses.

Already, tens of thousands of students —whites as well as blacks—have been getting unprecedented exposure to study of racial problems in general, and Negro history and culture in particular.

Some study Swahili; more are taking courses in "Afro-American History," "Dimensions of Racism," "History of Black Music," "Philosophy of Black Liberation" or "The African Woman."

Wide publicity given to such studies is prompting other "oppressed" groups to seek similar programs of their own.

On one campus after another, programs are being devised for Asians, American Indians, Spanish-speaking students, white ethnics—and women. (See page 32.)

Black studies originated with the demands of militants for fully autonomous courses where they would have control over subject matter, teaching approach and grading standards.

"Black liberationists," especially those on white campuses, conceived of black studies as offering young Negroes a new grasp of the racial struggle—and a new sense of racial "identity."

Aims questioned. Couched in those terms, black studies generated bitter opposition from academic traditionalists. While extreme demands of militants were never met, scholarly suspicion of black studies still is high.

As academic critics see them, black studies constitute an attack on established lines of scholarly disciplines and departmental authority. Black-oriented courses are held by some academicians to be geared more to social and political aims than to rigorous scholarship.

Heard, too, is the charge that these studies add up to "racism in reverse."

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, psychologist and Distinguished Professor at City University of New York, said recently:

"Black studies are as revolting as the form of segregation we fought against, even more so because they are insidious. They are allegedly buying peace (on campus) but at the expense of the education of black students." Here and there, the early radicalism of the black-studies movement still flavors it.

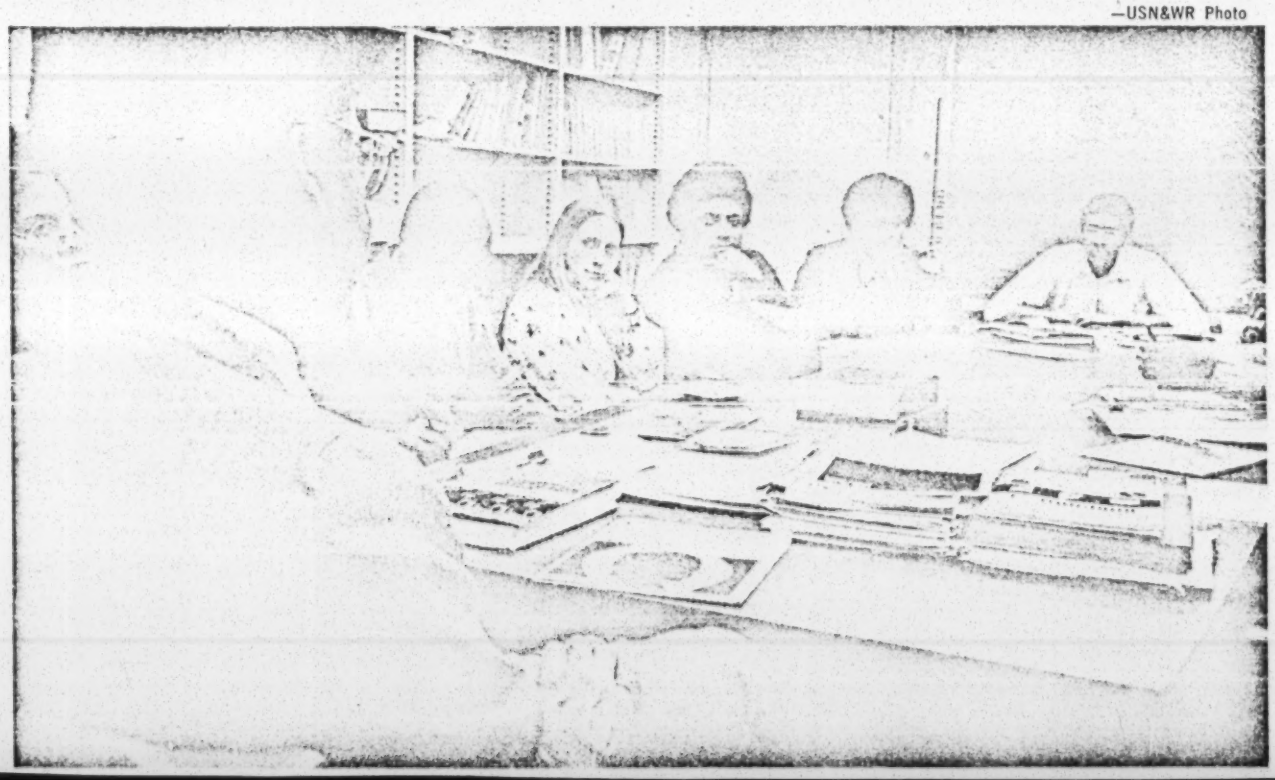
Problems raised. On the Berkeley campus of the University of California, militants are boycotting black studies in protest against the firing of the co-ordinator by the university administration last spring in the wake of an inquiry into alleged financial irregularities.

At the University of Michigan, a popular lecturer in black studies is Robert Williams, who had fled the country a few years ago to avoid arrest on a kidnaping charge, and later lived in Red

(continued on next page)

New York University, like many other institutions, finds that black studies have lost their glamour. Now NYU is attracting serious scholars, at graduate level, to black studies that are linked to students' career aims.

—USN&WR Photo



BLACK STUDIES

[continued from preceding page]

China and Africa. The charge, in North Carolina, is still on the books but extradition moves have failed so far.

At Duke University, the black-studies program includes a course, "Study of Marxism and Its Perspective for the Liberation of Black America."

This course was designed and is being taught by Henry Olela, a Kenyan, who said his position on Marxism "does not matter" but added that "I admire, sort of, the Marxist analysis."

Dr. Olela is only one of numerous persons who have come into black-studies programs outside usual channels.

Back of this situation are two major shortages—in money and in supply of trained scholars in this field.

At most institutions, financing for black studies is severely limited—blamed by some blacks on a general squeeze on academic finances, by others on hostility from scholarly traditionalists.

Even well-known schools such as Harvard are colliding with a more intractable shortage when it comes to teachers.

Institutions with money are scouring the universities of Europe, Asia and Latin America for experts on Negro history and culture, as well as race problems. African diplomats, civil rights leaders and militants such as Stokely Carmichael are invited to lecture.

Decline in students. At institutions with less money, courses go untaught.

—Wide World Photo

Scholar Kenneth B. Clark attacks black studies as a new and "more revolting" form of segregation—and costly, too.

One instance is Wayne State University in Detroit where the winter catalogue listed more than 300 "courses of minority interest." More than half of those 300 classes lack instructors.

Today, officials are getting evidence of troubles ahead for black studies.

Fordham University's Rose Hill campus last autumn reported enrollment in black studies down to 262 students from 305 a year earlier. At the Lincoln Center campus, the decline was from 226 students to 157.

The University of California at Berkeley is only one of several State-run campuses where black-oriented studies are drawing fewer students. Because of the boycott, the Berkeley decline is precipitous—from 566 last spring to less than 100 at present.

—USN&WR Photo

Howard University's Russell Adams sees continued support for black studies that are "academically rigorous, vocationally relevant and socially useful."

All kinds of reasons are being advanced for the slowing of interest in black studies.

Dr. Jacob U. Gordon, the director of African Studies at the University of Kansas, commented:

"Many of the blacks who originally were clamoring for black studies had a romantic notion about the glamour of these courses, and didn't really want to do serious academic work. Now the programs are attracting dedicated students and teachers of both the white and black races."

Similarly, Dr. Grace Sims Holt, black-studies director at the Chicago campus of the University of Illinois, had this to say:

"Students are more sophisticated now than when the programs were set up. Instructors can't just throw something together, call it black studies and expect students to buy it."

Reassessment seen needed. Available evidence suggests that probably most students with experience in black studies would endorse the real or potential worth of such programs. Still, young skeptics are heard to use such terms as "Chitterlings 101" or "Ego Massage" to describe courses held to be lacking in substance or usefulness. From a black coed at the University of Houston came this comment:

"Some courses are good and some are bad, depending on the teacher. I'm not any more impressed with black-studies courses than I am any other course on campus. Mostly, black studies is the rehashing of an experience you've already dealt with."

At Fordham, experienced students are heard to complain that they are "not learning anything new." A University of Kansas student concluded tolerantly that some courses would be better taught in high schools—pointing up the general absence of such studies in public-school systems.

Student reserve toward black studies is measured in a poll of Negro students at Indiana University last spring.

It found that more than half the juniors and seniors responding to the poll had taken at least one course in black studies. But fewer than one third felt Afro-American courses should be required of all black students.

As many black scholars see it, racially oriented studies are doomed to become campus backwaters in many places without a sharp reassessment of their academic role and relationship to the nation's racial concerns.

Harvard last year underwent a complete review of its black-studies program by a blue-ribbon committee, with some recommendations for strengthening it. Being proposed now is a drive for capital funds that, among other aims, would add four full members to the faculty.

At Berkeley, the new co-ordinator of black studies, Dr. William Banks, described past courses as often being "junk." He has reduced course offerings by one third, and is upgrading faculty.

Dr. Banks explained:

"People used to think of Afro-Ameri-

Ed- Higher

can studies as a big pork barrel. A rip-off mentality was established."

Next autumn, he said, more courses may be offered. But he added:

"We want in-depth courses, not just a lot of offerings. We'll use other departments because there's no point duplicating what they have to offer. We want serious intellectual study."

Similarly, while his first appointment to the faculty was a black woman as assistant professor, he said he preferred an "outstanding multiracial department to a mediocre all-ethnic staff," composed to a large extent of "political types."

In Washington, D. C., the Institute for Services to Education has named a "national evaluation team" of college teachers to assess black studies in about 25 universities.

A member of this team, Dr. Tobe Johnson of Morehouse College in Atlanta, said of black-studies programs so far:

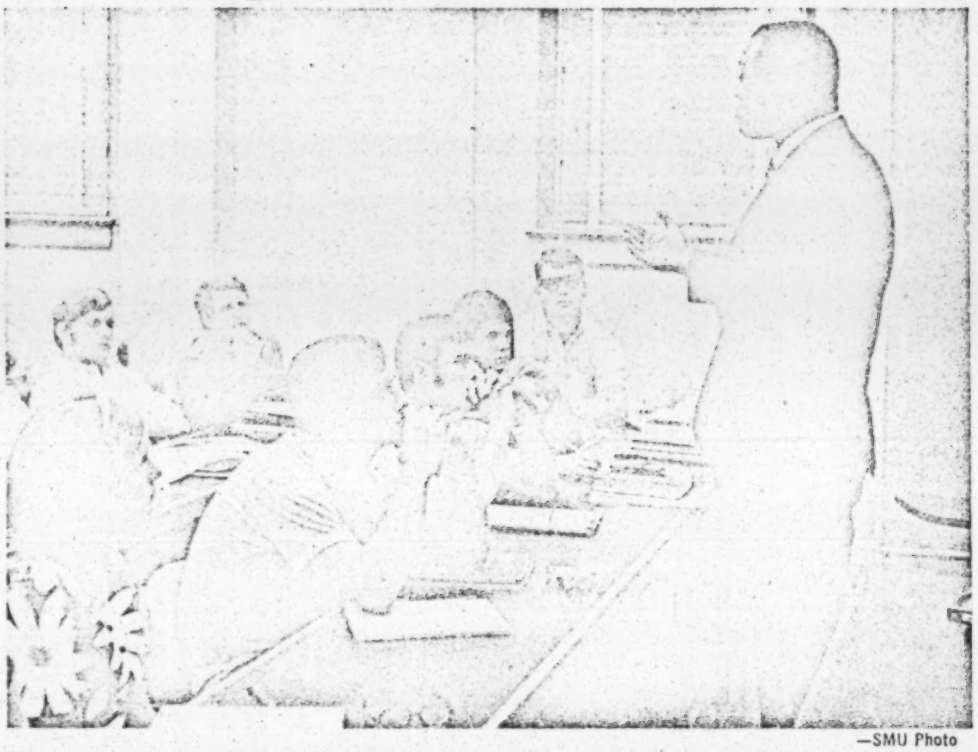
"Most are concerned about stabilizing themselves through the basic survival factor—money—and getting integrated into the university budget.

"As far as I know, none has failed. But I'm not really pleased with the quality of many programs. Many were hurriedly built.

"One of the big problems is lack of personnel. It gets down to the question of using white teachers. That's a sticky question.

"Black would certainly be my preference—if you're teaching Chinese, you go for a Chinese.

"That is the real problem and it's going to have to be worked out if the programs expand. They're going to have to use capable white teachers."



—SMU Photo

At Southern Methodist University—and other predominantly white schools in the South—white students often outnumber Negroes in the black-studies classes.

—Dick Corten Photo

Dr. William Banks, taking over black studies at Berkeley, is overhauling the curriculum and upgrading the faculty.

At a number of universities, especially in the South, where white teachers and often white students outnumber blacks in these programs, the racial issue is very much alive.

At predominantly white institutions—especially those below the Mason-Dixon line, such as Southern Methodist University—black students are often outnumbered in black-studies classrooms.

This is a live issue in some places.

At the University of Houston, where the 16-man faculty is evenly divided between the races, the director of Afro-American studies at this school, John Indakwa, said:

"Some black student leaders feel that all teaching jobs in the black-studies program should be held by blacks. I disagree. Qualifications, not the color of a person's skin, should be the deciding factor. And there are simply not enough qualified black teachers to staff all the black-studies programs in this country."

Getting a job. Equally troublesome, perhaps more so, is the problem of selling these studies to students who have their sights on well-paying careers.

A spokesman for the California Coordinating Council for Higher Education commented tersely on the decline of Negro enrollment in black studies at several State campuses:

"Ethnic studies don't get you a job."

Looking ahead, many educators foresee less emphasis in black studies on "racial pride" and "cultural identity"—and more on practical goals such as developing scholarly research in this long-neglected field, and producing trained teachers capable of infusing education at all levels with a better understanding of racial problems in depth.

Also foreseen is growing participation of black studies in urban affairs.

At Wayne State University, the new director of its Center for Black Studies, Dr. John E. Simpkins, sees Detroit's slums as a "laboratory" where students apply classroom knowledge of the community to real-life problems.

Dr. Simpkins's argument to career-conscious students: Demand for their services is likely to grow as more cities acquire black majorities.

Special fields. Accordingly, he said, black studies leading to degrees will be linked to student specialization in fields that sell on the job market—economics, education, sociology and others.

The University of Kansas requires students seeking the black-studies degree to earn six credit hours in community service, then submit a summary in thesis form. Counselors stress the usefulness of black studies in community or governmental work. Said Dr. Gordon:

"We aren't teaching students here how to make soul food."

Bolder participation in the community is stressed at Kent State University's Institute for African American Affairs.

Until recently its faculty chairman was an ex-convict and former Black Muslim now studying for his doctorate on the West Coast.

One course, "Sociology 374," brings into the classroom politicians, policemen, welfare recipients, clergymen, prosti-

(continued on next page)

BLACK STUDIES

[continued from preceding page]

tutes and businessmen for discussions with students.

"Practicality" turns up, too, at New York University's Institute for Afro-American Affairs which is promoting its own master's degree in education as invaluable to young people planning to teach in integrated schools.

Within a year, this program's enrollment has gone up 50 per cent—at a time when undergraduate enrollment in black studies has shown only a modest gain.

Predominantly black Howard University in Washington, D. C., is stressing the need for at least some knowledge of black history, culture and community problems to young people whose careers —in law or teaching, for instance—may bring them into close touch with black community problems.

This university, traditionally, has drawn much of its enrollment from upper-income levels of "Black America." Today, heads of Howard's professional schools are urging some black studies for a more systematic and precise knowledge of "the black experience."

The director of Howard's department of Afro-American studies, Dr. Russell Adams says: "I think that if black studies are to survive they must be academically rigorous, vocationally relevant and socially useful.

"The stronger institutions, black and white, will support black studies, for these studies have pointed up fundamental academic and social oversights in the American system."

WOMEN'S COURSES GAINING GROUND

Now it is women who are moving into the foreground of pressure groups seeking academic programs tailored to their own interests.

Since 1970, scores of colleges and universities have set up women's studies as definite programs. Others are in the process of doing so.

Mostly, such programs are small. Michigan State University, with more than 40,000 students, offers six courses in women's studies such as "Sex Roles in a Changing Society," a sociology course, and "Women in America," a literature offering.

On the other hand, California State University at San Francisco offers 26 courses for undergraduates, graduates and housewives or career women.

Some courses at this campus are hard to get into. A few are for women only, while the philosophy course, "Current Consciousness," is taught in three sections—one each for women, men and both sexes.

A "no nonsense" program in women's studies is being offered at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

The 12 courses include "Women and the Law in the United States" and graduate seminars in "The Educational Status of Women."

There, all instructors are women. In most courses, men are barred. The women studies' center, which is also a base for the women's liberation movement on campus, is located in a former fraternity house—vacated last year by order of the university administration.

Another stronghold is developing at George Washington University in Washington, D. C., featuring a master of arts degree built around four core courses in women's studies.

This interdisciplinary program, with seven women enrolled as degree candidates, is taught by six professors from different departments.

G.W.U. officials are planning expansion of women's studies next autumn, both at the graduate and undergraduate levels.

In New York City, Barnard College claims to have pioneered women's studies with "The History of Women in America" in 1965.

Last year it listed 11 courses in women's studies. There is a waiting list of applicants for the "History of Women" course, now taught in seminars limited to 18 students or fewer.

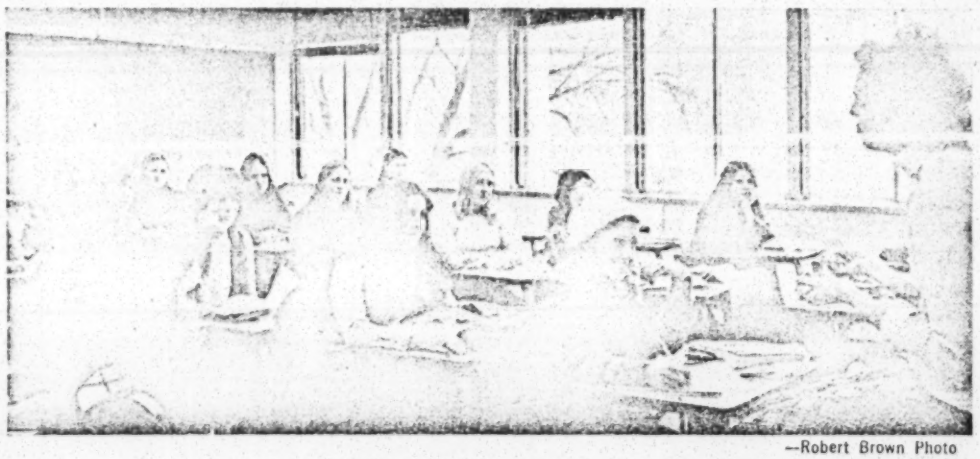
Duke University's course on "Contemporary Woman" is drawing a capacity enrollment of 150 students for the third year. Four other courses, added this year, also are packed—with men making up one third to half of the classes.

In some places, women's studies draw mild or intermittent interest as at the University of Southern California, where a course may be offered for a semester, then dropped and later reinstated.

Similarly, growth is erratic in the women's studies program at Georgia State University in Atlanta, aimed primarily at older women.

A year ago, the university canceled a course on women's liberation when only two middle-aged men showed up.

In the spring, with a new title "The American Women in the 1970s," eight women enrolled. At present, under the heading "Being a Woman in Today's World," the same course has only two women enrolled.



—Robert Brown Photo

Michigan State coeds learn about "Women in America."

Perhaps the most unusual venture into women's studies is the one course being offered at Oklahoma University—a physics course for women only. Dr. Betty Pollak, the instructor, personally recruited 42 women for the course—in contrast with the "one or two" women taking first-year physics courses previously.

"We don't teach them anything different than they would get in any other physics course—except perhaps we treat women more like people, not with hostility or condescension," said Dr. Pollak. "It's an effort to get more women interested in working in nontraditional fields."

Few Crises Seen as Dual Schools Dwindle in State

By BEAU CUTTS

More black and white Georgia children will attend schools together than ever before in the history of the state when the 1972-73 school year begins in a few days.

Federal and state school officials, who in past years have sometimes been bitter opponents, agree that integration of schools in Georgia is virtually completed.

Although tension still exists in some areas, especially where busing orders are in effect, federal and state officials predict that the 1972-73 school year will not be a crisis period in the long effort to eliminate racially dual schools, outlawed 18½ years ago.

Of the 1.1 million students in Georgia public schools, less than 1 per cent will change schools or otherwise be affected this term by new desegregation, according to Dr. Joseph N. Edwards, assistant state school superintendent.

The politically passionate issue of busing is a minor element in the desegregation of Georgia schools, say state and federal officials. No exact compilation exists of the number of Georgia children bused for integration purposes, but it is almost certainly less than 5 per cent of those enrolled.

PAUL WILLS, director of the state Education Department's division that includes pupil transportation, declared: "I would say busing is less than 1 per cent of those transported."

This estimate would place the number far below 1 per cent of all students enrolled, since only 55 per cent of Georgia public school students ride school buses for any purpose.

William H. Thomas, regional civil rights director of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), said he agrees with the estimate that 3 per cent or less of the nation's school children are bused for desegregation.

He said the figure might be slightly higher for Georgia and other Southern states. Even so, Thomas added, "Busing (in Georgia) under desegregation is not as much if the dual system still existed."

'State and local school officials are ready to do—there are no more legal loopholes. But, in a change from a few years ago, it's the national administration that's now standing in the schoolhouse door.'—Leon Hall, prospect director, Southern Regional Council.

Duplicated bus routes under segregation actually increased distances traveled, he said.

The whole effort of desegregating Georgia public schools seems to be tapering to a conclusion in at least two ways.

FOREMOST, there is more mixture of the races in schools. According to HEW, 76.4 per cent of Georgia black students in elementary and secondary grades attended all-black schools in 1968. By the fall of 1970, the figure had dramatically dropped to 16.8 per cent. And it will be somewhat less this fall.

In 1968, 14 per cent of black students in Georgia attended majority-white schools. By 1970, it was up to 35.9 per cent. But, according to HEW, 64.1 per cent of Georgia black students attended majority-black schools in 1970.

Thomas, HEW regional civil rights director, said no estimates are available for the degrees of desegregation that will exist this school term in Georgia.

A second tapering effect in desegregation efforts is due to changes in the political climate, centered around antibusing sentiment. "With the Nixon administration, there has been more turning back of the clock," charged Leon Hall, school desegregation project director of the Southern Regional Council, long active in civil rights efforts.

"MANY OF THE whites are still racist and they are still running the schools," Hall said. "But those trying to desegregate are being cut out from under by the Nixon administration.

"State and local school officials are ready to do it—there are no more legal loopholes. But, in a change from a few years ago, it's the national administration that's now standing in the schoolhouse door."

In contrast, HEW Secretary Elliot L. Richardson said earlier this year, commenting on data showing increased desegregation, "The only measure of desegregation enforcement is results. It cannot be measured by a level of rhetoric or the amount of money cut off from financially distressed school systems

"It can be measured only by the persistent fulfillment o[illegible]al and educational mandate—the elimination of dual schools based on race. And on that score," the Nixon-appointee said, "this administration has a documented record of solid performance."

With the passing of the dual school system, HEW's Southern regional civil rights office is undergoing "a change of direction," said director Thomas.

"Technically, we've fairly well eliminated the dual system. But there are still problems — problems of discrimination inside the schools in terms of discipline meted out to students, and assignment and harassment of teachers and students," Thomas said.

RACIAL isolation — classrooms of one race within desegregated schools — is a difficulty in a number of Georgia school districts, Thomas said. He refused to estimate how many districts have such a practice.

This racial isolation sometimes is done through assignment of students by IQ scores or other test results — so-called ability assignments that mean all-black classrooms and all-white classrooms, he said. "This happens in some schools even though some blacks score higher than some whites."

The Laurens and Cook county school systems have been investigated for alleged racial discrimination in student punishment. Hearings have been held, but no decision rendered, Thomas said.

Early County schools lost to HEW in a hearing on racial isolation and a decision has not been announced from another hearing on Irwin County schools, also charged with isolating blacks by classrooms, he added.

Complaints of harassment and discriminatory job assignments for teachers sometimes are difficult to investigate and, over-all, the various forms of "internal" school racial discrimination are tougher to prove than in former years of blatant segregation, Thomas said.

Meanwhile, local school administrators feel a major irritation from new court orders apparently shifting exact requirements to desegregate staff, faculty and students, said Assistant State School Supt. Edwards.

'It (desegregation) can be measured only by the persistent fulfillment of our legal and education mandate—the elimination of dual schools based on race. And on that score, this administration has a documented record of solid performance.'—HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson.

"LOCAL SUPERINTENDENTS have gone to the nth degree to comply, and what's so maddening is to have new orders," Edwards said, referring specifically to a U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals ruling last week ordering more staff integration in 79 Georgia school districts.

Attorneys in the case decided by the appeals court are uncertain how many districts are already in compliance. The order from the appeals court also called for more student integration in Elbert County, Newton County and Decatur city schools. Also, Taylor County schools' sex segregation is to be examined by a federal district court for possible discrimination.

Edwards said Georgia school systems affected this year by new desegregation requirements, although minor changes, include Chatham County, Muscogee County and Bibb County.

And perhaps the most change will occur in Richmond County where the largest phase of a three-part court order will significantly desegregate 18 elementary schools in addition to the high schools. Widespread busing will be needed.

IT WAS in Richmond last February that a group of white parents organized two one-day school boycotts to protest the busing. The group's attorney, O. Torbitt Ivey Jr., has filed a motion to reverse desegregation plans of 29 elementary schools before classes begin Aug. 28.

In addition to the opening of desegregated schools throughout the state in a few days, scores of all-white private "academies" will begin another year.

The state Education Department estimates that last year 30,000 students attended such private schools, established in recent years to be alternatives to desegregated public schools.

"If there is an increase in these schools this year, we think it will be very minor. We're getting a lot of kids back in public schools and a good many teachers, too," said J. A. Mize, director of the department's division of administrative leadership services.

File — Higher Education Programs of Assistance

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM

1965

An Evaluation Prepared For
The Southern Regional Council

By

Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor of History
The University of Virginia

November 3, 1965

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Contents

I. INTRODUCTION 1

A. Background of the Evaluation 1
B. General Criteria of the Evaluation . . . 2

II. SCOPE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STP. 4

A. Recruitment and Orientation 4
B. The Colleges and the Programs 7
C. Two Community Programs 9

III. THE IMPACT OF THE STP. 13

A. On the Students 13
B. On the Institutions 16
C. On the SI's 20

IV. SOURCES OF CONFLICT. 24

A. Institutional Irritants 24
B. The Instructor as Agitator 26
C. The Bishop College Debacle 29

V. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS 32

VI. APPENDIX 35

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Evaluation

The Southern Teaching Program was created early in 1964 by a group of law and graduate students at Yale University to provide instructors for summer sessions in predominantly Negro colleges, primarily in the South. In the summer of 1964, fifty-three graduate and professional students (called in this report "Student Instructors" or "SI's") taught at thirteen predominantly Negro colleges (twelve in the South and one in Ohio). The 1964 program was evaluated by the Southern Regional Council in a report dated January 29, 1965. That evaluation was prepared under the direction of Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, with the collaboration of six consultants who visited the campuses where the SI's taught.

Since the summer of 1964 the Southern Teaching Program has been incorporated and a full-time executive director, Mr. Fred Schulze, has been appointed. Foundation aid was secured for enlarged operations for the 1965 summer. Mr. Schulze broadened considerably the area of recruitment of instructors, and the requests for them from the colleges increased markedly. In the outcome, 144 SI's taught at 26 colleges (24 in the South) and in two community programs, both in the South.[1]

---

[1] In mid-August Mr. Schulze learned that two instructors, engaged at the eleventh hour, taught at Bluefield State College in West Virginia. No information has been received from either the institution or from the instructors. The statistics and generalizations in this report consequently

This evaluation of the 1965 program was requested by one of the supporting foundations, as well as by the STP. Dr. Dunbar engaged me to make the evaluation. My conclusions are based largely on four sources: (1) visits to eight of the colleges;[2] (2) interviews at a week-end conference in Atlanta attended by thirty-nine SI's from thirteen campuses; (3) questionnaires completed for me by the presidents or other administrative officers of the receiving colleges; and (4) questionnaires completed by the SI's for the STP which Mr. Schulze made available to me.[3] The special circumstances at Bishop College, discussed in Section IV, required extensive investigation through letters and telephone calls.

B. General Criteria of the Evaluation

The chief purpose of the authors of the 1964 report was to discover "how well STP is adaptable to the basic needs of the predominantly Negro colleges." They wished,

---

omit this institution. Were it included, the number of institutions receiving STP instructors would be 29, and the number of SI's, 146. A complete list of institutions and the number of instructors who taught at each is reproduced in the appendix.

[2]The eight institutions visited, with the total number of SI's at each indicated in parentheses, were: Benedict College (7); Dillard University (6); LeMoyne College (6); Miles College (10); Philander Smith College (9); Tennessee A & I State University (15); Texas Southern University (11); and Virginia Union University (3).

[3]Replies were received from 25 of the 28 institutions; one of the non-reporting institutions, Dillard University, was visited. The other two were Central State College and Friendship Junior College. Responses came from SI's who taught at all institutions except one, Wiley College. Eighty-three SI's submitted evaluations.

moreover, to evaluate the STP in the light of two contemporary concerns: (1) the need to provide direct assistance to Negro colleges; and (2) the feasibility of using graduate students to alleviate the shortage of trained college teachers.

This evaluation is written with these questions uppermost in mind. Granted the discouraging, sometimes appalling, conditions that obtain in many Negro colleges, we need to know in what ways the STP can help to generate constructive reform. We need to look carefully at ways in which the STP has affected the students who were taught; the regular faculty members who stay on after the SI's leave; the curricula, standards, and administration of the receiving colleges; and the SI's themselves. Beginning with a description of the way in which the STP functioned in 1965, this report discusses each of these questions, highlights some of the principal difficulties that were encountered, and concludes with a summary of recommendations for the future.

II. SCOPE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STP

A. Recruitment and Orientation

Recruitment of SI's was carried on, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and care, at more than twenty-five university campuses. In some cases both recruitment and interviewing were extremely casual, requiring the Executive Director of the STP to rely almost exclusively on the written applications of the candidates for placement purposes. In other cases interviewing was taken seriously and the recommendations of the local committees proved useful. There is no doubt that a serious interview, going beyond the question of academic ability, should be an integral part of the selection process, and the STP should persuade responsible administrators of the supplying universities to appoint a faculty committee for the purpose of screening applicants. The announcement of such a policy would, in addition to improving the chances of appointing qualified persons, alleviate some of the concerns of the receiving colleges over the non-academic qualifications of the SI's.

The staff of teachers recruited for 1965 was, both on paper and in practice, well qualified academically. About two-thirds had had previous teaching experience. All but three had had at least one year of graduate work. Ninety-three held master's degrees and five had earned doctorates. The table below shows the academic qualifications of the SI's, breaking them down into three groups: (1) those who came directly from graduate studies; (2) those who came from established teaching positions; and (3) a miscellaneous group

of persons who were neither in graduate school nor presently teaching (several of these were wives of men in the first two categories).

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS OF SI'S

	Total	B.A./B.S.	M.A./M.S.	Ph.D.
From Graduate Schools	118	40	77	1
From Teaching Positions	13	2	7	4
Miscellaneous	13	4	9	0
Totals	144	46	93	5

Of the 118 who came directly from graduate schools, 68 (about 58%) came from three universities: California (26), Yale (25), and Harvard (17). Known last year as the "Yale" Southern Teaching Program, this year's enterprise was frequently called the Yale-Berkeley program (Harvard does not appear to have stamped its image on the STP). Other universities supplying more than one SI were Columbia (8); Virginia (7); N.Y.U. and Wesleyan (4 each); Brandeis, M.I.T., and Michigan (3 each); and Cornell, Howard, and North Carolina (2 each). Twelve universities supplied one SI each. In all, twenty-five universities supplied SI's from their graduate schools.

The broader recruiting program which these figures reflect was a distinct improvement over the previous year, when nearly all of the SI's came from only one institution. To bring instructors from a variety of universities is to introduce more teaching ideas and practices, considerably increase the number of instructors who may be supplied, and involve more persons and institutions in the cause of the

Negro college. Despite the broader appeal, however, relatively few Negroes and white Southerners were recruited. The experience of the few who did participate, and the reactions to them of both students and administrations, suggests the need to recruit more vigorously in these two categories. Potential Negro SI's will come from the universities already in the program, plus ones similar to them. They need to be sought out. White Southerners can most easily be recruited in the southern universities, such as Duke, Emory, North Carolina, Texas, Vanderbilt, and Virginia. Only Virginia had a satisfactory recruitment program for 1965.

Once recruited the 1965 SI's faced a variety of orientation problems, few of which were satisfactorily met. Knowing little about Negro colleges in general, and even less about the specific institutions to which they would go, the SI typically arrived at his college with only the vaguest notion of what he was expected to do. The orientation programs at New Haven and Berkeley were judged by the SI's to range in value from extremely helpful to useless. One can safely say that these meetings did help to bridge the gap from innocence to involvement by acquainting the SI's with some of the general problems and conditions which they might encounter. The principal complaint -- a rather general one -- was that the meetings did not orient the SI toward his specific situation. Although general orientation meetings cannot remove this deficiency, there are some ways of improving the situation. For one thing, the STP might prepare brief sketches of the salient characteristics of each of the

receiving institutions, based largely upon reports filed by the 1965 SI's. It could also make available a list of the persons who taught in 1965 so that the 1966 SI's could contact the veteran whose experience should prove most helpful. Finally, the orientation meetings would be more helpful if they included special sessions for each discipline to be taught. Such meetings could be directed by a person who taught successfully in 1965.

A large measure of responsibility for the lack of advance knowledge rests upon the receiving institutions themselves. Most of them failed to supply their new instructors with adequate information on courses to be taught, books to be used, number of students in the classes, living accommodations, and other relevant matters. To remedy this situation the STP should urgently request each receiving institution to state as early and as explicitly as possible exactly what it expects from the SI's. Such requests were made in 1965, but they should be pressed vigorously in the future.

B. The Colleges and the Programs

The twenty-six colleges that employed SI's represent a cross section of the Negro college in America. They included two from the non-South, and southern institutions both large and small; state supported and church related; urban and rural; aggressive and lethargic. They had in common, whatever their relative academic positions, an awareness of acute problems which cannot easily be resolved. They looked upon the STP as an inexpensive means of bolstering

existing programs, adding new programs, infusing new ideas into the institutions, and garnering prestige for themselves.

At only eight of the colleges did the SI's function exclusively in the role of teachers of regular summer school courses. At seven places they taught both regular and pre-freshman courses, and at eleven institutions they were engaged exclusively in pre-freshman work. Almost two-thirds of the SI's taught pre-freshman courses. Typically these were in the fields of mathematics, reading, and English. Most of these programs were aimed at the sub-standard student, not normally admissable without remedial work. Some were designed for the more talented, and some indiscriminately mixed their students with little reference to ability.

At most of the colleges where pre-freshman programs were offered the SI's constituted a substantial portion of the teaching staff; at some places they did virtually all of the teaching. Without the STP the receiving colleges either would not have had pre-freshman programs, or would have had ones significantly inferior to those which were offered. Every institution reported that the STP was crucial to its program. One dean, for example, reported that the "STP made it possible to fully staff a pre-college program for over 200 high school graduates who will enter college in the fall." Another declared: "We were able to offer an experimental program for high ability freshmen by having STP instructors." The evidence is overwhelming that, considered in terms of new programs offered and/or old programs strengthened, the STP made a considerable contribution.

As teachers of regular courses, the SI's came generally well prepared by their graduate studies. Those who taught elementary and remedial courses in the pre-freshman programs, however, typically had had no special training and little, if any, relevant experience. Extraordinary enthusiasm and an admirable dedication to teaching, however, generally overcame these deficiencies. Bright people with large capacities for work, the SI's taught effectively in difficult and, to them, novel situations. This is not to imply that specialized training is not to be prized. Time after time, SI's commented that they could have made more progress more rapidly if they had not had to work out techniques for themselves. Precisely how the STP may address itself directly to this problem is not clear, but one possibility would be to engage several experts in remedial instruction, particularly in reading skills, to counsel with the SI's before the summer sessions begin. It might be well, also, to engage an appropriate number of "experts" to travel from college to college, early in the summer, to work for brief periods with the SI's.

C. Two Community Programs

The STP also furnished instructors for two non-collegiate programs, the Charleston County Tutoring Center, in Charleston, South Carolina, and Wider Horizons of Orange County, Daytona Beach, Florida. Both of these community programs were created prior to the 1965 summer in response to demands for remedial and/or enrichment programs for Negroes which the total school boards were unwilling to undertake.

The Charleston program was begun in October, 1964, as an after school tutoring project to work with "academically able" students of the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades. The summer program, under the sponsorship of a local Baptist Church in cooperation with six church and community groups, enrolled students from the 7th through 12th grades and included as well two college freshmen. A total of forty-five students participated. Five SI's were in the summer teaching staff. Instruction was offered in reading, written communications, mathematics, and the humanities. Both the director and the SI's reported striking achievements in all areas. In reading, for example, standard tests showed that each student gained at least two grade levels in comprehension and increased reading speed by as much as one hundred words per minute. According to the director, the SI's were "highly capable and interested in working with the students."

The Wider Horizons project was a direct outgrowth of the decision of Orange County, Florida, to begin integration of the elementary school grades. It was created in the summer of 1964 to help students make an easy transition from segregated to integrated situations. During the 1965 summer, some 250 students of elementary grade age were taught by a staff of twenty teachers, ten local, including three Negroes, and ten SI's. Emphasis was on communication skills, spelling, and mathematics. Equally important, according both to the director and the SI's, were a variety of cultural activities, field trips, and informal projects. The program lasted but four weeks, too short, according to

the SI's, to make substantial academic progress.

Both the reporting SI's and the director, however, indicated the achievement of significant academic gains, although not as striking as in the Charleston case. With the younger children, many from rural backgrounds, non-academic adjustments often seemed more important than, or at least prerequisite to, academic progress. One SI wrote that "Although the children . . . had great educational needs, their psychological needs were in some cases more basic." The same instructor felt "strongly that graduate students are badly needed to teach elementary school in the South -- even students with no experience teaching. These children need so much more than just teachers -- they need someone to emulate, someone who can increase their scope of interests, someone who cares about them." Echoing this sentiment, the director, noting that the program would have been impossible without the STP, praised the SI's as being "warm, sympathetic, creative, and responsive to the needs of the students." They were "completely absorbed by the problems of the children and devoted their time unceasingly to improving the conditions confronting them."

Both community programs appear to have been highly successful. Both improved the academic skills of the students and paved the way for an easier transition from segregated to integrated school situations. The question facing the STP must be: shall projects of this sort, which are in great need across the South, be assisted on a wider scale? Some of the dangers are obvious. If the STP is to address

itself to all educational problems facing southern Negroes, and attempt to lend a hand wherever asked, it invites the danger of dissipating its energies and lessening its effectiveness. To restrict itself to the colleges, however, is to overlook the obvious truth that many problems of the college student are created in the lower grades. A happy compromise, which would maintain the essentially experimental spirit of the STP, would be to retain primary emphasis on the college, meeting first the demands that arise there, and then accommodate other programs on the basis of individual needs and merits and the availability of suitable teachers. What is recommended, in short, is a cautious expansion in 1966 of the non-collegiate programs undertaken in 1965.

III. THE IMPACT OF THE STP

To assess authoritatively the impact of the STP at this early stage in its history is all but impossible. Much depends upon the perspective from which one views its operation. To expect it to make long-lasting and profound changes in Negro higher education in a short period of time will inevitably lead to a sense of frustration and a negative evaluation. Realism rules out viewing the STP with such anticipations. The most sensible way of evaluating it is to ask what contributions it has made and how these contributions may be continued and augmented. If the impact, however limited, is constructive, and if the cost is not out of proportion to the results, one may safely declare irrelevant to the evaluation the larger question of how Negro colleges may be brought up to desired standards.

A. On the Students

All sources of information underscore, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, the most obvious generalization about the student reaction to the program: appreciation was profound and the quality of the enlightenment was beyond expectations. One student put it this way: "Any of us would give his right arm to go to Yale. We can't go to Yale, but they sent Yale to us." Students are not adequate judges of the competence of their teachers or the success of their programs, but the insights they furnish are often unique and can be ignored only to the detriment of an effective evaluation.

While it is no doubt true that the evidence accumulated

ignores some students who were oppressed by the academic demands placed upon them and resentful of low grades, it remains clear that those who did speak out -- and they were in large numbers -- responded affirmatively to their experience. They commonly remarked on the friendliness of the SI's, their patience and dedication to teaching; and, almost without exception, they noted both surprise and pleasure at the extraordinary amount of time, outside the classroom, which the SI's were willing to devote to them. In some institutions, where little or no extracurricular activities were planned for them, the students found that the SI's -- despite their heavy teaching loads -- organized social, cultural, and athletic activities which enriched the summer.

At many institutions, the novelty of the SI -- his eagerness to raise fundamental questions in the minds of the students, and his frequently unorthodox means of jolting them -- caused the students to question for themselves the institutions in which they were enrolled and the quality of the education they were receiving. Two very different kinds of results were observed. At one institution, for example, several of the brighter and more advanced students tended to resent the implied criticism of their college which they felt in the remarks of the SI's. As one young man put it, "We know we're not Yale; we know, in fact, that we're not a very good college. But we're not worthless!" Proud of their institutions, students like this one testified to the excellence of the SI's teaching but wished for more tact

in their assault on the deficiencies which now appeared more clearly than ever before.

At the other extreme were a group of students in another college who found spiritual allies in the SI's. Resentful both of the regulations of the administration and the lack of concern of their regular faculty, this group spent many hours in exciting conversation, exploring ways of bringing about reforms. In between these two examples were the majority of the students interviewed. They questioned both themselves and their institutions without having their pride in either seriously damaged or without being moved to undertake protests and reforms.

The most common -- and in one sense the most revealing -- student observation described the quality of the education offered by the SI's. Almost everywhere one encountered the stock phrase: "They have taught us new ways of looking at our subjects; they have brought new techniques of teaching." Those who spoke in this fashion felt the excitement of intellectual achievement and reaped the rewards of hard work, intelligently directed. What they meant by "new" ways of looking at subjects and "new" techniques of teaching almost sums up the educational problem which the STP is facing. A "new" way of studying history meant asking "why" a particular event occurred; a "new" way of studying poetry meant examining "how" a poem was structured; a "new" technique of teaching physics was conducting an experiment to discover "why" one physical phenomenon occurred instead of another. The novelty with which these "techniques" appeared to the

students, and the inability of good graduate students to teach in any other way, says a great deal both about the deficiencies which are to be met and the qualifications of graduate students to meet them.

The immediate impact of the STP on the students, then, was a positive one. How lasting it will be cannot, of course, be determined. One of the chief regrets of the students, and one of the serious inadequacies of the STP, is that provision is made for summer instruction only. Returning to conventional instructors, most of whom are quite different from the SI's, the students will come better equipped for progress in the future. They may, however, develop frustrations which will sooner or later dissipate the achievements of the summer. Much depends upon the impact which the STP has on the institutions themselves.

B. On the Institutions

Discussion of the impact of the STP on the twenty-six colleges may begin with the observation that the administrations of these institutions were, on the whole, more than satisfied with the SI's and eager to continue the program. Twenty-three of the colleges completed questionnaires prepared for this evaluation. Twelve declared the teaching job done by the SI's to be excellent; eleven rated it good. None found it fair or poor. Asked to describe their general attitude toward the STP as it operated on their campuses as very favorable, favorable, satisfied, unfavorable, or very unfavorable, thirteen responded very favorable; seven, favorable; one, satisfied; and one, Bishop College, very

unfavorable; one cannot be classified.[4] All but Bishop College and Claflin College responded affirmatively to the question, "Do you expect to request STP instructors for next summer?"

Asked what they considered to be the chief contributions of the SI's, most colleges rated first their enthusiasm, willingness to work long hours, and ability to inspire the students. Typical were the following statements:

> New ideas together with zest for teaching has made a healthy impact on our regular teaching program.
>
> . . . their youthfulness, zest and desire to make a contribution in this particular kind of setting were very effective in motivating our students.
>
> . . . these instructors helped to widen the horizons for many of their students. They also demonstrated in a very practical way a number of worthwhile traits which could help to influence the students favorably.
>
> They have been able to identify with the students and express concern for the total life of the students.
>
> STP instructors brought new vigor and enthusiasm into the classrooms. They demanded and obtained relatively high academic performance from our students. They inspired students to read and study and exhibited a genuine interest in student development. They brought new ideas to the campus.

---

[4] At Claflin College two SI's were originally assigned. One was dismissed by the president early in the term. The dismissal apparently stemmed from a personality conflict between the president and the SI. The dean of the college, in preparing his evaluation, stated that the college's attitude toward the SI who remained was "favorable" while it was "unfavorable" toward the dismissed SI. No reason was given for the decision not to request SI's for next summer.

Half of the institutions also indicated that they had been able to undertake new programs or significantly expand existing ones because of the STP.

An attempt was made to determine the extent to which, if any, the availability of SI's made it possible for regular faculty members to pursue further study of their own. Eleven institutions reported that the STP had made this possible. The phrasing of the question, however, probably led to misleading replies, for it is highly doubtful that the STP did more than make it possible for faculty members to be relieved of teaching duties. Unfortunately, no reliable information was obtained to indicate the way in which further study was financed. It is probable that the instructors involved had to make their own arrangements. There is no indication that their salaries were met by the colleges.

Rumors, not easy to confirm, suggested that some faculty members who desired to teach were replaced by low-cost SI's. One definite example of this was uncovered; there may have been more, for certainly the temptation was there. To some undetermined extent, this aspect of the STP has an unsettling influence, not necessarily constructive, on the colleges. It certainly does not help faculty morale. Both faculty members and administrative officers expressed the wish that the STP, in addition to supplying instructors, would also make available matching funds to underwrite the cost of summer study for some members of the regular faculty. Such a program would increase appreciably the

usefulness of the STP and significantly augment its long-range contribution to improved educational standards. Supporting foundations should consider financing a well-conceived program along these lines, perhaps one which would require some contribution from the receiving college, although not one substantial enough to discourage the addition of new programs and the expansion of existing ones.

The impact of the STP on curricula, standards, and other aspects of the institutional complex was probably very slight, for several obvious reasons. Apart from the fact that institutions do not change easily, it must be remembered that SI's were relatively few in number, seldom integrated into policy-making echelons of the colleges, and often isolated from other members of the faculty. Their brief tenure and the non-typical nature of the summer session itself are further impediments. At some of the colleges the administrations requested, and received, critical evaluations of the curriculum which may serve as stimulants and guides to constructive reform in the future. Probably the most direct, tangible benefit which can be ascribed to the STP is the upgrading of students in the pre-freshman programs. Despite the limitations of these programs, noted earlier, they will supply a better student for the regular session.

The impact on regular faculty members is difficult to assess. Two science teachers at one college described the ideal result: a happy interchange of ideas and teaching techniques conducted in an atmosphere of mutual respect. SI reports and a few interviews with regular faculty members,

however, suggested that there was little contact between the two groups at most places and some apprehension at a few.

An essential development, if the institutions are to be improved substantially and fairly rapidly, is a continuation through the regular academic year of the kind of contributions made by the SI's. This raises the question of the degree to which the STP should restrict itself to summer employment. The advantages of recruitment for summers only are obvious. Relatively few graduate students can be persuaded to sacrifice an entire year of work toward graduate degrees, while many are anxious to accept summer positions. Perhaps the most that the STP can do at the present is to apprise SI's of available opportunities and hope that a significant number will choose to become regular faculty members in one of the Negro colleges. How likely this approach is to bear fruit can better be understood by examining the reactions of the SI's themselves to their experiences.

C. <u>On the SI's</u>

The written evaluations supplied by the SI's run to almost three hundred pages and constitute a rich source of information. They make an interesting contrast to the shorter evaluations submitted by the institutions themselves. In general, the SI's were less optimistic about the future and more critical of their own achievements than were their employers. There is a two-fold explanation for this. First, the SI's were largely unacquainted with academic

backwardness when they encountered it, while the institutions were all too familiar with it. These dissimilar perspectives inevitably produced differing evaluations. Second, many of the SI's -- although certainly not all -- exhibited a common expectation of young people in believing it possible to make great changes in a short period of time. They were inevitably frustrated when the record of progress, though often remarkable, was woefully incomplete. The institutions, on the other hand, accustomed to a long history of student mediocrity, noted with sensitivity the slightest signs of breaking out of old patterns.

Most of the frustrations, criticisms, and bitternesses expressed by the SI's will be noted below, in Section IV. Numerous and varied though these disappointments were, virtually none of the SI's came away from the summer with a sense of despair. Even the most critical felt that some progress had been made; frustration arose from realizations of how little it was and how difficult it would be to achieve more. At several places -- notably Miles, LeMoyne, Lane, and Texas Southern -- the sense of achievement was especially high.

Whatever their evaluations of the programs, most of the SI's felt personally rewarded by their experience. One wrote:

> My summer . . . was very enriching for me personally and professionally. Lasting friendship grew between me and the members of the student body, the faculty, the administration (!), and the colored community . . . not immediately related to the university.

Typical of many was the reaction of another SI who wrote that the summer teaching "was one of the most fascinating experiences I have ever had." Others described their reactions with such adjectives as "unusual," "fresh," "vigorous," and "challenging." One SI, probably reached more deeply by her experiences than most, wrote:

> Teaching psychology at Miles College this summer was one of the most worthwhile, exciting, and difficult things I have ever done. I feel very lucky to have been sent to Miles . . . I am grateful for being given this first opportunity to teach, and to discover that I love it. I am very glad to have been able to be in the South, where I gained, if not a better understanding of the white point of view toward segregation or of the issues involved . . . at least a great love for my students and for the staff and administration of Miles College, a sad realization of the difficulties of educating the southern Negro, and an appreciation of the great satisfaction to to be gained from contributing something to this great need.

Another Miles SI described her work there as "one of the most rewarding experiences of my life and one of the most enjoyable, too." She has accepted a position on the regular faculty as a direct result of her experience.

An SI from Tennessee A & I, after reviewing both the disappointments and pleasures of his work, concluded:

> In sum, this has been a summer of mixed reactions. I've enjoyed teaching and found pleasure in many of my students. The people I've worked with are going to be fondly remembered. Most important of all, I'm sure that after a couple of nights' deep sleep in a less hot and humid climate, I will realize that the assumption which compelled me to seek this job, namely, that only through education will the Negro be able to maintain the equal rights he has won, has been vindicated.

No systematic attempt has been made to determine exactly how many SI's moved directly into Negro colleges, either their

own or another, as a result of the summer, or how many now feel inclined to return later to a Negro college. Several have in fact taken permanent jobs this year. Of the sixty or so who were interviewed during the summer visitations, ten indicated a rather strong desire to return later to a southern Negro college. Among these were several who appear to have bright professional careers before them.

To conclude this discussion of the impact of the STP, one may assert confidently that the graduate students recruited by the STP performed with extraordinary effectiveness as teachers and that the experience they had is likely to encourage a significant number of them to enter into full-time positions in Negro colleges.

IV. SOURCES OF CONFLICT

The generally favorable evaluation of the STP, summarized above, was reached despite evidence of a plethora of irritations and conflicts which diminished the effectiveness of the SI's in some places, caused serious crises in others, and a nationally publicized debacle in one. A brief survey of some of the principal sources of difficulty may be helpful in preparing for future summers.

A. Institutional Irritants

Anyone familiar with the *modus operandi* in most (not all) Negro colleges could have predicted a series of frustrations for the SI's and might reasonably have anticipated feuds of varying intensity. Coming from universities that are both wealthy and academically alert, the SI's were not prepared for the situations they would face. Many of the problems sprang directly from poverty. Libraries were generally poorly stocked and inadequately administered. Book stores commonly offered poor fare and their staffs, either inadequately trained or undermanned (or both), were often slow and inefficient in placing orders. Frustrations arising from these deficiencies caused bitter complaints in a few colleges. Where complaints were tactlessly aired, resentment on the part of the administrations frequently followed. Most of the SI's, however, accepted these and similar irritations with maturity and some worked intelligently and effectively to point the way toward constructive reform.

More serious were the irritations that sprang from the heritage of segregated education itself. In most Negro colleges, for example, the tradition of immense presidential authority -- autocracy, according to some critics -- resulted in what often seemed to the SI's arbitrary rulings which adversely affected the welfare of the students. Stern social regulations, rigid academic requirements, and an authoritarian faculty-student relationship -- all part of an ancient tradition of academic paternalism -- frequently seemed to the SI's to stifle self-expression and hinder intellectual development. There were conspicuous exceptions to this generalization, of course, but variations on the pattern occurred with uncommon regularity. In their zeal to break their students loose from these "oppressive" patterns, many SI's aroused suspicion and a measure of hostility from their Negro colleagues and superiors. Not unnaturally, many of the Negro faculty members felt defensive and insecure while the administrations, though maintaining a facade of confidence, reacted uneasily to the challenge to their authority. How prevalent this pattern was is not easy to determine. The safest generalization is that signs of it appeared at all but three or four institutions, but that at all but perhaps seven or eight the SI's muted their criticisms and relationships were generally constructive.

Finally, there were several miscellaneous irritants, present at enough institutions to warrant noting here.

Inadequate registration procedures and poor planning meant that some SI's were asked to teach courses other than those for which they had been hired, or that they had significantly more or fewer students than they had been told to expect, or that they had a heavier teaching load than they had agreed to. Directions from department heads or program directors were sometimes inadequate causing the SI's to prepare their courses without knowledge of what was normally expected. Salary payments caused difficulties in some places. The SI's had been led to expect $50 a week, but this did not, in fact, always result in weekly payments. Some were paid monthly, others at the end of their service. These arrangements worked a few serious hardships.

The STP is no doubt already aware of most, probably all, of the institutional irritants and, in fact, Mr. Schulze worked diligently to remedy many of them in advance. Not all of them, however, can be directly approached by the STP, and future SI's should be instructed carefully in the kinds of problems they may encounter.

B. <u>The Instructor as Agitator</u>

Given the institutional irritants, sketched above, the prospects for harmonious and constructive teaching situations depend to a very considerable extent upon the attitudes of the SI's themselves. To oversimplify complex reactions, one might delineate two polar positions which characterized SI attitudes. One position, which was occupied or approached by a significant majority of the SI's, held that the instructor's job was to

teach well and to work within existing frameworks in order most effectively to reach the students, gain the confidence of the faculty and administration and thereby make a positive contribution. Accompanying this attitude was the notion that, after all, the SI was a temporary employee with little experience in a complex institution with a long and involved history. One SI, displeased by the behavior of his colleagues, put it this way:

> Some of the teachers seemed to channel their frustrations into cutting satire about the school and trying to get students to rise in dissatisfaction.... I always thought we were there to reform students through good teaching, not to change the administration through satire and bitter, petty gripes.

The second position, cuttingly suggested by this criticism, was occupied by a minority of SI's. No less committed to "reform" than the others, they grew impatient with their superiors and became convinced that frontal assaults of one kind or another were the most likely approaches to yield dividends. Almost without exception, their first loyalty was to the student and they struck out at impediments to his progress. That so few administrations, in the questionnaires or in the interviews, expressed concern over this behavior suggests that the administrations were often more tolerant than the more militant SI's believed. It also suggests that the militants were a distinct minority and that, even when they did nettle their superiors, the desire for STP assistance in the future greatly outweighed the impact of the criticism.

In a few of the institutions which were visited, and

probably at about a third of those which were not, some SI's appeared as agitators in social as well as academic roles. Here their mode of dress and casual forms of behavior were distinctly out of keeping with the traditions of their host institutions. This pattern of behavior was evaluated in the 1964 report as follows:

> It is tempting to say that SI's should conform to local styles of dress and behavior, but we would not stress it. Repeating our earlier point that the SI's should regard themselves always as faculty, we would add here that he who isn't conforming should know that he isn't. SI's should, at least, find out what is customarily expected of faculty, and non-conformity should be deliberate.

The observations of the 1965 program lead to a slightly revised version of this recommendation. Certainly the SI should find out what is customarily expected of him so that his non-conformity is not accidental. He should also have the right of a faculty member anywhere to be a non-conformist. However, evidence collected this summer would indicate that, in many instances, non-conformity, especially in matters of dress and hygiene, has its price in undermining the confidence of the student in his instructor. The SI who dresses conventionally seldom runs the risk of creating obstacles to his teaching techniques and "new" ideas. The unconventional dresser frequently does create such obstacles.

In conclusion, one must be wary of stressing too heavily the importance of the summer's irritations and conflicts. With the primary emphasis on teaching programs and teaching obligations,

the net gains in the future -- as in 1965 -- are likely to be considerable. Only in one institution this summer did the conflicts result in a real debacle, but even there the evaluation of the academic progress was favorable.

C. The Bishop College Debacle

Two days before the pre-freshman program at Bishop College was scheduled to end, most of the program faculty, including all eleven SI's, was dismissed. "We separated the entire group," the President explained, "for rank insubordination." As the President saw them, the SI's were "rebellious, uncooperative, and set on the idea that the members had no obligations to the institution." He found their personal hygiene wanting, their dress deplorable, and their "extraordinary efforts to incite the students against the college" unpardonable. For their part, the SI's regarded the President as the "adversary," and described their battle with him and Bishop College in language quite as vigorous as his.

The bizarre events of the summer, as interpreted by several participants, make for serious strains on one's credulity. From various SI's came hair-raising tales of administration-inspired raids on faculty parties, puritanical administration suppression of normal boy-girl relationships, hoodlumism of various sorts, robberies, intimidation, interference with the mails, and an allegation of SI plotting to bring shame on the college by implicating a Negro student in a rape charge against a white teacher. These "extracurricular" activities provided the

backdrop for a series of intense academic quarrels that ultimately produced an SI-led demonstration, involving over one hundred students, and the subsequent dismissal of the SI's.

It would require a separate report, quite as long as this one, to deal adequately with the Bishop affair. The following summary merely attempts to highlight some of the principal aspects of the story which are relevant to the future of the STP.[5]

Bishop College is in a stage of transition. The appointment of a distinguished scholar, Professor C. P. Cuttino of Emory University, as Academic Consultant, led to the drafting of a long-range academic plan and the inauguration of a pre-freshman program in 1964. SI's joined Emory graduate students to launch the program that summer. The same combination, with the addition of a few Dallas school teachers, staffed the operation this year. Mr. James W. Anthony of the Denver Country Day School was engaged as Program Director.

---

[5]My evaluation is based on the following sources: (1) the President's questionnaire and covering letter; (2) Mr. Schulze's statements on the nature of the negotiations and arrangements with the college; (3) a lengthy evaluation prepared by the Program Director, supplemented by a personal letter from him; (4) extensive accounts prepared by four of the SI's as well as a jointly-prepared document on the "real and alleged reasons for student discontent at Bishop College"; (5) the transcript of a round table discussion of the crisis held in mid-July; and (6) other documents and remarks furnished by Professor G. P. Cuttino, the Academic Consultant to Bishop College.

The college is extremely backward academically and is plagued by a variety of outmoded customs and regulations which any of the 1965 SI's would have found oppressive. In this atmosphere, numerous issues arose which divided the SI's from the administration; by mid-summer discontent was extreme and battle lines were drawn. Of the several divisive issues, the bookstore drama became the focal point and symbol of the contest. Hours were capricious, book orders were handled with aggravating disregard of the instructors' needs and wishes, and -- most serious of all -- students were overcharged on their purchases. Here, as in other conflicts, the SI's rallied to the side of the students. Protracted, inconclusive negotiations with the administration over the excessive charges led to the demonstration -- a dramatic challenge to the President's authority.

The SI's who led the protest movement would fall in the category of "agitator," as defined earlier in this report. One can easily imagine another group of 1965 SI's who would have labored within the existing framework, lodging their criticisms tactfully to avoid a violent confrontation. The Bishop SI's, on the other hand, apparently wanted to see reform instituted in their sight and at their insistence, as one of their sympathetic observers put it. It was this insistence which produced the "explosion."

To attribute to the SI's primary responsibility for the debacle, however, is an insufficient comment on the significance of the Bishop affair. One could argue that tactful acquiescence

would have left the institution as unreformed after the summer as before. There are those who maintain that a full exposure treatment was the only way to institute reform; that the existing structure was too inflexible to yield to normal ameliorative tactics. It may well be that the "explosion" will, in fact, lead to long-needed reforms. One will observe the future with interest in this respect.

Even should this prove to be true, however, the STP can scarcely point to the Bishop summer with pride or commend the tactics used there to future SI's. Three reasons underlie this conclusion. First, it is easy to imagine other institutions at which such tactics would have crippling effects. Second, the awesome responsibility of deciding when revolutionary tactics are necessary and pardonable is one which, one would feel, graduate students from our finer universities would need more than a short summer to ponder. Finally, the mission of the STP is to teach; and its program of reform lies in providing outstanding examples of the dedication, values, and achievements of American higher education at its best.

V. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions of this evaluation of the Southern Teaching Program, 1965, may be stated briefly. The STP has made a positive impact on the students who were taught, all but a few of the receiving colleges, and the SI's themselves. It has proved itself to be an organization of considerable, though limited, usefulness in the cause of improving education in Negro

colleges. Likewise, it has shown that graduate students may be used with great effectiveness in alleviating the shortage of trained teachers. Their very youth, in fact, permits them to make in some respects a more substantial contribution than older scholars. Assuming that the STP will continue to be administered as effectively as it was in 1965, it is the recommendation of this report that it be both continued and expanded.

The specific recommendations presented for the consideration of the STP and supporting foundations have been discussed in the body of this report. The major ones are listed below.

1. Creation of a faculty committee at each recruiting university to interest students in the program and interview candidates for it.

2. More vigorous recruitment of Negroes and southern whites.

3. Revision of orientation meetings to (a) acquaint SI's with their specific college; and (b) provide discussion of teaching problems in specific disciplines.

4. Exhortation of receiving colleges to provide SI's, as early as possible, with detailed information concerning courses to be taught, materials to be used, and accommodations to be provided.

5. Employment of experts in remedial instruction, especially reading, to counsel at the orientation meetings and call on receiving colleges during the summer.

6. Cautious expansion into the area of community programs for pre-college students.

7. Addition of a well-structured program of grants to underwrite summer study for selected regular faculty members of the receiving colleges.

8. Addition of a more systematic program of informing SI's of the availability of full time employment opportunities in Negro colleges.

9. More specific provisions for salary payments.

10. Thorough discussion with the SI's of the issues involved in "non-conformity."

VI. APPENDIX

Receiving Institution	#SI's	Program
Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro	4	Pre-Freshman
Allen University, Columbia, S. C.	2	Both
Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.	7	Regular
Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.	2	Pre-Freshman
Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla.	6	Both
Bishop College, Dallas, Tex.	11	Pre-Freshman
Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio	4	Regular
Charleston Tutorial Center, S. C.	5	Community
Cheyney State College, Cheyney, Pa.	2	Pre-Freshman
Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C.	2	Regular
Dillard University, New Orleans, La.	6	Pre-Freshman
Friendship Junior College, Rock Hill, S. C.	3	Regular
Lane College, Jackson, Tenn.	2	Both
Langston University, Langston, Okla.	4	Regular
LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.	6	Pre-Freshman
Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.	10	Both
Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.	2	Pre-Freshman
Oakwood College, Huntsville, Ala.	4	Regular
Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.	9	Regular
Prairie View A & M College, Prairie View, Tex.	4	Pre-Freshman
Tennessee A & I State University, Nashville	14	Pre-Freshman
Texas Southern University, Houston	11	Pre-Freshman

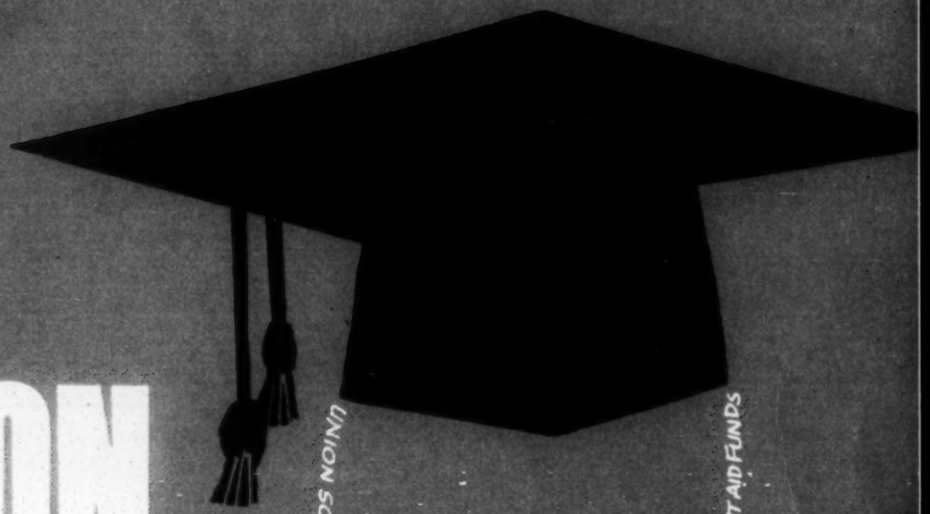
Receiving Institutions	#SI's	Program
Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.	2	Pre-Freshman
Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.	4	Both
Virginia State College, Norfolk	4	Both
Virginia Union University, Richmond	3	Both
Wider Horizons, Orlando, Fla.	10*	Community
Wiley College, Marshall, Tex.	2*	Regular

*The two SI's at Wiley College also taught in the Wider Horizons program.

File: College Opportunities

IUE MEMBERS' GUIDE

COLLEGE EDUCATION FINANCING



UNION SCHOLARSHIPS • WORK-STUDY • STATE SCHOLARSHIPS • G.I BILL • STUDENT AID FUNDS

PROVINCIAL SCHOLARSHIPS • FRATERNAL • ETHNIC • ARMED FORCES SCHOLARSHIPS • STATE L

RELATED AID • CANADIAN SCHOLARSHIPS • TECHNICAL SCHOLARSHIPS • GRANTS • CHURCH SCHOLARSHIPS • FEDERAL LOANS • COLLEGE

CORPORATION SCHOLARSHIPS • STA STATE LOANS • ART SCHOLARSHIPS • MUSI

"We have entered an age in which education is not just a luxury permitting some men an advantage over others. It has become a necessity without which a person is defenseless in this complex, industrialized society . . . We have truly entered the century of the Educated Man."

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
April 1964

PAUL JENNINGS
President

PHILIP MURRAY BUILDING

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS

AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

PHONE: 296-1200 (Area Code 202)
1126 SIXTEENTH STREET N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

Dear IUE Member:

Parents investigating the cost of education beyond high school -- particularly college -- are stunned at the expense. Four to six years at college (or technical school) can cost from $10,000 to $14,000 and must be paid while the student is in attendance. This sum is comparable to the cost of a home for IUE members in the United States or Canada. But the cost of a home is almost always stretched over a 25 or 30 year period. The parent who sends his child to school must pay now.

IUE members' concern for the belabored parent resulted in COPE and legislative activities creating the political climate that made possible the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Now a college education is within reach of most qualified children of working families, who until recently could not dare dream of this. The "luxury" of education is rapidly being converted into a right.

IUE members' concern also has spurred the publication of this pamphlet which we hope will provide guidance and information on the ways education beyond high school can be financed and where scholarships can be obtained.

More consistently than any other group, the labor movement has been the prime advocate of education. Labor's agitation for a free public school system in America dates back to 1826. We have come a long way in 140 years, but much remains to be done in this fight. Your One Dollar annual contribution to COPE, your vote for liberal candidates, and your continuing interest will hasten that day.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Paul Jennings

Paul Jennings
President

CONTENTS

	Page
PART I — NEW WAYS TO FINANCE HIGHER EDUCATION	3
Work-Study or Cooperative Education Programs	4
PART II — HOW AND WHERE TO OBTAIN AVAILABLE SCHOLARSHIPS	6
Colleges and Universities	6
State and Provincial Scholarships	7
Federal Scholarship Programs	8
Labor Union Scholarships	8
Veterans Organization Scholarships	9
Church Sponsored Scholarships	10
National Scholarships	11
Scholarships for Canadians	13
Fraternal Organizations	14
Special Groups	15
PART III — SCHOLARSHIP, OTHER ASSISTANCE NOT REQUIRING A COLLEGE DIPLOMA	17
Educational Opportunities in the Armed Forces	19
PART IV — GRANTS, RELATED AID AND VARIOUS OTHER AVAILABLE LOANS	21
Educational Opportunity Grant — Title IV-A of the Higher Education Act of 1965	21
Federal Work-Study Grants	21
Social Security Act Amendment to Title II — Section 202	21
Veterans Administration (War Orphans)	21
Federal Low-Interest Loans to Students	21
Canada Student Loan Program	22
National Defense Student Loan Program	22
The Nursing Student Loan Program	22
The National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Program	22
The Health Professions Student Loan Program	22
State Student Loan Programs	23
United Student Aid Funds	24
Cold War GI Bill	25
PART V — INEXPENSIVE REFERENCE SOURCES FOR STUDENTS AND PARENTS	26

Part I

NEW WAYS TO FINANCE HIGHER EDUCATION

In 1966, 16 children of IUE members successfully competed in National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test, became finalists and have won scholarships. But as parents of these students would probably testify, and what thousands of frustrated IUE member parents are beginning to find out, a scholarship is but a small part of the expense of going to college. At some universities, the cost could amount to as much as $4,000 a year.

Most scholarships, however welcome, cover only tuition. Very few also cover room and board, books, travel and other expenses.

Today, in the United States, the cost of education beyond high school may be covered by a combination of methods. Scholarships, plus federal or institutional or private grants, loans from colleges, plus low-cost Federally insured state loans or low cost Federal loans, or perhaps also, a work study program or part-time or summer employment, are the ways students are now financing their education.

In Canada, students may meet expenses in similar ways, usually through one or more types of available financial aid. Some of the means may be through scholarships based on academic excellence; bursaries (the Canadian term for grants-in-aid) which are non-repayable sums given to needy students with satisfactory scholastic achievement; loan programs from governmental or university sources or through chartered banks with their own educational loan provisions.

Most of the financial assistance is administered either by the colleges themselves or by the provincial Departments of Education. The types and amounts of financial aid offered by the provincial department of education varies from one province to another.

A student should check with the college business office when applying for admission about the possibility of a package financial arrangement. An education is a major and life-time investment which should be carefully planned. Many American and Canadian colleges regard this as so important that financial aid offices have Student Aid Officers assigned to assist students.

One of the sources of information on colleges which provide these services is **Baron's Profile of American Colleges.** It lists the number and value of college loans; whether the college participates in the National Defense Student Loans or Federally insured state loans; the number of jobs available at colleges and rates of pay; it also indicates what Federal or other work-study programs, freshman grants and scholarships are available at each college. The high school guidance counselor or the public library may have it.

An excellent source of information for undergraduate financial aid for Canadian students is the **National Student Aid Information Service's** two comprehensive volumes in loose leaf form, revised annually. These may be found in most public and university or college libraries.

Catholic students may secure a listing of Catholic universities and colleges, courses offered, staff, enrollment, degrees conferred, student services, library facilities, financial aid, including scholarships, etc., in the 1965 **Official Guide to Catholic Colleges, Institutions and Religious Communities in the United States;** published by the Catholic Institutional Directory Company, and sponsored by the Department of Education, National Catholic Welfare Council. The guide also lists Catholic institutions for students other than college candidates.

This guide may be found in public libraries or through the high school guidance counselor. It may be purchased at $3.95; to order write:

N.C.W.C.
The Official Guide to Catholic Institutions
100 North Village Avenue
Rockville Center
Long Island, New York 11570

(See **Reference Sources for Students and Parents** for more information).

Work-Study or Cooperative Education Programs

Work-study or cooperative education programs are important and satisfying ways for students to finance their education. (This is not to be confused with the U. S. Federal Work-Study Grant program to students from low income families discussed later in this pamphlet.) More than 86 American colleges and universities make use of the National Commission for Cooperative Education work-study program.

The program permits students to work full-time for a number of months and to return to full-time studies for the rest of the year. The number of work months versus study months varies in each college or university using the National Commission for Cooperative Education program. For example, Antioch College's work-study program permits the student to spend six months each in study and work. In other colleges, a student may work throughout fall and winter and enroll full-time in spring or summer semesters, or both.

It takes work-study students somewhat longer to complete their education. However, work-study programs have the advantage of broadening understanding of the relationship between theory and practice. The student's motivation is increased and his concerns about financing his education are substantially minimized.

In addition to Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio, there are work-study programs also in such leading colleges and universities as Northeastern, Boston, Massachusetts; University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Cornell, Ithaca, New York; University of California at Los Angeles and Berkeley; Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia; Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont; University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio; Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois; Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and others.

For a complete list of colleges with work-study programs write:

National Commission for Cooperative Education
8 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y. 10036

* * *

There are employment possibilities on a temporary or intermittent basis in Federal agencies such as Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Treasury, Health, Education and Welfare and General Services Administration. Students appointed must be pursuing studies related to the field in which they will be employed, primarily as professional, technical and scientific aids. Applications and detailed information should be secured from these agencies. Students enrolled in universities or colleges with cooperative education programs may find employment opportunities in professional and technical fields with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Application and information may be secured from this agency. Air Force and U. S. Army work-study programs are described below.

Air Force Civilian Cooperative Education Programs—Alternating periods of study and practical work experience in an organized program is available to students interested in science or engineering. High school graduates who pass the appropriate Civil Service examinations are eligible in most cases. This is a five year program toward a B.S. degree in which the student enrolls in an accredited college or university with a cooperative education curriculum. Work periods are at one of a number of Air Force bases or installations.

Salary starts at approximately $4,005, with progression to approximately $6,050 per year at the time of graduation. For more information write directly to any or all of the following:

Air Force Logistics Command (MCACT)
Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio

Air Force Systems Command (SCPCD)
Andrews Air Force Base
Washington 25, D. C.

Office of Aerospace Research (RRPC)
Building Tempo-D
Washington 25, D. C.

Army Civil Service Cooperative Training Plan—A work study program is available to high school students interested in the sciences or engineering. To qualify, the high school graduate must pass the appropriate Civil Service examination. The student can work toward a B.S. degree within 5 years through combining study and work at one of 30 installations in the United States. Starting rate is $3,600 per year with regular promotions to a top of $4,700 per year. Neither the Air Force nor Army Civil Service work-study programs require, nor constitute the fulfillment of military obligations. For more information write:

Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel
Attn: Office of Civilian Personnel
Department of the Army
Washington, D. C. 20310

* * *

Church related colleges frequently offer work assistance to students through jobs on the campus and in

the community. Often, paid service opportunities are available during the summer. For more information write:

Service Opportunities Information Center
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y.

* * *

A student's educational costs can be considerably reduced by enrolling in a city university, a junior college or community college if one is located near his home town. If he takes the regular college course at a junior college, he can change to a four-year college to obtain a bachelor's degree. Or he can attend his state college which is considerably less expensive than prestige colleges.

Part II

HOW AND WHERE TO OBTAIN AVAILABLE SCHOLARSHIPS

Substantial numbers of scholarships are available from a wide variety of sources. There are two categories of scholarships. One is based on merit or achievement; the other is on need.

Merit scholarship recipients are selected through competition. Some awards may be obtained for unusual ability in music, art or science. To qualify for most scholarships based on achievement, in general, the student must be in the upper 25 percent of the high school graduating class. If the student is seeking a sizable scholarship award, then in most cases, he or she must be in the upper 10 percent.

For the second type of scholarship, frequently called grants (bursaries in Canada), financial need is the primary criterion. To qualify the student must first be accepted by the college or must be currently enrolled. Generally, in awarding grants, the needy student whose scholastic achievement is high gets first consideration. However, some colleges offer grants to average students who demonstrate need. Applicants are required to submit family income data.

In Canada, academic achievement is the most important factor, although there are a number of scholarships based on both need and achievement.

Contrary to general belief, scholarships are not easy to obtain, for competition is exceedingly keen. The extent of this competition can readily be appreciated by this example: Out of 850,000 students each year in the United States who compete in the National Merit Scholarship Corporation's scholarship program, only a little over 2,000 receive awards from this source. In addition, a large number of private donors, organizations and corporations require students to be National Merit Scholarship test finalists.

Nevertheless it has been said, and it is probably true, that thousands of scholarships go begging each year, due in part to lack of knowledge of their existence. However, the most important reason that so many scholarships are unclaimed is that a great number of these awards have special requirements—for example, religious affiliation, nationality, or a stipulation that the student must enroll at a religious college. Many corporations offer scholarships to employees or their children. Some awards are conditional: to receive them the student may need to reject all others or limit the amount of other scholarships.

A good many scholarships must be applied toward a highly specialized field; in others the student must be a son or daughter of a member of the organization granting the scholarship. Several organizations offer scholarships to special groups such as Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians, Chinese or Japanese.

The high school guidance counselor should be consulted for information on scholarship sources as early as possible. This is because the deadline for most scholarship applications is January 1. Those based on U. S. National Merit Scholarship require preliminary tests during the student's junior year in high school.

It is impossible to list all sources of scholarships since so many colleges, universities, organizations and groups offer them. However, listed here are a few important scholarship opportunities.

Colleges and Universities

The best place to secure a scholarship or to find out about scholarship aid is at the college or university which a student wishes to attend. Scholarships from this source may be based on need, or scholastic achievement, or both. Awards available are normally listed in university or college catalogues ("callendar" is the Canadian term).

Some colleges grant full tuition. Others make up the difference between the costs for the school year and amount which parents or students can afford. Those who make the decision on scholarship aid tend to be more sympathetic to a student seeking scholarships based on need, if the student or the family has made some effort to provide even a small amount of funds.

When judging need, in the United States, many

colleges require parents to fill out "A Parent's Confidential Statement Questionnaire" from which the family's income and assets are evaluated and estimated.

Most colleges recognize that what each family can afford without hardships depends upon a number of factors. The table below serves as a broad rule of thumb for them:

Annual Contribution of Parents

Net Annual Income	Number of Dependent Children (1)	(2)	(3)
$ 4,000	$ 370.00	$ 200.00	$140.00
6,000	780.00	450.00	320.00
8,000	1,260.00	800.00	600.00
10,000	1,830.00	1,240.00	980.00

Allowances are made for special circumstances. In that case the figure would be smaller.

Students seeking scholarship information should write to the Director of Admissions or the Registrar of the college or university of his choice. Applications should be made at the earliest opportunity. Quite often, first applicants stand a better chance. Adequate time should be allowed to meet requirements since it takes time for clerks to process official transcripts of high school records.

Canadian students wishing scholarship and other financial aid information in a given field of study or specialty—for example, philosophy or chemical engineering—can short-cut their search for a $1.00 fee by writing:

National Student Aid Information Service
2149a Yonge Street
Toronto 7, Ontario

State or Provincial Scholarships

A growing number of state governments in the United States and many Canadian provinces now provide scholarships. Some rely on competitive tests; others on good grades plus financial need. In other states or provinces, awards may be offered as an inducement to enter a specialized area in which there is a shortage of trained personnel.

Some state or provincial programs may require the student to attend the college in that state or province.

Scholarships and financial aid programs provided by provincial governments are administered either by the province or through participating universities. The Canadian student, therefore, should write for information to the Deputy Minister of Education in the capital city of the province, or to the university he plans to attend.

Listed below are 14 U. S. state scholarship programs (as of January 1, 1966) and addresses of the administering agencies. If the student's state does not appear on this list, he should write to the State Department of Education in the capital city.

STATE	PROGRAM TITLE	ADMINISTERING AGENCY AND ADDRESS
California	Competitive Scholarships	State Scholarship Commission 520 Capitol Mall Sacramento, California 95814
Connecticut	State Scholarship Program	State Scholarship Commission State Department of Education P.O. Box 2219 Hartford, Connecticut 06115
Delaware	"Right to Education" Grants	Dean of Students University of Delaware Newark, Delaware
Illinois	Competitive Scholarship Program	Illinois State Scholarship Comm. 730 Waukegan Road Deerfield, Illinois 60015
Iowa	Grants-in-Aid $200 to $800	Higher Education Facilities Comm. 826 Des Moines Building Des Moines, Iowa 50309
Kansas	State Scholarship Program	State Department of Public Inst. Topeka, Kansas 66601
Maryland	General State Tuition Scholarships	Maryland State Scholarship Board 310 West Preston Street Baltimore, Maryland 21201

STATE	PROGRAM TITLE	ADMINISTERING AGENCY AND ADDRESS
Massachusetts	Scholarships for Needy and Worthy Students	Board of Educational Assistance 200 Newbury Street Boston, Massachusetts 02116
Michigan	Competitive Scholarship Program	Michigan Higher Education Assistance Authority 702 Prudden Building Lansing, Michigan 48933
New Jersey	Competitive Scholarships	New Jersey State Scholarship Commission P.O. Box 2019 Trenton, New Jersey 08625
New York	Regents General College Scholarships	State Education Department Division of Examinations and Scholarships Albany, New York 12201
Oregon	Cash Award Scholarships	State Scholarship Commission P.O. Box 5175 Eugene, Oregon
Rhode Island	State Scholarship Program	State Scholarship Program, State Department of Education Providence, Rhode Island 02908
Virginia	Undergraduate Scholarships and Loans	State Department of Education Richmond, Virginia 23216

Many of the state and provincial programs require filing of applications by Spring of each year, so American and Canadian students are advised to write for a program description and application form early in the year.

Federal Scholarship Programs

Medical Scholarships—By Fall of 1966, a limited number of scholarships worth $2,500 per year each will be available to students who plan to study medicine. This is made possible by an amendment to the Health Professions Act of 1964 which created a Federal scholarship program for medical students.

Real financial need is the criterion. If the student is currently in medical college or plans to enter by next Fall, he should check with the student aid officer at his college to find out whether the school will participate in the program and how and when to apply for consideration.

Nursing Traineeships: A nurse who plans to prepare for administrative or supervisory positions, or to become a nurse specialist, or a teacher in a hospital or in public health, may obtain a traineeship from the Federal government. Traineeships, made possible through the Nurse Training Act of 1964, may be for full-time academic study or short-term specialized training.

For a list of participating institutions such as hospitals, clinics, schools of nursing, etc., or information on where a nurse may make application for a traineeship, write:

Division of Nursing
U. S. Public Health Service
Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare
U. S. Government, Washington, D. C.

For information on Federal programs for nurses throughout the government, write for Volume 3, No. 4, American Council on Education, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D. C.

Labor Union Scholarships

The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations: The AFL-CIO scholarship program offers two scholarships a year in each of three geographical areas. One scholarship in each area is reserved for a son or daughter of a current member of a union affiliated with American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. The other scholarships are unrestricted.

The scholarship program is conducted in cooperation with the National Merit Scholarship Corporation. All applicants must participate in the National Merit Testing Program. From the finalists in each state the AFL-CIO selects six students to receive AFL-CIO

Merit scholarships. The amount of the award is adjusted to individual need set in accordance with the formula of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation. The maximum award is $1,500 per year or $6,000 for four years. See AFL-CIO pamphlet in this kit, **How to Apply—AFL-CIO College Merit Scholarships.** For the AFL-CIO Scholarship Kit, write to:

Lawrence Rogin, Director
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

Other Labor Organizations—The AFL-CIO and all its affiliated International Unions, city central bodies and state federations will spend over $1,250,000 in scholarship awards in 1966. Most scholarship programs offered by International Unions, their districts or regions, local unions or joint boards are generally for members or children of members only. A few, however, offer scholarships to young people in the community as a public service. The student may find it fruitful to contact unions in his community to find out about scholarship programs at the local or international level. The classified section of the telephone directory lists labor unions.

In most localities in the United States, there are AFL-CIO city or county central bodies and state AFL-CIO federations with which most local unions are affiliated. Most Canadian local unions likewise are affiliated with CLC (Canadian Labour Congress), Labour Councils and provincial CLC Federations.

Each year more of these bodies establish scholarship programs. Some are for young people in the community, others are limited to children of members of affiliated unions. To find out if these organizations offer awards, a parent who is an IUE member should check with his local union officers or with the city central body or state AFL-CIO federation. A Canadian IUE member can contact the Labour Council or provincial CLC Federation for information. Most IUE local unions are affiliates of these bodies.

American Federation of Musicians Annual Musical Talent Grants. Approximately 100 music scholarships are granted annually to young men and women, ages 16 to 23, in the United States and Canada. They need not be sons or daughters or members of the Musicians Union. Scholarships are worth a total of $600 each. Awards are made by the local unions of the American Federation of Musicians in the amount of $300 and matched by the parent organization, the American Federation of Musicians in the amount of $300.

Entrants must be trained to play violin, viola, cello or string bass. Candidates must attend auditions in their area and scholarships are awarded individually after Musicians Union judges make their decisions.

American and Canadian winners will attend the International Congress of Strings held on the campus of Michigan State University at Lansing, Michigan, from June 27-August 21. This is a splendid opportunity for talented young people because the Congress of Strings provides coaching, instruction and inspiration by the distinguished conductors under whom the young people perform.

Many of the Musicians scholarship finalists secure contracts with large symphony orchestras, in a number of leading cities. Some of the finalists who have not been offered positions by symphony orchestras get additional scholarship aid to prepare them for a career in music.

High school and music students should contact the local American Federation of Musicians if they wish to be entered as candidates. The address may be obtained in the telephone directory in the student's city or nearest city. For general information write:

Mr. Stanley Ballard, Secretary
American Federation of Musicians
220 Mount Pleasant Avenue
Newark 4, New Jersey

Veterans' Organization Scholarships

American Legion Scholarships—Notable among scholarship programs are those offered by the American Legion or some of its state and local posts. Individual posts and auxiliaries in the hundreds offer awards to students in their communities. State Departments of the American Legion and Auxiliary are also good scholarship sources.

A national high school oratorical contest is held annually by the American Legion. Four finalists receive scholarships of from $500 to $4,000. Participants may win, in addition, one of the several hundred scholarships awarded by district and state posts.

The Legion's Auxiliary also awards scholarships of $1,000 each, annually. Candidates must be daughters of deceased veterans in their senior high school year or graduates of an accredited high school who have not yet attended college. The award is based on need.

The American Legion, through its "Eight and Forty Tuberculosis Nursing Scholarship Fund," offers awards of $1,000 each. The fund was set up to assist nurses who seek advanced training for administrative, supervisory or teaching positions. The deadline for applications is June 1 of each year and awards are an-

nounced July 15. For more details on how to qualify and to apply, write:

Eight and Forty Scholarship Chairman
American Legion, Box 1055
Indianapolis, Indiana

Contact local Legion posts to find out if they sponsor scholarships and how to qualify.

AMVETS—Scholarships up to $2,000 are awarded to high school seniors who are children of totally disabled veterans of World War II or the Korean War. For additional information, write:

AMVETS National Headquarters
Post Office Box 6038
Mid-City Station
Washington, D. C.

Church-Sponsored Scholarships

Archdiocesan Scholarships—Catholic University of America is the National Pontifical University under the direction of the Bishops of the United States. Twenty-seven scholarships (one in each archdiocesan province) are offered annually to all Catholics who are members of the graduating class of any high school. Each scholarship is for four years and has an annual value of $1,200.

Scholarships for music have an annual value of $1,300. (If in a five-year program, students receive tution for the additional year.)

The student must be able to meet other expenses such as board and room, books, etc. Criteria are high scholastic achievement, based on SAT College Entrance Examination Board and three achievement tests including English composition.

Candidates must apply to the College Entrance Examination Board office in their area to take the Scholastic Aptitude Test in December or January. Application for the test—with fee—must be made to the College Entrance Examination Board, and not to Catholic University.

For scholarship application write:

The Registrar and Director of Admissions
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C. 20017

Lutheran Church in America Merit Scholarships. Limited to children of Lutheran church members who become finalists in the National Merit Scholarship Competition. They are eligible only if they enter one of the four-year Lutheran church colleges. Awards $250 to $1,500, determined by need. For more information, write:

Lutheran Church in America Education Fund
231 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

The Aid Association for Lutherans All-College Scholarship Program. Scholarships ranging from $200 to $1,500, renewable, are offered. Apply by December 31 to:

Educational Testing Service
Princeton, New Jersey

For information on how to qualify write:

Aid Association for Lutherans
Appleton, Wisconsin

National Methodist Scholarship Program. Limited to Methodist students who wish to enter an accredited Methodist college or university. Awards cover tuition and fees up to $500, on a one year basis, renewable once. Write to:

The Methodist Church
Box 871
Nashville, Tennessee

American Baptist National Scholarship Program. The student must have been an active member of an American Baptist Church for at least one year. Criterion is applicant's need and he must be nominated by the student's church by November 1 of his senior high school year and take the college board tests by December of the same year. Write:

National Scholarship Program
American Baptist Board of Education and Publication
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Reformed Church in America Scholarship. Must be members of Reformed Church, but need not be committed to church-related vocations. Funds are distributed to these colleges: Hope College, Holland, Michigan; Central College, Pella, Iowa and Northwestern College, Orange City, Iowa. The colleges then make awards from $300 to $500 on the basis of outstanding ability and need. For more information write:

Reformed Church in America
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y.

Scholarship Competition for Presbyterian Colleges. Must be a member of the church in top one-fourth of high school, junior high school class or recent

graduate not yet in college. Awards up to $500, renewable. Write:

Competition for Presbyterian Colleges
Presbyterian Church, U. S.
Box 1176
Richmond, Virginia

Samuel Robinson Scholarships. Any undergraduate student regardless of religion is eligible if he attends one of 52 colleges related to the United Presbyterian Church. For information on how to qualify and location of these colleges, write:

Office of Educational Loans and Scholarships
425 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia, Pa.

National Scholarships

National Merit Scholarship Program. Sponsored by the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, scholarships are from a minimum of $100 to a maximum of $1500 per year or $6,000 for four years. In addition, an important service is rendered—winners of National Merit Scholarships are eligible for special scholarships offered by private organizations and colleges. Need plays a large part in the amounts awarded.

To qualify, the student must participate in the National Merit Testing Program. This is usually held in the Spring of the year in most high schools in the second semester of the junior year or first semester of the senior year.

Students who score highest in the qualifying tests in each state become the semi-finalists. Semi-finalists take a second examination. Time, date, place and additional information is provided by the National Merit Scholarship Corporation.

It may be advisable to take the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying test even though the student may be doubtful about becoming a finalist. The names and scores of the semi-finalists and a list of 35,000 Commended Students are sent to colleges each year.

Should a student apply for a scholarship based on need, the fact that he or she took the test and rated well would have an important bearing. Colleges prefer to award scholarships to needy students whose scholastic achievement is high.

The student should consult the high school guidance counselor on how to apply and to find out when the tests will be held. If the high school is not a member of the National Merit Scholarship Program he may participate as an individual. For more information write to:

National Merit Scholarship Corporation
990 Grove Street
Evanston, Illinois

Write, also for pamphlet, **Student Information Bulletin,** at the same address. It describes the program, procedure, test rules, etc., and lists several pages of private organizations and corporations which sponsor National Merit Scholarship programs.

Negro students taking the National Merit Scholarship Test may obtain college advisory services from:

National Scholarship Service and Fund for
Negro Students
6 East 82nd Street
New York 28, N. Y.

NSSFNS enables Negro students to compete for supplementary financial aid in addition to qualifying for Merit Scholarships.

National Honor Society Scholarship. Awards are from $500 to $6,000. Applicants must be high school seniors and members of the National Honor Society. Consult high school counselor or principal on how to apply.

General Motors College Scholarship Plan. Any high school senior is eligible, but must be U. S. citizen. As many as 400 undergraduate scholarships in 200 colleges are offered in amounts up to $2,000. Need is criterion. Competition is so keen that early application date is advised. High school guidance counselor should be consulted, or write to:

General Motors Scholarship Plan
General Motors Corporation
General Motors Building
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Westinghouse Electric Corporation—This corporation sponsors the following scholarships:

1. **Westinghouse War Memorial Scholarships** provide $1200 per year to children of employees or to eligible junior employees who are interested in engineering, mathematics and the physical sciences.

2. **The George Westinghouse Scholarships** provide 10 annual awards of full tuition to study engineering, industrial management, chemistry, physics, or mathematics at Carnegie Institute of Technology. Not restricted to children of employees or employees.

3. **In cooperation with the Science Clubs of America** through the "Science Talent Search," scholarship winners receive awards up to $7,500.

For more information, write:

Westinghouse Electric Corporation
East Pittsburgh, Pa.

Western Electric Company, Inc.—195 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Funds are provided by the

company for more than 150 scholarships worth $400 to $1,000 in value, applicable at over 125 participating institutions of higher education.

General Electric Company—Education Committee, Schenectady, N. Y. Loans and scholarships valued from $400 to $500 a year to children of employees.

The General Henry H. Arnold Education Fund—Sponsored by the Air Force Aid Society, scholarships offered are up to $1,000 per year. Need is criterion. Must be unmarried, dependent sons or daughters of deceased U. S. Air Force and Army Air Force personnel. Deadline for applications, January 31, 1966. Write to:

Director, Air Force Aid Society
National Headquarters
Washington, D. C.

U. S. Navy and Marine Corps Scholarship—Students must be sons or daughters of officers or enlisted men of the U. S. Navy or Marine Corps, either active, retired or deceased. For information and application, write:

Chief of Naval Personnel
Navy Department
Washington 25, D. C.

Homemaker of Tomorrow Contest—Sponsored by General Mills, the contest is open to senior high school girls, who have an opportunity to win scholarships from $500 to $5,000. For information on how to qualify, write:

General Mills, Inc.
c/o Paul C. Amidon and Associates
429 Plymouth Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota

H. J. Heinz Company, through the National Restaurant Association offers scholarships of $1,000 for four years to students who plan to study at college or a university 4-year course of food service administration. For information write:

National Restaurant Association
1530 North Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, Illinois

Lockheed Leadership Fund—The Lockheed Aircraft Corporation provides 15 four-year scholarships, full tuition and fees, plus $500 a year for college expenses to study in subjects related to the aerospace and electronics industry. Young men and women in their senior year in high school are eligible to apply. Must be U. S. citizens. Applications for scholarships must be requested from the list of colleges and universities included here. Request Lockheed Leadership Fund Scholarship applications from the following:

California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Calif.
Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Ga.
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.
North Carolina State College of the University of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y.
Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.

The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art—More than 350 free tuition scholarships are offered to undergraduate and graduate students in engineering and science and for degree and certificate courses in art and architecture. Competitive tests are difficult; however, once a student is admitted his full-time tuition continues throughout the curriculum as long as high academic standards are continued.

The day sessions scholarship is equivalent to $2,000 for each of the four-year engineering, science, and art curricula or for the 5-year architecture program. Evening scholarships amount to $1,000 a year spread over four or more years.

Criteria are based on aptitude and talent alone without regard to sex, race, creed or economic status. Must reside in the United States. The student must make own arrangements for housing facilities. For more information write:

Admissions Office
Cooper Union
Cooper Square
New York, N. Y. 10003

Colgate University Alumni War Memorial Scholarships—Financed by gifts of Colgate University Alumni, 26 national and regional four-year scholarships are awarded each year on a competitive basis to entering freshmen. Awards are from $100 to $2,750 per year, depending upon need. Criteria are character, performance inside and outside of classroom and promise of successful achievements in college. Assistance continues as long as justified by need and academic standing. SAT (College Board Scholastic Aptitude

Tests) must be taken by December or January. The candidate must apply for admission and with the application must be included the parent's confidential statement. For more information contact:

Director of Admissions
Colgate University
Hamilton, N. Y.

Martin Marietta Foundation—Seven scholarships of $1,100 per year, renewable, are offered at any accredited college and university offering curricula in aerospace. Must be recommended by a counselor. Apply by March 1 to nearest Martin facility in Baltimore, Orlando, Denver or Canaveral.

Martin Marietta Foundation
Scholarship Committee #502
Martin Company
Baltimore, Maryland 21203

Julliard School of Music Scholarships—Grants up to $1,250 in partial or full tuition, some renewable annually, are available. Must be a graduate of accredited high school or equivalent with record of high achievement, particularly in proposed major in music or dance.

Scholarships for Canadians

St. John Ambulance Margaret MacLaren Memorial Fund. One or more scholarships of $1,000 are awarded each year to registered nurses who have proved their ability and are capable of preparing themselves for greater responsibility and knowledge in the field of nursing. For information and application write:

Chairman of Bursary Funds
321 Chapel Street
Ottawa 2, Ontario

B. C. Dentist's Wives' Association Bursaries—Bursaries of $400 each for one year of study at any approved faculty or school of dentistry are offered to pre-dental students. Criteria are academic standing and financial need. Winners are asked to assume the moral obligation of reimbursing this fund when and if circumstances permit. Application should be made to the approved university or school of dentistry by August 1.

Beta Sigma Phi-Canadian Chapter Scholarships—Three scholarships of $1,000 each for one year duration are awarded to students of Honours Course in English. The award is made at the end of the 3rd year on the basis of academic achievement and a confidential appraisal of teachers in English courses. May be applied in any Canadian university which is a member of the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges. Must apply by June 1. To apply write:

Secretary,
Canadian Universities Foundation
75 Albert Street
Ottawa 4, Ontario

Heinz Scholarship Award—One scholarship of $300 for each of the four years of study for a student of Household Economics or Institutional Management. Criterion is scholarship standing or any other qualifying information required by the scholarship selection committee. May be used at any college or university offering a four-year degree course. For information the student should consult the high school principal or guidance counselor by February 1.

Margery Brooker Bursaries—Bursaries totaling $2,500 divided among students (number variable) are granted each year to those taking courses in art at any institution of higher learning. Criteria are high academic achievement and need. The awarding agency is the Winnepeg Foundation of the Margery Brooker Estate. The student should consult the high school principal, counselor, or the financial aid officer if already enrolled in any institution of higher learning.

Canadian Association of Real Estate Boards Scholarships—Two scholarships of $300 to $500 for one year are granted to commerce and business administration students enrolled at any Canadian university or affiliated colleges. Criterion are high scholastic ability and need. Must be citizens of Canada. To apply write:

Executive Secretary
Canadian Institute of Realtors
109 Merton Street
Toronto 7, Ontario

The scholarship programs listed here are administered by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada. For further information write:

Dorothy R. Patterson
Director of Awards
Association of Universities and Colleges
75 Albert
Ottawa 4, Canada

Bank of Nova Scotia Bilingual Exchange Scholarships — Six scholarships, three to French-speaking candidates and three to English-speaking candidates, either undergraduates or graduates, are offered for $2,500 each for one academic year. English-speaking winners may attend any Canadian-French language university or college and French-language winners may

attend any Canadian English-language university or college. Colleges or universities selected must be affiliated to, federated with or a member of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada.

Nuffelt Foundation Traveling Fellowships for Canadian Trade Unionists. Canadian male or female trades unionists who have shown exceptional ability and whose application is supported by the chief executive official of his union is eligible for a traveling fellowship in the United Kingdom. Two fellowships are granted annually. The candidate may choose any field of study for a period of six months which would improve his usefulness to his own organization.

Grants include first class travel by air and other incidental expenses. If spouse accompanies candidate the expenses will be covered on the same basis for a minimum of three months. In addition, the Foundation will pay a stipend at the rate of £120 per month if single, or £180 if married and accompanied by spouse.

Upon return to Canada, the trade unionist will be expected to submit a report to the Foundation and to his union on his work during the Fellowship. The closing date is January 1 of any year.

American Federation of Musicians Talent Grants—Canadian students are eligible. See section in this manual on Labor Union Scholarships for amounts and to qualify.

Canadian Library Association Scholarships—Two scholarships of $500 and $600 each for one year are granted to students of Library Science. The scholarship is tenable at any accredited Canadian Library School. Deadline for applications is May 10. For applications and information, write:

Canadian Library Association, Room 606
63 Sparks Street
Ottawa 4, Ontario

The Sir James Dunn Scholarships—The Algoma Steel Corporation offers six scholarships per year to students of engineering, science, commerce and business administration. Awards cover full registration and tuition fees up to a maximum of $1,000, plus a grant of $450 payable in installments of $150 each on October 1, December 1 and March 1. An additional grant of $500 is made to the university involved for each scholarship. The duration of the scholarship is one year, renewable for the succeeding three years, depending upon the student's scholastic record. Criteria are scholastic achievement primarily, although need is also considered. Preference is given to employees or their sons. Efforts will be made to provide summer jobs with the company for the winners to earn additional funds. The candidate should consult the school guidance counselor or write for information to:

Scholarship Committee
The Algoma Steel Corporation Ltd.
Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario

Fraternal Organizations

The Knights of Columbus "Pro Deo and Pro Patria" Scholarship Trust for Undergraduate Students. Ten scholarships of $1,000 each are available to members of the Knights of Columbus, and to sons and daughters and brothers and sisters of living or deceased members. In addition, two scholarships of $1,000 each are available to Columbian Squires. (Catholic high school boys sponsored by Knights of Columbus councils) Scholarships will be renewed annually subject to satisfactory academic record.

Criterion is academic excellence. Financial need is not a consideration. Selection will be made on the basis of school record, class rank, recommendation of principal or headmaster and the results of the College Entrance Board (Scholastic Aptitude Test) examinations which will be used as a basis for the scholarship awards. Candidates should apply to the College Entrance Examination Board Office in their area to take the test.

All scholarship candidates must be applicants for admission to the freshman class at Catholic University, Washington, D. C., or must have been accepted there as freshmen.

Admission and scholarship application forms may be requested from:

The Registrar and Director of Admissions
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C. 20017

Knights of Columbus Educational Trust Fund—Scholarships are available to children of members who were killed or wholly or permanently disabled in the Korean War. Eligible students must enroll in Catholic universities or colleges. State or local Knights of Columbus often offer scholarships. For more information write:

Knights of Columbus Educational Trust Fund
Drawer 1670
New Haven, Conn.

B'nai B'rith Youth Organization Scholarships—**The Anita Perlman** Scholarship offers two awards at $200 for one year to members of the B'nai B'rith Girls. To qualify, the student must have shown outstanding leadership in the organization and have financial need. The scholarship may be used in any field of study at any college. Application deadline is May 15.

BBYO Academic Scholarship Award. A scholarship of $200 will be awarded each year to a deserving member of AZA. (Aleph Zadek Aleph) The student must have need and a good scholastic record and must have participated in the activities of the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization. Along with the application the student must also include a financial statement and official transcripts of undergraduate records and three personal references, one of whom must be his Regional or District Director. Deadline for application is April 15. For application form and further information contact:

National B'nai B'rith Youth Organization
1640 Rhode Island Avenue N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Jewish students already in college should contact the Hillel Foundation Director on their campus for scholarship information.

Elks National Foundation Scholarship—Awards from $700 to $1,500 are granted each year in the "Most Valuable Student" contest. Any student in the high school graduating class or any undergraduate (except senior) of a recognized college is eligible. The criteria are scholarship, citizenship, personality, patriotism, leadership, perseverance, general worthiness and financial need.

The scholarships are in the form of certificate of award conditioned upon enrollment in an undergraduate course in a recognized college or university. The student must not accept any other scholarship assistance in excess of $1500. However, loans are not considered in this calculation. April 1 is the deadline for applications. Requests for information and blanks should be addressed to:

John F. Malley, Chairman
40 Court Street
Boston, Mass. 02108

De Molay Foundation—Children of members or former members of the Order of De Molay are eligible for grants up to $600 a year or loans at 3 percent interest up to $1200 per school year. For information write:

De Molay Foundation
201 East Armour Boulevard
Kansas City, Mo.

Special Groups

National Jewish Welfare Board—A number of scholarships, fellowships, work-study, plans, loans, field work stipends and fellowships are available through various local Jewish Community Centers and foundations. Areas are limited to social workers whose career will be to work within Jewish Community Centers and Young Men and Young Women's Hebrew Association fields.

Practically all of the financial aid plans are available for first or second year university social work students and most recipients are permitted to apply and receive additional scholarship aid from other sources. Grants are usually for one year, usually renewable for a second year.

Many of the local and regional plans require the recipient to accept employment for two years at the center or in one of a group of agencies making the grant following graduation or completion of studies. National Jewish Welfare Board's Personnel Service has compiled a directory called "Scholarships-Fellowships-Work-Study."

Plans for Graduate Social Work Education—For more information or to order the pamphlet, write:

Henry B. Stern, Personnel Consultant and Recruiting
National Jewish Welfare Board
Personnel Services
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Another publication, **"Social Work, Fellowships and Scholarships in the United States and Canada"**, price $1.50—lists other programs of financial aid. Order from:

National Commission for Social Work Careers
345 East 46th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

John Hay Whitney Foundation—Fifty Opportunity Fellowships are available for graduate study in the creative arts, apprenticeship in agriculture, industry or labor, primarily, but not exclusively, for study in the U. S. Awards are from $1,000 to $3,000 for one year. Must be citizens of the United States of outstanding academic achievement with racial or cultural backgrounds among the following: Negro, Spanish-American, American Indian, residents of Guam, Puerto Rico, Samoa, the Virgin Islands, the Appalachian and Ozark Mountain areas and the Trust Territories. Applications must be made by December 15. For information write:

John Hay Whitney Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, N. Y. 10020

Scholarship Service for Students of Spanish-American Background—Grants, varying in size, according to need and availability of other sources are available to students of Spanish ancestry who are citizens of the United States. Applicants must be in attend-

ance at regionally accredited college or university, of good character, have promise of successful academic achievements and must demonstrate financial need. For application forms and further information, write:

Field Director, United Scholarship Service,
Room 20
1452 Pennsylvania Avenue
Denver 3, Colorado

National Achievement Scholarship for Negro Students Program—Administered by the National Merit Scholarship program, more than 200 four-year college scholarships are awarded annually to outstanding Negro students. Awards are from $250 per year to $1,500 per year, and within limits are intended to provide funds for the winners to attend college for four years. The award may be used at any United States accredited college or university. For information on how to qualify write:

National Merit Scholarship Corporation
990 Grove Street
Evanston, Illinois 60201

Japanese-American Citizens Annual Scholarships—The American Citizens League provides seven annual scholarships to high school graduates of Japanese ancestry. One grant is at $300, two at $250 and four supplemental scholarships of $200. Nominees are sponsored by local Chapters of the League. For information, contact:

Masao W. Satow, National Director
Japanese American Citizens League
1634 Post Street
San Francisco 15, California

Danish Brotherhood in America Scholarships—Four scholarships a year are awarded to members in good standing in amounts of $250 per year. Scholarships are renewable each year up to a total of four years on the basis of satisfactory work. Criteria are academic achievement, need, school activities and willingness to work way through school. For further information and application forms write:

Scholarship Committee
Danish Brotherhood in America
8536 25th Avenue N.W.,
Seattle, Washington 98107
or
Scholarship Committee
Danish Brotherhood in America
908 W. O. W. Building
Omaha, Nebraska 68102

Sons of Italy in America Scholarships—Awards of $300 for one year are offered by this organization to members or direct descendants of members in good standing for any field of study at any accredited college or university. Criteria are scholastic achievement, need, community and school activities and recommendation of principal or advisor. Application deadline is March 15 of any academic year. Contact local chapters of Sons of Italy in America.

Association of the Sons of Poland—One annual scholarship of $500 is awarded to a male and female member who have been members of the association for at least two years. For information write:

Alexander Sudnik, Secretary-Treasurer
Association of the Sons of Poland
665 Newark Avenue
Jersey City, N. J.

Amerpol Club awards one scholarship annually to a male student of Polish descent entering college who is a resident of Hudson County, N. J. Contact Alexander Sudnik, Trustee at the address above.

Part III

SCHOLARSHIP, OTHER ASSISTANCE NOT REQUIRING COLLEGE DIPLOMA

A large number of high school graduates do not plan to go to college and many who do can only count on two years at most. Yet additional years of post-high school education are required to prepare for a professional, semi-professional or technical career or vocation. In many fields of specialized training students are charged as much in tuition fees per year at private institutions as they would pay for a year in college. Most of these students come from families that are hard-put to raise funds to finance post-high school education.

Scholarships and other financial aid are available through trade or professional associations, the vocational or technical institutions themselves or through the Federal government. These are not as numerous as college scholarships, however.

Most of the professional, technical or vocational scholarships require study at a specific institution; others, including Federal loan and grant programs, require study at accredited schools. In any case, if at all possible, the student would be well advised to study only at accredited professional, technical or vocational institutions. If in doubt about a school's accreditation, write to the U. S. Office of Education, Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C. Students have spent large sums of money for inferior training at unaccredited schools only to experience difficulty later in qualifying for employment in their field.

Contrary to general belief, junior colleges provide excellent, and in some cases, superior technical training at little expense or at considerably less expense than at most specialized private technical schools. Frequently, financial aid can be more readily arranged at a junior college. Students seeking financial assistance should check with the registrar or financial aid officer at the technical school or junior college.

One of the Federal programs may be used in addition to scholarship aid to finance a professional, technical or vocational education. Some of these are the National Student Defense Loan Program, Federal Work-Study Grants, the National Vocational Student Loan Program, the Nursing Student Loan Program and the Cold War GI Bill.

Talented students of music or art will find a somewhat larger reservoir of scholarship opportunities made possible by national foundations and associations, art galleries and schools of art and music. Not all of these scholarships require study at the college level.

Frequently local schools of art or music offer scholarships to talented young people within that area. Museums or institutes with art schools may have Ford Foundation or other grants and access to special funds for scholarships. For example, in Washington, D. C., the Corcoran Gallery of Art, through a Ford Foundation grant, offers scholarships to talented Washington area high school graduates. Scholarship information may be secured through the schools of music or art in the student's home area or city nearest him.

Youths seeking apprenticeship training should apply to the appropriate labor union or an accredited vocational training school. Only high school graduates or those who have passed a high school equivalency test are eligible for apprenticeship training. While on the job as an apprentice, the young worker earns about half the journeyman's rate, between $1.40 and $1.50 an hour, with increases every six months. Students requiring information about apprenticeable and skilled occupations should consult the high school guidance counselor or the nearest State Employment Service.

Scholastic Magazine—Awards involving tuition for a year to one of 60 art schools and colleges are made under the auspices of the magazine. Awards are also made to winners of creative writing and photography competitions. For more information, consult the high school guidance counselor or write:

Scholastic Magazine
50 West 44th Street
New York, N. Y.

The 15th Annual Student Award—Sponsored by Broadcast Music, Inc.—Awards are for compositions, vocal or instrumental, submitted by students. Applicants may be enrolled in accredited public, private or parochial high schools, in colleges, music conservatories, or engaged in private study of music. Entry deadline is usually by February of any year. Entrants must be under 26 years as of December 31. Write to:

Oliver Daniel, Director
SCA Project
Broadcast Music, Inc.
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

General Federation of Women's Clubs—1734 N Street N.W., Washington, D. C.—In cooperation with Hallmark Cards, Inc., the federation sponsors an art talent contest. Three scholarships ranging in value from $600 to $1,000 are available to be applied at an approved school of arts or college.

The John F. and Anna Lee Stacey Scholarship Fund—One year scholarship in art up to $3,000 will be awarded to one to three applicants. The award is available to American men and women who are citizens, age 18 to 35, without regard to sex, marital status, race, creed or color.

The purpose of the scholarship is to foster a high standard in the study of painting, form, color, drawing, design and technique. Applicants must show an affinity for the classical tradition in painting and design. The last date for entries, including photographs of work, letters of reference and a written plan of the candidate's aims are required by November 1. Announcement of the awards is made December 1. For more information write:

The John F. and Anna Lee Stacey Scholarship Committee
P.O. Box 411, La Quinta, Calif.

Mayer School of Fashion Design—Four scholarships of $860 each are granted to the highest ranking applicants. There are eight scholarships of $430 applied toward half of the tuition. Eligibility: Must rank in the upper one-third of the high school graduating class and be recommended by a guidance counselor, sewing teacher or art teacher. Applicants are required to take competitive examination, given by appointment only at the Mayer School of Fashion Design. For more information and application write:

Mayer School of Fashion Design
64 West 36th Street
New York, N. Y. 10018

The Juliette A. Southard Scholarship Award—sponsored by the American Dental Assistants Association. High school graduates who are citizens of the United States or Canada who enroll in an approved dental assistant education program are eligible for scholarships in this field. Application may be by letter to the Scholarship Committee stating their interest in a career as a dental assistant and reasons for applying for a scholarship.

Applicants will be judged on academic achievement, need, character and citizenship. Awards to the winning applicants will be made on a semi-annual basis directly to the applicant's school. The application must be accompanied by official transcriptions from the school and should be in the hands of the Scholarship Committee by August 1. For application and information, write to:

Merle Andrews, Chairman
J.A.S. Scholarship Committee
1167 Illinois Avenue, S.W.,
Huron, South Dakota

American Institute of Baking—For young men who wish to pursue a career in baking, this institute offers ten scholarships annually. Awards of $750 each, plus $300 living expenses, provide tuition in a 20 week course in Baking Science and Technology. Criteria are educational achievement and financial need. Applicant does not need to be in the industry, but if in industry, must be available for employment wherever the best employment opportunity exists. For information, write:

The Registrar
American Institute of Baking
400 East Ontario Street
Chicago, Ill.

William Walmsley Scholarships—Scholarships offer tuition and living expenses for the 20 week course to those interested in a career in baking. Criterion is need. The student must be a high school graduate, preferably from a trade or vocational high school with experience in the baking division of a vocational school. Those interested in applying, write:

The Alumni Association
American Institute of Baking
400 E. Ontario Street
Chicago, Ill.

Business School Scholarships—Scholarships are available through a number of business schools. The United Business Schools Association authorizes its member schools to issue funded, work and general scholarships. Upon request, this organization will send a list of the business schools offering scholarships so that

students may write directly to the school. For such a list, write to:

Mr. Richard A. Fulton, Executive Director
and General Counsel
United Business Schools
1518 K Street N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

Aspen Music Festival and Music Scholarship Assistance—Sponsored by the Music Associates of Aspen, Inc., the scholarship provides non-competitive opportunities for high school music students. Average awards to eighty students amount to $225 per nine weeks term, but there are some scholarships amounting to the value of $815 for the nine weeks.

The students must be 15 years of age or older, have obvious talent, but must demonstrate need of aid and be recommended by two or more reputable music teachers. Application deadline is April 15 of each year. A confidential financial statement must accompany a written application. For further information write:

Executive Director
Music Associates of Aspen, Inc.
111 West 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019
After May 25, address requests for information to:
Box AA, Aspen, Colo.

Educational Opportunities in the Armed Forces

If a high school graduate, or even a high school drop out decides to enlist in the armed forces, it need not be the end of ambitions for higher education. In fact, it can be the beginning of rich educational opportunities. Branches of the Armed Forces offer educational assistance from elementary and technical education to a complete college education.

While drawing full pay, a member of the Armed Forces may arrange to study at a college, university or technical institution. In return for extended military service, 75 percent of the cost of such education is financed by the Armed Forces. Extended military service may be from two to four years, depending upon the duration of studies. Some selected educational assistance programs are:

U. S. Armed Forces Institute (USAFI)—All active duty service personnel are eligible for educational assistance while in any branch of the armed forces. Some of the subjects, such as vocational or technical training or make-up courses to qualify for high school equivalency tests, may be held on the base and at no cost, or at reduced fee for group, extension and correspondence courses. The field of study may be any course from elementary school subjects through the second year of college. For further information contact any recruiting office, or if already in the armed forces, the education officer should be consulted.

U. S. Navy Enlisted Scientific Education—Navy or Marine Corps enlisted men and women who are high school graduates may obtain a Bachelor of Science degree in science or engineering at government expense. To be eligible, he or she must be 21 if in the Navy, 17 if in the Marine Corps, and must pass qualifying examinations. While studying, qualified enlisted men and women get full pay, allowances, plus tuition and other fees. They must complete Officers Candidate School and serve four years after receipt of commission. For further information write:

Navy or Marine Corps
Recruiting Office
Washington, D. C.

U. S. Navy Occupational Therapist Student Program—Single young women, age 21 to 31½, already enrolled in an approved clinical occupational therapy program, are eligible for awards and pay up to $338.58 per month for study toward a certificate or degree in occupational therapy. To qualify, students must commit themselves to two years of active military duty after termination of training.

U. S. Navy Physical Therapist Student Program. Within 12 months of completion of approved course in physical therapy, single women ages 21 to 31½ are eligible for awards and pay allowances of $338.58 per month. This program prepares young women for a B.A. degree in physical therapy. However they must commit themselves for two years active military duty in this area. For further information write to:

Bureau of Medicine and Surgery
Navy Department
Washington, D. C.

U. S. Navy Nurse Corps Candidate Program—Awards include tuition, books, room and board plus $99.37 a month until six months before completion of degree requirements, at which time pay increases to $222.30 a month when candidates are commissioned. Single women, age 20 to 29 are eligible, and must have a high school education and be in the sophomore or junior year of nursing school. Studies must be toward a degree at an accredited school of nursing. Candidates are obligated to serve two years of active military duty if awards are for twelve months or less; three years if

awards are for more than 12 months. For more information, contact:

Bureau of Naval Personnel
Navy Department
Washington, D. C.
Attention: Pers-B623

U. S. Armed Forces Educational Programs for Nurses—Men or single women entering a nursing career are eligible for educational assistance in nursing.

Army Student Nurses: Men or women who complete the second year in a professional nursing school may enlist in the Army to qualify for continuation of studies in their respective school, for up to 24 months. Awards are from $99.37 to $338 per month during their junior and senior years. If enrolled in a four year college nursing program, the Department of the Army pays tuition, books and incidental fees, when qualified students are appointed 2nd Lieutenants, Army Nurse Corps (ANC) and serve two or three years, depending upon education aid received.

Walter Reed Army Institute of Nursing—High school students of high scholastic achievement are eligible to apply during the last semester of their senior year for a four year program leading to a Bachelor of Science Degree. Must be single, U. S. citizens, and between 17½ and 23½ years of age. For further information, write:

Bureau of Medicine and Surgery
U. S. Navy Department
Washington 25, D. C.

Navy Nursing Education Program—Navy enlisted women who are high school graduates with one year of active duty may qualify for educational assistance in this program. Awards include pay of $99.37 per month plus tuition, books, room and board and uniforms while attending any accredited collegiate nursing school for up to four years. They are committed to serve a year on active duty for each year of school. Write:

Bureau of Naval Personnel
Navy Department
Washington 25, D. C.

Part IV

GRANTS, RELATED AID AND VARIOUS OTHER AVAILABLE LOANS

The term "grant" is frequently used interchangeably with scholarship based on need, or sometimes called "scholarship aid to needy students". Listed are federal grants, related aid and funds available to students from private organizations and religious groups.

Educational Opportunity Grant. Title IV-A of the Higher Education Act of 1965 provides grants ranging from $200 to $800 per academic year, but is limited to four academic years. An additional $200 may be granted if the student is in the upper half of his class during the preceding college year.

The grants cannot exceed one-half of the sum provided the student from other sources such as other grants, loans, scholarships, etc.

There are four eligibility requirements.

1. The student must be accepted or currently enrolled as a full-time student, in good standing and full-time attendance.
2. He must show evidence of creative or academic promise and can maintain good standing.
3. He must be of exceptional financial need.
4. The student would not have been able to pursue his education at an institution of higher learning without the grant.

Need is determined by the source of the student's income and assets or income and assets of those who support him.

When the student applies for admission to one or more colleges, he should ask the student aid officer if the college will be participating in the program. Effective date of the program is September, 1966.

Federal College Work-Study Grants—A $500 per year grant is awarded to students from low income families who are in need of earnings in order to pursue their studies. This is made possible through the Economic Opportunity Act, and amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Federal grants are made to participating accredited higher education institutions to assist in the operation of work-study programs. Students are required to enroll for full-time study and the Act limits the hours students may work to 15 hours a week. The college is obligated to make efforts to provide jobs in line with the students' major studies.

Participating higher educational institutions may be accredited four-year or two-year colleges or schools of nursing or technical institutions which provide not less than a one-year program. The latter is important since it helps needy students who do not plan to go to college, but must prepare for gainful employment. The student should write to the Student Aid officer, at the school to which he is applying, for information and eligibility under this program.

Social Security Act Amendment to Title II, Section 202—A monthly stipend up to $110 is available to students who are in, or entering an accredited college, if the wage earning parent is deceased, totally disabled, or over 62 and unemployed. The monthly stipend continues up to the 23rd birthday. Until 1965, the age limit was 18. The nearest Social Security officer should be contacted for information. **Many students are entitled to retroactive payment and should telephone the Social Security office to find out if they qualify.**

Veterans Administration (War Orphans)—Students who are entering, or are currently in college, are entitled to monthly payments until 21 years of age if they are children of deceased veterans or children of veterans with 50 percent disability. The surviving parent or guardian must notify the Veterans Administration that the student plans to continue his education. **This is important.** Otherwise benefits automatically terminate at age 18.

Federal Low-Interest Insured Loans to Students—Title IV, Student Assistance of the Higher Education Act of 1965 sets up a program whereby state and private non-profit institutions and organizations

are encouraged to offer low-cost student loan programs. The Federal Government pays the interest to the participating organization, or institution while the student is in school and when repayment begins, pays interest up to 3 percent. Maximum overall interest is set at 6 percent simple. The student begins repayment one year after completion of studies, at 3 percent on the unpaid balance.

Student borrowers must come from families whose adjusted incomes are under $15,000. In determining "adjusted income", a number of factors are considered such as family size, current indebtedness, personal assets, or members of the family presently in college or planning to attend. A student may borrow form $1,000 to $1,500 per academic year for as long as six years of study at an accredited institution of higher learning, with a maximum of $5,000 or a maximum of $7,500 for graduate or professional studies.

Credit unions may also participate under Title IV, Part B, but only to the extent of 10 percent of their assets. IUE members should consult their credit unions to find out if they plan to participate, and perhaps to urge participation. Meeting the cost of post-high school education is now one of the major economic problems of workers' families, a problem the credit unions can help to resolve.

Canada Student Loan Program—Passed July, 1964. The Federal government guarantees the loans to students through chartered banks, but the provinces administer the program. Quebec residents are not eligible since that province does not participate in Canada Student Loan Program. Quebec has its own loan program.

Although eligibility for the loan is dependent upon need, the definition of need or adjusted income is currently being worked out. The loan is repayable at 5¾ percent, six months after graduation from college or after leaving college, up to a 10 year period. There is a repayment sliding scale. For example:

Amount Repayable	Within
$1,000	5 years
$1,800	6 years
$2,600	7 years
$5,000	10 years

National Defense Student Loan Program—Enacted in 1958, makes possible low-cost loans to needy students. To qualify, students must attend or enroll in a participating college. For every $9.00 provided by the Federal government, the participating colleges match it with $1.00. Students may borrow up to $1,000 per year to an aggregate of $5,000. Graduate students may borrow up to $2,500 per year for an aggregate of $10,000. If already enrolled, students should consult the Student Aid Officer, or the college to which they are applying, to find out if it participates.

Amendments to the Act enable part-time students carrying half the regular academic loan to borrow not only at accredited colleges, but also at junior colleges, and post-high school business, vocational and technical schools.

Private, non-profit institutions may participate if they match Federal funds. Students who teach later may have 10 percent per year for five years written off their loan. If they teach later in an area with a high concentration of low-income families, they may apply for cancellation of the unpaid balance at 15 percent per year. No interest accrues during education. When repayment begins after completion of education, interest is 3 percent on the unpaid balance with 10 years to repay.

The Nursing Student Loan Program is similar to the provisions of the National Defense Student Loan Program, except that the interest rate is higher. It ranges from 3 to 4½ percent per year. Maximum loan is $1,000 a year.

If the student works as a nurse, or teaches nurses for the first five years after receiving the R.N., 50 percent of the total loan can be cancelled. The nursing school must be accredited. Students wishing to apply for the low-cost loan under this act should check with the school of nursing to find out if it is participating in the program.

The National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Program known also as the Dent Act, becomes effective in the Fall of 1966. Low-cost loans will be available for vocational training in business, trades, technical and other vocations to students from families with an adjusted income of under $15,000. The student may borrow up to $1,000 per year.

The Federal government will advance funds to increase reserves of private insurance programs so that students may have access to low-cost insured loans. Where private insurance low-cost loans are unavailable, the government can insure loans made by commercial banks.

During the student's training, the government pays the interest. After completion of training the student repays at 3 percent on the unpaid balance. After September 1966, the student should consult the technical, vocational or business school at which he is enrolled or plans to enroll, concerning how to go about applying for a loan under this act.

The Health Professions Student Loan Program is geared toward doctors of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, and optometry, or equivalent degree. Cri-

terion is financial need. The student must be accepted by an accredited medical school, and be a U. S. citizen. If already in medical school, the students must be in good standing. Maximum loan is $2,000 per year.

Interest is 3 to 4½ percent, but repayment begins 3 years after completion of education at medical school over a 10 year period. If the student becomes a doctor in the armed forces or with the Peace Corps, an additional period of grace is extended to 6 years before repayment. Students should check with the college financial aid officer to find out if it participates in this program.

State Student Loan Programs—As of January 21, 1966, 23 states had student loan programs. Loan programs vary greatly from state to state. Some states are in the process of preparing to participate in the Federal Low-Interest Insured Loans to Students, under Title IV-B of the Higher Education Act of 1965; others are already participating. A number of states do not contemplate any change for the time being. For this reason it is advisable to write to the address in your state shown on the list which follows.

If the student's state does not appear on this list, he should consult his high school counselor (if in college, his Financial Aid officer) or he may write to the state department of education in the capital city of his state.

LIST OF STATES OPERATING HIGHER EDUCATION STUDENT LOAN PROGRAMS
(As of January 21, 1966)

ARKANSAS
ARKANSAS STATE STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM
Arkansas State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas
Director, Bettye G. Hicks—501 FR 5-7271

CONNECTICUT
CONNECTICUT HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE CORPORATION
612 Capitol Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut
Secretary, Richard C. Noyes—302 CHapel 9-3472

FLORIDA
FLORIDA STUDENT SCHOLARSHIP LOAN PROGRAM
State of Florida, Department of Education
Tallahassee, Florida
Coordinator,, W. W. Wharton—904 599-5810

GEORGIA
GEORGIA HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE CORPORATION AND STATE SCHOLARSHIP COMMISSION
244 Washington Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30334
Assistant Executive Director, Mrs. Hubert Harris —404 688-6811

INDIANA
UNITED STUDENT AID FUNDS, INC.
College Square at Central Court South
Indianapolis 5, Indiana
Manager, Ralph D. Cornuelle—317 925-2641

LOUISIANA
LOUISIANA HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION
No. 2-A-a Pentagon Courts
P.O. Box 4095, Capitol Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Executive Director, Richard W. Petrie—504 343-0511

MAINE
HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION
15 Western Avenue
Augusta, Maine
Executive Director, Preston L. Jordan—207 622-6132

MASSACHUSETTS
MASSACHUSETTS HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE CORPORATION
604 Statler Building
Boston, Massachusetts 02116
Executive Director, Dudley Harmon—617 425-4714

MARYLAND
MARYLAND HIGHER EDUCATION LOAN CORPORATION
2100 Guilford Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21218
Chairman, Fred I. Archibald—301 837-9000

MICHIGAN
MICHIGAN HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE AUTHORITY
906 Prudden Building
Lansing, Michigan 48933
Executive Director, John W. Porter—517 373-3398

NEW HAMPSHIRE
NEW HAMPSHIRE HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE AUTHORITY
18 School Street
Concord, New Hampshire
Administrator, Francis E. Robinson—603 225-9461

NEW JERSEY
STATE OF NEW JERSEY HIGHER EDUCATION

ASSISTANCE AUTHORITY
175 West State Street
Trenton 25, New Jersey
Director, Dr. George M. Maxwell, 609 292-2121

NEW YORK
NEW YORK HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE CORPORATION
111 Washington Avenue
Albany, New York 12224
Executive Director, Kenneth C. Bevan—518 GR 4-8755

NORTH CAROLINA
COLLEGE FOUNDATION, INC.
P.O. Box 1487
Raleigh, North Carolina
Executive Secretary, Stan C. Broadway—919 828-7647

NORTH DAKOTA
STUDENT LOAN FUND
Department of Public Instruction
Capitol Building
Bismarck, North Dakota
Director, Mr. G. B. Nordrum—701 223-8000

OHIO
OHIO HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION
Wyandotte Building
21 West Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215
Executive Director, B. H. Maddox—614 469-3542

PENNSYLVANIA
PENNSYLVANIA HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE AGENCY
Education Building
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
Acting Executive Director, Jack B. Critchfield—717 787-2121

RHODE ISLAND
RHODE ISLAND HIGHER EDUCATION ASSISTANCE CORPORATION
Rm. 617, 49 Westminster Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02901
Executive Secretary, Ernest E. Chase—401 GA 1-4964

TENNESSEE
STATE OF TENNESSEE EDUCATIONAL LOAN CORPORATION
135-E Cordell Hull Building
Nashville, Tennessee 37219
Secretary, Mr. J. H. Warf—615 741-2361

VERMONT
VERMONT STUDENT ASSISTANCE CORPORATION
College Parkway
Winooski, Vermont
Chairman—802 862-9406

VIRGINIA
STATE EDUCATION ASSISTANCE AUTHORITY
1116 State-Planters Bank Building
Richmond, Virginia 23219
Executive Director, Hugh Leach—703 644-4111

WISCONSIN
DIVISION OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE
State Department of Public Welfare
1 West Wilson Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53702
Director, Mr. Thomas Lucas—608 266-3416

WYOMING
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING
Department of Education
Office of Student Personnel and Guidance
University Station, Box No. 3335
Laramie, Wyoming
Director—307 745-8511

Should the student find that his state has no program at all, he should contact the United Student Aid Funds, Inc. The program is described below. Unless the state loan program participates in the Federal Low-Interest Insured Loans to Students, the interest rate may be as high as 6 percent simple interest, accruable. The student would be better off obtaining a loan guaranteed by the United Student Aid Funds, Inc. and insured by the Federal government at 3 percent interest repayable within 1 year after completion of his college education.

United Student Aid Funds, Inc.—This organization guarantees loans made by the student's home town bank, but does not lend to the student directly. The USAF is the largest privately supported non-profit institution of its kind in the U. S. It maintains a reserve fund contributed by private philanthropists and deposited by colleges.

The United Student Aid Funds, Inc. now has an interim agreement with the Federal government authorizing it to participate in the 1965 Federal Low-Interest Insured Loans to Students, operating in 50 states and in the District of Columbia. Endorsed by the United Student Aid Funds, and with interest guaranteed by the Federal government, this enables students to obtain loans from their hometown banks at 3 percent interest. As in the National Defense Student Loan and the Federal Low-Interest Loans to Students program, the stu-

dent does not begin repayment until one year after completion of his education. The loan is to the student rather than the parent, but student borrowers must come from families with an adjusted income of under $15,000.

Repayment begins one year after the student's graduation. Students under 21 do not need the endorsement of their parents, but do require their signature. For more information, write:

United Student Aid Funds, Inc.
845 Third Avenue
New York, N. Y. 11022

Cold War GI Bill—Passed in early February of 1966. Effective date, June 1, 1966. The bill extends educational and other benefits to veterans who served after January 31, 1955. Veterans are entitled to a maximum of 36 months of training or educational benefits, or a combination of benefits from World War II or Korean GI Readjustment Bill, the war orphan readjustment program, or vocational rehabilitation program for disabled veterans, totaling not more than 36 months.

Benefits are $100 a month for a full-time course; $125 if the veteran has one dependent and $150 for two or more. For a three-quarter-time course, a single veteran is entitled to $75 per month; one dependent $95; two or more, $115. For a half-time course, a single veteran can get $50; one dependent $65; two or more $75.

The veteran must be admitted to an accredited institution (high school, business, vocational or technical). Proof of admission must be sent to the Veterans Administration after which the payments are authorized.

The veteran must complete his education or training within 8 years following his last discharge from active duty after January 31, 1955, or within 8 years after the education section of the Bill went into effect (June 1, 1966).

Educational Aid Fund of the Lutheran Church in America—To be eligible, the student must be an active member of the congregation. Criterion is the student's need. Awards cover tuition and are renewable once. Students should apply to the pastor of their local congregation. For more information write:

Lutheran Church in America Education Fund
231 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Methodist Student Loan Fund—Student must be a member of the congregation for one year or more. Minimum age is 17. Student must maintain good grade level. Loans start at 1 percent while in college and 3 percent thereafter. Write:

Methodist Student Loan Fund
Department of Student Loans and Scholarships
The Methodist Church
Box 871
Nashville, Tennessee

American Baptist Loan Funds—Student must be a member of the congregation for a year. Must attend an institution of higher education of Baptist denomination or attend one of 125 colleges where there is a Baptist ministry to students. Loans up to $500 a year, and a total of $2,000. Write to:

Student Loan Fund
American Baptist Board of Education
Valley Forge, Pa.

Lemberg Scholarship Loan Fund—Interest free loans are offered to Jewish young men and women who are students at colleges or at institutions offering professional courses in college or theological courses at Jewish Theological seminaries. Criterion is need. An applicant must be sponsored by the director of B'nai B'rith Foundation, or by a regional or metropolitan director of the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization. The application must be accompanied by academic transcripts and letters of recommendation. For more information and application write:

Myron E. Schoen, Secretary
Lemberg Scholarship Fund
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10021

Part V

INEXPENSIVE REFERENCE SOURCES FOR STUDENTS AND PARENTS

Need a Lift?—Published by the American Legion Education and Scholarship Program Division. Price 25¢. Revised every year, it is one of the best pamphlets in existence. It lists private and Federal sources of scholarships and financial aid available to children of veterans and non-veterans. The pamphlet includes tables of State education benefits such as scholarships, grants, loans, and sets forth eligibility.

For children of veterans there is a listing of national scholarships sponsored by the American Legion and auxiliaries. Included are extensive, easy-to-read tables of educational assistance offered to children of veterans by departments of the American Legion and auxiliaries in each state. The tables define types of educational aid (scholarships or loans), eligibility and where to apply to get further information. Write:

Education and Scholarship Program
American Legion
Indianapolis, Ind.

Student Assistance Handbook—A Guide to Financial Assistance Beyond High School—U. S. Senate Document No. 26. Number 48-105—Revised March, 1965. Published by the subcommittee on education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and prepared by the Library of Congress. Price, 60¢. This is a most remarkable document, sure to be useful to students and parents. It should also be ordered by every IUE Local Union to have on hand to answer questions about scholarship sources and financial assistance on higher education.

The pamphlet's tables provide valuable sources of scholarships and amounts, loans and grants offered by the state governments and lists those available through private organizations and the Federal government. There is a listing of higher educational institutions which participate in the National Defense Student Loans Program and a grouping of universities and colleges offering work-study programs. A recommended list of selected references is included. When ordering, write:

Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D. C. 20402

Financial Assistance for College Students, by Richard McKee—Price 50¢. This pamphlet lists amounts and numbers of scholarships, loans, employment opportunities and other financial assistance at more than 2,000 colleges and universities. Order from Superintendent of Documents at address above.

The Cost of Four Years of College—Published by the New York Life Insurance Company. Free. A summary of costs of tuition, fees, room and board at most colleges in the United States and Canada is included in this pamphlet. To order, write:

New York Life Insurance Company
Career Information Service
P.O. Box 51
Madison Square Station
New York, N. Y. 10010

A Letter to Parents—Sidney Margolius. No charge. The pamphlet explains the viewpoint taken by most college financial aid officers about ways of financing a college education. Write:

College Entrance Examination Board
Princeton, N. J.

Planning for College, by Sidney Margolius—Price 75¢, 304 pages. This paperback deals with basic information students should know to prepare for college; how to select the college which most fits the student's need, and what tests are required. To order write:

Avon Books
959 Eighth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Education, an Advantage for a Lifetime—Free. This pamphlet makes estimates of lifetime earnings for those who invest in a college education and gives statistical probabilities on the return for the investment. Write to:

Occupational Outlook Survey
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20212

What You Must Know About Getting Into College—An Essential Guide for Students and Parents—Dr. William Rubinfeld—Price 60¢, paperback. Long in the field of educational counseling, the author speaks from vast experience. The book deals with the importance of preparation for college as early as the eighth grade and throughout the senior high school year, and in another section for these years there is a time-table of study, special tests and follow-up required in studying college catalogues, and in making applications to colleges.

Stressed strongly is the advisability of utilizing the services of high school guidance counselors early and frequently for a wide variety of advice and information. Described are tests given during the junior and senior high school years which measure aptitudes for study at the college level and the entrance examinations and other tests administered by colleges themselves to determine the student's eligibility for admission. Parents and students will find much useful information in this comprehensive pamphlet. To order, write:

Award Books
Universal Publishing and Distributing Corporation
800 Second Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017

Colleges With Room For Students—Price 75¢. Survey of openings in four-year accredited colleges, prepared annually by the Editors of Changing Times.

also

No, You Don't Have to Go to College—Price 25¢. This pamphlet describes numerous non-college satisfying and well-paying careers. For either or both pamphlets write to:

Kiplinger Magazine
1729 H Street N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20006

Post-Baccalaureate Grants and Awards in Music—Published by the Music Educators Conference, a department of the National Education Association. Price $1.00. Well worth the price to a talented student of music who is seeking scholarship and foundation funds. The pamphlet's three sections include 1) an index of grants and awards from sources other than schools; 2) a description of grants, awards and amounts from sources other than schools; 3) institutional aid for advanced studies at the post-graduate level.

Section II has relevance for high school graduates seeking financial assistance for an education in music. Although the title would indicate that the scholarships and grants listed in the pamphlet are mainly for the graduate student, a surprising number are offered to undergraduate music students and high school students.

Section III deals with the types of financial assistance and awards offered at universities and schools of music for advanced study. Some are scholarships in return for duties performed for the institutions; others are offers of teaching assistantships. A few are full tuition grants offered to qualified college graduates.

The Market for Music Teachers—A Placement Consultant's Appraisal. Price 50¢. Reprinted from Music Educators Journal, Music Educators National Conference. The pamphlet evaluates employment opportunities and advancement possibilities for music teachers in the public school system, with some advice to those who plan to teach music at the college level.

A Career in Music Education—Price 50¢. Published by the Music Educators National Conference. Prepared especially for high school students, the pamphlet discusses opportunities for teaching careers in music and what is required to prepare for such a career. All or any of the above pamphlets may be ordered from:

Music Educators National Conference
1201 Sixteenth Street N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Directory of International Scholarships in the Arts—Price unquoted. 120 pages. This pamphlet lists awards available in the United States and abroad in painting, sculpture, design, architecture, music, dance, creative writing and the theatre arts. For more information write:

Institute of International Education
800 Second Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Let's Be Practical About a Nursing Career—Free. Published annually, this pamphlet lists state approved schools of practical nursing.

Schools of Professional Nursing—Published annually with lists of schools of professional nursing in the United States. Free.

Scholarships and Loans for Professional and Practical Nursing. Scholarships, Fellowships, Edu-

cational Grants and Loans for Registered Nurses.

Both pamphlets are 5¢ each. For any of the above pamphlets write:

Committee on Careers
National League for Nursing
10 Columbus Circle
New York, N. Y. 10019

Directory of Technical Institute Courses—No charge. Lists approved schools and courses. Write:

National Council of Technical Schools
1507 M Street N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20005

Directory of Business Schools in the United States—Free. Write to:

United Business Schools Association
1518 K Street N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20005

Guide to Correspondence Study in Colleges and Universities—Price 25¢. This guide provides information about courses by mail and how to enroll. Write to:

National University Extension Association
122 Social Science Building
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

Directory of Accredited Home Study Schools—No charge. This directory lists accredited schools and courses. Write to:

National Home Study Council
1601 18th Street N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20009

Summer Vacation Jobs in Federal Agencies—Pamphlet #68. Price 15¢. This pamphlet provides information about summer job opportunities in a number of Federal agencies both in Washington, D. C. and in other areas and how and when to apply. To order the pamphlet, write:

U. S. Civil Service Commission
Washington, D. C. 20415

Planned Training—Your Future Security—Apprenticeship Training For Me? and

National Apprenticeship Program—Both pamphlets write:

Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210

Careers in Technical Occupations—U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education. Publication number OE-80032, price 5¢. Primarily geared toward the junior or senior high school student seeking occupational guidance, the pamphlet describes a wide variety of opportunities available for trained technicians and the kinds of skills utilized. It also advises the student on how to go about obtaining counseling to determine aptitudes required for technical careers. Order from:

Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D. C. 20402

Baron's Profile of American Colleges—Paperback, $3.95. Listed are the number and value of scholarships, grants, college, state and Federal loans, the universities which participate in the National Defense Student Loans, Federal or other work-study programs and the number of jobs available at each college. This book may be obtained in most public libraries or through the high school guidance counselor. To purchase, write:

Baron's Educational Series
343 Great Neck Road
Great Neck, N. Y.

The National Defense Student Loan Program—The College Work-Study Program—and the Participating Institutions—A long name for a pamphlet, but it provides valuable information. Both programs are described and included is a list of colleges, universities and other institutions of higher learning which participate in these programs. Free.

Get Ready for College and Go—A short brochure which provides thumb-nail descriptions of College-Work Study, National Defense Student Loans, Educational Opportunity Grants and Guaranteed Loans. Also includes a small table on the average cost of college, such as tuition, room, meals on campus, books and supplies, transportation, etc., at high-cost, low-cost, private and public colleges. Free. Both pamphlets may be secured by writing to:

U. S. Office of Education
U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare,
Washington, D. C. 20201

Nursing Student Loan Program—Information for Students—This short brochure describes the Federal Nursing Student Loan Program, how to qualify, how much a student may borrow, the interest rate and how to go about applying for the loan. Free.

The Health Professions Student Loan Program—In question and answer form, this pamphlet describes low-interest Federal loan programs, for students who plan to study medicine, dentistry, osteopathy

and optometry. It also explains how to go about applying for the loan, how to qualify and how much a student may borrow. Free. For either or both pamphlets write:

Public Health Service
Division of Community Health Services
U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20201

Job Horizons for College Women in the 1960's —Bulletin 288—Price 30¢. Published by the Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. This pamphlet describes career prospects for women who have a college education. Some of the careers described also list salary ranges. To order, write:

Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D. C. 20402

Your Opportunity for a Professional Career in Jewish Communal Service—Price 35¢. The pamphlet, published by B'nai B'rith, describes employment opportunities for social workers, educators, religious leaders, etc., in Jewish community organizations and lists also the salary ranges in these fields. To order, write:

B'nai B'rith Vocational Service
1640 Rhode Island Avenue N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

Your Career Opportunities as a Social Worker in the Jewish Community Centers and Young Men and Young Women's Hebrew Association—Free. This pamphlet describes career opportunities in occupations such as physical educators, nursery school teachers, adult education and cultural arts specialists in Jewish Community organizations. Salary ranges are also included. To order pamphlet, or to obtain more information, write:

Henry B. Stern, ACSW
Personnel Services
National Jewish Welfare Board
145 East 32nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10016

The 1965 N.C.W. Official Guide to Catholic Education Institutions—is published by the National Catholic Welfare Center. Price $3.95, soft cover. The book includes a short section on preparation for a college education, financial aid, admissions procedure, etc. It is valuable, however, for descriptions of Catholic colleges and universities, enrollment, programs, staff, degrees conferred, scholarships and other financial aid (number and amounts), etc. May be obtained at a public library or from a Catholic high school guidance counselor. To order write:

National Catholic Welfare Council
The Official Guide to
Catholic Educational Institutions
100 North Village Avenue
Rockville Center, L. I., N. Y. 11570

Student Aid Annual—Price $5.00. Describes scholarship and financial aid programs at various colleges and universities, percentage of students receiving aid; range of aid received, requirements and application deadlines. It also includes availability of on-campus and off-campus employment and average earnings.

Chronicle College Chart—Price $5.00. In quick easy-to-read chart form, along with universities and colleges are included units required, enrollment period required; distribution of male and female students; fees and tuition, application information; student faculty-ratio etc. Look for either or both at the public library, or high school guidance counselor. It can be ordered by writing to:

Chronicle Guidance Publications, Inc.
Moravia, N. Y.

National Student Aid Information Service (Canada)—This is a large loose-leaf service, revised annually, which may be studied at public libraries, or college libraries. The service catalogues colleges, universities, course descriptions, numbers and amounts of scholarships and other financial aid. An extensive list of scholarships offered by private donors is included.

High school guidance counselors, individuals and organizations may subscribe to this service by writing to:

National Student Aid Information Service
Canadian Scholarship Trust Foundation
2149a Yonge Street
Toronto 7, Ontario

IN CONCLUSION

Recently passed legislation on higher, secondary and elementary education represents giant steps forward. While IUE members can rightfully be proud that through their COPE dollars and activity they had a significant hand in helping to improve educational opportunities for all young people, a critical problem still exists at all levels of education.

The IUE is concerned not only about expanding opportunities in higher education, but realizes that the quality of primary school education must also be vastly improved . The ability of young people to gain admission to college and other institutions of higher learning depends upon this.

Our society is becoming more highly technical in each passing year, where knowledge and information are more valuable and necessary to our nation than manual skills. A high school education is fast becoming pitifully inadequate in preparing our young men and women for the careers, vocations and skills of tomorrow. But unfortunately, most college doors will be closed to the average student upon whom society will depend to fill these needed occupations. It will be the average student who will need special educational assistance and consideration, to enable them to reach their potential usefulness in our technological society.

Colleges today are besieged with admission applications because the high school graduating classes are getting larger each year, with a greater percentage going on to college. By 1980 college and university facilities will have to be doubled to accommodate these young people.

At the present time, prestige universities accept only the upper 5 percent or 10 percent of the graduating class, and other colleges and universities accept only the upper quarter. Even the state universities are being forced to raise admission standards despite efforts to keep the door open even a little.

Increasing costs and rigid admission standards will exclude average and even good students from low-income families while those with higher incomes will have little trouble getting into college. IUE regards the equality of education as vital to a democratic society.

To expand educational opportunities for the average as well as for the exceptional student at financial levels possible for workers' families, and to improve primary and secondary education, will be two of the goals of the labor movement. The COPE dollars, the voter registration campaigns of IUE locals, and the support of liberal candidates, will be needed to assist in obtaining additional legislation to make the American dream of equality of educational opportunity a reality.

NOTES

Issued By

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, AFL-CIO-CLC

crowned Miss Albany of 1972-73 at the annual pageant sponsored by the Albany Jaycees. The winner, who will compete in the Miss Georgia Pageant next summer, is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Gunnels of Albany.

Funds Lack Shuts Heritage

Atl. Journal 3/30/73

AMERICUS, Ga. — Heritage Academy, a local private school, was unable to open this week as scheduled "because we just didn't have enough students registered."

A spokesman for Heritage Academy attributed the institution's apparent death to finances. "Everybody tried it and found out that it was above their means," the official said.

Heritage was launched two years ago with an enrollment of about 280 students, then dropped to some 140 for the last year, it was revealed. Thirty students registered for the 1972-73 term, but it was just not enough to hold classes.

The spokesman, who asked not be identified, said that recently an effort was made to drop from the 12 grades offered the two years of its existence to the first eight grades this fall, but "this didn't work either."

OPERATIONAL costs for last term amounted to $65,000, mostly in salaries. "We had $35,000 to raise above tuition last year, and fortunately we made it. But we just didn't want to chance it again this year," the spokesman said. Last June Heritage Academy graduated eight students.

The academy did not have a headmaster employed for the new term. Tom Mann of Americus, who served in that capacity last year, announced after the close of school that he would not be returning another year.

Families of students who made deposit for this school year will receive refund checks shortly, it was announced Monday. Members of the 12-man board of trustees scheduled an early meeting to close out arrangements concerning the school.

Mercer Slates Yearbook Meet

MACON, Ga. — More than 500 students and their advisers from high schools in Georgia will attend a yearbook seminar at Mercer University Sept. 13.

Robert Hastings of Dallas, Tex., will direct the one-day seminar which will be attended by representatives of more than 100 schools.

2 Suspects At Center of Slaying Probe

BELVEDERE, S.C. (AP) — Sheriff Paul Grant of Aiken County, S.C., says his investigation into the shooting death of a 15-year-old girl and the critical wounding of another youth last week has "narrowed to two suspects."

The sheriff, however, declined any further comment on the slaying of Julia Allace Widgeon of North Augusta, S.C., and the shooting of Gary Jerrell, also 15, of North Augusta.

The body of Miss Widgeon and young Jerrell, both shot in the head, were found on the bank of Little Horse Creek by the boy's father last Thursday.

The girl was found face down in a marshy area of the creek, in Aiken County, and the youth was found lying partially in the creek. Each had been shot behind the left ear.

Jerrell is in critical condition in a hospital and unable to supply any information to officers, the sheriff said.

The two had gone fishing last Wednesday and had been seen by several persons, Grant said. The boy's father went looking for them when they failed to return home, he added.

no Republican opposition in the November general election — was seen as a defeat for supporters of Gov. Jimmy Carter.

Gillis opposed many of Carter's legislative programs during the last Geneal Assembly session while Passmore worked in Carter's successful 1970 gubernatorial campaign.

CARTER FORCES took some consolation, however, in Sen. Bob Smalley's re-election victory in District 28.

The veteran Griffin senator is prop-Carter and was a strong supporter of Carter's controversial governmental reorganization plan that passed during the last legislative session.

Smalley's unofficial total was 7,264 to 6,473 votes for Jonesboro businessman Claude H. Whaley with all ballots counted except for a few absentees.

Gillis carried every county in the 6½-county district except one.

Passmore took his home county of Laurens by about 1,600 votes — 5,900 to 4,300. Gillis won his home county of Treutlen by a similar margin — 1,500 to Passmore's 600.

Gillis had the backing of several black leaders in Georgia, including Sen. Leroy Johnson of Atlanta. He defeated Passmore 1,003 to 568 in predominantly black Washington County where a few precincts were cut off and put in the 20th District during reapportionment last year.

PASSMORE CALLED the black vote the deciding factor in the race.

"I advise Mr. Gillis to be on his toes because I'm starting tomorrow to run again," Passmore said. "We feel like we've laid the groundwork in the six and one-half counties in the district for another campaign."

Gillis could not be reached early Wednesday for comment although a campaign worker said he was elated at the outcome.

The Soperton Democrat came to the Georgia Senate 12 years ago in an uncontested election, and remained unopposed in subsequent re-election bids.

Prior to going to the Senate, Gillis served several terms in the state House of Representatives.

"I believe from the depths of my heart that my record

tempt to upset Hugh Gillis in 1970 as president pro tem of the Senate. The job makes Gillis the second ranking officer (to Maddox) in the upper chamber. As such, he was in a position to influence legislation in a 56-member body that was, and still is, closely divided between Carter and Maddox partisans.

Smalley's victory over Whaley was fashioned with a

'Bug' Raid Trio in M

COLUMBUS, Ga. (AP) — Local law enforcement officers arrested seven persons and seized an undisclosed amount of lottery and gambling paraphernalia in raids Monday night in Muscogee County, Ga., and Russell and Lee counties in Alabama.

The raids, coordinated by the FBI, were aimed at "crippling the 'bug' or numbers rackets which prey on low income bettors," said Robert R. Franck, in charge of the Mobile FBI office.

Walter R. Smith Jr., and Billy G. Arrington, both of Phenix City, Ala., were arrested by Lee County sheriff's officers at a trailer court and charged with possession of lottery paraphernalia. They were released on $1,000 bond each.

Smith also was arrested Aug. 9 by Columbus police on a lottery charge and in March crackdown on lottery he was charged with commercial gambling, possessing no tax paid cigarettes and whisky.

Mamie Bell, Manda Frierson and Glassy Rolf were arrested at their homes in Columbus and charged with commercial gambling, according to Capt. F. R. Guthrey of the Muscogee County sheriff's department.

Guthrey said Mamie B and Glassy Rolf were released under $250 bond each. three are scheduled to appear in Municipal Court Wednesday for hearings.

Phenix City police arrested Lillie B. Griggs and W Reed, both of Phenix City. charged them with possession lottery paraphernalia. E was released on $500 bond lice said.

Franck said no fede

Education

Prep Schools

To Let Some Air Into the 'Hothouse'

The days of the old school tie: The Groton School baseball team around the turn of the century, with Franklin D. Roosevelt, back row center with straw hat, as manager.. Boarding schools long were considered "the Rolls Royce of American secondary education—expensive, exclusive, prestigious"—but many now have fallen on hard times.

The boarding schools — "prep" schools, as they are popularly known—have long been considered the Rolls Royce of American secondary education: expensive, exclusive, prestigious. Largely for children of the upper class, boys' schools like Andover, Exeter, Groton, St. Paul's, Hotchkiss and Lawrenceville have served as jumping-off places for Harvard, Yale, Princeton and other top universities. Boarding schools for girls have played a similar role.

In numbers, the boarding schools constitute only a small segment of what has become a huge national education system. The National Association of Independent Schools lists 215 boarding schools—89 for boys, 38 for girls, 88 coeducational —with a total enrollment of 47,742.

But in academic quality, the boarding schools generally rate high in the over-all secondary-school picture. The teacher-student ratio is low, the intellectual standards are high, and the total program is disciplined and geared toward "prepping" the students for college.

In recent years, many of the boarding schools have fallen on hard times. Enrollments have sagged — meaning a loss of tuition revenue—at a time of rising costs. The result has been the now-familiar increasing financial pressures. At least 14 schools have been forced out of business since 1970, and all but the top few among the others have had to resort to recruiting students—a rare practice in former years. Annual charges, including room and board, range between $3,000 and $4,000.

Last week, Theodore R. Sizer, the new headmaster at Phillips Academy, a school of 900 students in Andover, Mass., issued a call for what amounts to a "new deal" for the boarding schools. In his inaugural address at Andover, one of the nation's oldest and best prep schools, he proposed that the boarding schools become a "complement" to the public high schools by admitting large numbers of students from the public sector—at least for a few months. Mr. Sizer, until recently, was dean of the Graduate School of Education at Harvard.

Mr. Sizer stressed that Andover's constitution established "a public free school or academy" which "shall be ever equally open to youth, of requisite qualification, from every quarter." But he also acknowledged the present plight of the boarding schools. "The general public has little interest in what it calls 'prep schools,' perceiving them as being smug outdated bastions of WASP society," he said.

Historically, the academies were not, in fact, created as the snob-appeal institutions some have subsequently become. Antedating the development of the high schools, they were closer in their original philosophy—as documented in the recent book, "American Nonpublic Schools", by Otto F. Kraushaar—to the democratic views of Benjamin Franklin than to the British public school tradition.

There are two main reasons for today's problems:

First, the income-producing endowment of most of these schools is simply not large enough to handle the rising costs comfortably. Only 14 schools, at the most recent count, have endowments of more than $10-million—and this amount does not produce adequate interest income. Only Exeter and Andover have endowments in excess of $50-million, followed closely by St. Paul's.

Second, there is the rapidly changing lifestyle. Prestige colleges, including the Ivy League, now draw the majority of their students from the public schools, thus reducing the academies' "prepping" advantage. Many adolescents no longer acquiesce in their parents' decisions about their schooling, making it difficult for Dad to ship his son to his "old school." Moreover, youngsters today often feel that "the action" is in the communities—rather than in the scholastic "enclaves" of the academies.

Mr. Kraushaar's nationwide survey of attitudes showed that many students considered the prep schools "too limited and narrow, too dominantly scholastic." They conceived boarding school as "life lived in a total educational hothouse."

"While the private schools have been spared the turmoil that has wracked many urban public schools, the evidence of boredom, grievances, and student impatience with the rigidities of the traditional school is unmistakable," Mr. Kraushaar concluded.

Mr. Sizer addressed himself to many of these problems:

- He announced that Andover would end the "distortion" of having only boys by virtually merging with the neighboring Abbot Academy for girls. (At least six other boys' academies have recently gone coed.)
- He called for a better mix of students, not only by adding the disadvantaged minorities — as has already been done — but by also seeking "sons of small shopkeepers, of policemen, of factory workers."
- He called for close collaboration with the public schools "so that as many students as would benefit from a residential experience—whether for but months or for years—would have the opportunity and financial backing to do so." This type of program, if it were accepted by many academies, presumably would be underwritten in part by public funds and thus would help those prep schools with underutilized facilities.

Mr. Sizer, in looking to the 1970's as "years of retrenchment and retreat for public education," urged the private school leadership to join forces with their public colleagues to defeat the "doom-mongers and budget cutters."

—FRED M. HECHINGER

Paternity Leave

Must He Also Get Morning Sickness?

School boards generally have not considered pregnancy a medical problem. Not only has it been the custom of school boards to compel a pregnant teacher to surrender her job as soon as possible, but the teacher usually has been denied a paid leave during the period immediately following childbirth. And often she has had no guarantee that there would be a job to which to return.

City University of New York is one of a growing number of employers of teachers to take cognizance of this situation. In proposing to do something about it, the university last week was considering a novel approach.

Current policy at the university requires a teacher to inform her department chairman as soon as she knows she is pregnant, to leave without pay at the end of the semester and to stay out of work for an entire semester. The university has the right not to rehire her.

"The way it works now, it's almost as if as soon as you get pregnant you have to get up out of bed and telephone your department chairman," says Dr. Marilyn Gittell of the university's Queens College, the chairwoman of the institution's Advisory Commitee on the Status of Women.

Recognizing a need for change, Chancellor Robert J. Kibbee, at the suggestion of the Advisory Committee on the Status of Women, has asked that the work contract now being negotiated with the university's 16,000 teachers offer not only maternity leaves, but also paternity leaves. Technically, they would be "child-care" leaves. It is not an either-or proposition—that is, it is not necessary that both husband and wife be teachers at the university.

Labor and educational officials say that a contract allowing a husband to stay home to take care of a newly born child, instead of or along with his wife, would probably be a first-of-its-kind.

C.U.N.Y. is proposing that either a male or female teacher be permitted up 20 days of paid leave and up to 18 months of unpaid leave in connection with the arrival of a new child. Also, the expectant mother, if she chooses, would be allowed to work until the day the child arrives.

"The proposal represents the change in attitude that is taking place toward equality of the sexes and toward maternity leaves," commented Rudy Oswald, a staff economist in Washington who keeps watch on new contracts for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

C.U.N.Y.'s proposed new policy would be a harbinger for teachers everywhere if the 1.2 million-member National Education Association has its way. Robert Chanin, the N.E.A.'s general counsel, says that the organization wants to see a provision for "parenthood leaves of absence" in every teacher's contract. "This is a right that should be applicable to a parent," he says, "and it is irrelevant which parent."

—GENE I. MAEROFF

ADVERTISEMENT ADVERTISEMENT

Where We Stand

A Weekly Column of Comment on Public Education

by Albert Shanker

President, United Federation of Teachers

What the Public Thinks of the Public Schools

Public opinion polls are much in the news these days. Their accuracy is a continuing subject of debate, as is the question of the effect of polls on the outcome of elections. But, whatever the problem with polls, we are better off for having them. Their value is clearly evident in the field of public education, where the media are too often inclined to view as gospel, and to publicize as generally accepted, criticisms leveled at the public schools by a handful of latter day educational experts, frequently with the blessing and support of some tax-exempt foundation or other.

Phi Delta Kappan, a monthly educational magazine of the highest standing, has published in its September 1972 issue the findings of the fourth annual Gallup poll of "Public Attitudes Toward Education." The Gallup surveys are, in the words of the magazine's editors, "now established as a major source of information concerning the status and trends of opinion about significant school questions." This year's findings make it quite obvious that, whatever the merits of the new criticism, it is scarcely representative of the views of the citizenry as a whole.

Where the new critics would list, as the major problems confronting the schools, such considerations as bureaucracy, inadequate recognition of students' rights, irrelevancy of curriculum and repressive atmosphere, the general public, according to the Gallup poll, lists "discipline" as the major public school problem. Following "discipline," in order of importance, are "lack of proper financial support," integration-segregation problems," "difficulty of getting 'good' teachers," "large school, too large classes," "parents' lack of interest," "lack of proper facilities," "poor curriculum" and "use of dope, drugs." So far as students' rights are concerned, 41 per cent believe students have too many rights and privileges, as against 11 per cent "not enough" and 33 per cent "just right." Even on the question, "Should students who are 18 years of age, and now have the right to vote, have more rights and privileges than other students?" 73 per cent answered "no."

On questions of school finance: 56 per cent oppose raising taxes, with 36 per cent voting for increases; 55 per cent favor shifting the school tax burden from local property to the state governments or the federal government or both, while 34 per cent oppose the shift. The value-added tax, the national sales tax which was at one time favored by the Nixon Administration as a method of financing the schools, is opposed by 51 per cent, with only 34 per cent in favor.

High Rating for Teachers—and for Teaching as a Career

Tenure, defined as "a lifetime contract," is disapproved by 61 per cent and supported by only 28 per cent. But, in spite of this, the public's opinion of teachers, as it comes through, is high. In the listing of ways in which public schools are particularly good, curriculum comes in first and teachers second on a ten point list. Responding to the statement, "When some children do poorly in school, some people place the blame on the children, some on the children's home life, some on the school, and some on the teachers," 14 per cent place the blame on the children, 57 per cent on the children's home life, 6 per cent on the school and 12 per cent on the teachers. (Says *Phi Delta Kappan:* "With such wide agreement that home factors are responsible for educational failure, one wonders why so little attention is being given to the solution of this problem. Neither the schools nor the teachers can be expected to re-order the home life of children, yet many surveys have shown that parents are eager for help and suggestions. This is true of the highly educated as well as the poorly educated. Certainly, if a child's success in school is largely dependent upon his home life, more time and effort should be devoted to finding out ways to deal with these home factors.")

The public's reaction to educational innovations is mixed. There is approval (53 per cent) of the year-round school, with considerable opposition (41 per cent). There is overwhelming opposition (65 per cent to 32 per cent) to compulsory school starting at 4 years of age and overwhelming approval (71 per cent to 22 per cent) of non-graded schools, in which a student could be enrolled, for example, in fifth grade English while studying seventh grade math.

Asked whether they would like to have a child of their own take up teaching as a career, 67 per cent answered "yes" and 22 per cent "no". The "yes" percentage is high but lower than that of previous years, the respondents indicating an awareness of the current shortage of jobs but also frequently saying that "teaching has become 'dangerous,' with children permitted to run 'wild' in many schools."

The poll shows that, by and large, there is still widespread support for the public schools, and that the views held by parents on most educational issues are similar to those held by professional educators. The "alienation" of the public from the schools and of the layman from the professional seems to be largely the product of the imagination of our handful of new critics.

Copies of the Gallup survey are available, free of charge, from UFT.

© 1972 by Albert Shanker

Mr. Shanker's comments will appear in this section every Sunday. Correspondence by readers is welcomed. Address letters to Mr. Shanker at UFT. This column is sponsored as paid advertising by the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010.

TEACHER OPENINGS 9401

MOUNTAIN LAKES, NEW JERSEY IS SEEKING A

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

Residential community, 30 miles west of New York City with 5,000 residents & 1,800 children in own & through 12 system.

Woods, lakes, educationally oriented community.
1.8 million dollar school addition just completed.

We would like to interest a creative educator who can communicate well & exercise a broad range of judgement.

Doctorate preferred. Should have at least 3 years administrative experience to qualify for New Jersey certification. Salary in Mid $20's range.

Please address letters of inquiry to:
Search Committee

Board of Education
400 Boulevard
Mountain Lakes, New Jersey 07046

DISTRICT BUSINESS OFFICER COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT 5

Requirements: 1) Baccalaureate from a recognized college or university & 5 yrs of full time paid responsible experience in the administrative management of a school district, college, university, large commercial or industrial organization or governmental agency; at least 2 yrs of which must have included the supervision of professional, technical or managerial personnel in a position of responsibility equivalent to this title; or 2) graduation from a senior high school & 9 yrs of the type of experience mentioned above, at least 2 yrs of which must have included supervision of the type mentioned above; or 3) a satisfactory equivalent combination of education & experience; however all candidates must be high school graduates; 4) knowledge of computer programming advantageous; working knowledge of computer print-outs necessary; accounting and/or auditing background essential.

Salary $15,000 per annum.

Duties & responsibilities under the direction of a District Manager of Administration & Business Affairs, the District Business Officer will have broad areas of responsibility & opportunity for the exercise of independent initiative & judgment in areas including office management; research; record keeping; purchasing; liaison; study & implementation of efficiency procedures in the schools & office; implementation of funded programs; directing computer operations; other duties as directed by the District Manager and/or the Community Superintendent.

Applicants may submit their resumes to:
Mr. Henri A. Belfon, Personnel Director
Community School District 5
Personnel Unity
139 West 139 St., New York, N.Y. 10030
no later than October 13, 1972

WESTCHESTER COUNTY

ASST. PRINCIPAL

SECONDARY

Immediate Opening
Middle School (6-8)

Responsibility in connected Middle-High School plant. Certificate required. Salary depends on education & experience. Excellent opportunity for right person.

Send resume to:
Superintendent of Schools
Mount Pleasant CSD #1
Columbus Avenue
Thorwood, N.Y. 10594

In Personnel . . . or Want to Be?

PERSONNEL

Growing School District
Long Island Location

Preparation must include eligibility for New York State School Administrator certification.
Duties will include recruitment, screening, classification, for both teaching and non-teaching personnel, and assisting in development of training programs, policies, and negotiations. Administrative experience not essential.
Our large organization, with a record of important pioneering, has a highly professional staff and excellent facilities, offering a wide range of educational services.
Please send confidential resume to:

Box NT 1109, 810 7th Ave.,
New York, 10019
An Equal Opportunity Employer

PLANNING & RESEARCH—EVALUATION

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK
IMMEDIATE VACANCY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

Responsible for evaluation of 12 or more projects comprising the E.S.E.A. Title I Program. Master's degree $14,820—$20,789 (11 months).

Applications & job description:
William C. Lindquist,
Director, Special Projects
City School District
13 Fitzhugh St., South
Rochester, N.Y. 14614
716-325-4560

Professional in High School Relations

Large Eastern university seeks a
specialist in recruitment
OF UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS.
Requires proven creative capability, initiative and appropriate academic qualifications. Salary commensurate with experience and background, fringe benefits, pleasant surroundings. Send resume to
Z 7779 TIMES

VICE PRESIDENT

Extensive experience in all phases of educational administration required for this top level position at an urban community college with more than 7,000 students.
Forward resume & salary requirements to:
Office of the President
Essex County College
Newark, New Jersey 07102
An Equal Opportunity Employer

TEACHERS

Openings for teachers in Lakeland Schools, located in Northern Westchester.

HIGH SCHOOL
Art (Mechanical drawings)
Health (Part time)
Apply. Personnel Ofce
LAKELAND SCHOOLS
Shrub Oak, N. Y. 914-LA 8-8064

MAMARONECK PUBLIC SCHOOLS
IMMEDIATE OPENING
HS BAND DIRECTOR

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

the Hudson Public Schools, (enrollment 4,000) wants an experienced educator for its top administrative post. Send resume to:

Community College - Veterans Program

NEEDS

ONE ADMINISTRATOR/INSTRUCTOR AND ONE INSTRUCTOR to teach and coordinate on-site educational service program in Basic Reading/Study Skills, English, and ONE INSTRUCTOR for Science-Mathematics Fundamentals. Classes sponsored by metropolitan area community college will be held at local Veterans Administration Hospital. Masters Degree required. Prior adult education teaching experience on community college level and/or work with veterans higly desirable. Program is federally funded for the 1972-73 academic year.

Send resume to Box Z 7793 TIMES

Equal Opportunity Employer.

PART TIME TEACHING POSITIONS

All positions listed involve a total commitment from 8:30 to 3:40 for the period involved.
Some housing units are available.
ALGEBRA I . . . Master Teacher . . . $800 . . . Oct. 30-Dec. 14
AMERICAN HISTORY . . . Assistant Teacher . . . $600 . . . Oct. 30-Dec. 14
COLLEGE BOARD REVIEW MATH . . . $400 . . . Nov. 20-Dec. 14
ASTRONOMY . . . $400 . . . Jan. 27-Feb. 9
ARCHITECTURE . . . Master Teacher . . . $800 . . . Feb. 12-Mar. 22
GEOMETRY . . . Assistant Teacher . . . $600 . . . Jan. 3-Feb. 9
20TH CENTURY AMERICANA . . . Master Teacher . . . $800 . . . April 6-May 18
20TH CENTURY AMERICANA . . . Assistant Teacher . . . $600 . . . April 9-May 18
ANCIENT & MEDIEVAL HISTORY . . . Master Teacher . . . $800 . . . Jan. 2-Feb. 9
MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY . . . Assistant Teacher . . . $600 . . . Feb. 12-Mar. 22

Independent high school • Inquire by sending resume to: Director, Upper School
Box 239, Bernardsville, New Jersey 07924

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

Rockville Centre Public Schools, Rockville Centre, L.I., New York. The ideal candidate will be an experienced leader in secondary school administration and have a proven record as a creative administrator and innovator. South Side High School is an 1100 pupil school on a modified modular schedule in a high-quality Long Island community. Salary range $25,000 plus. Effective date of appointment open but not later than July 1, 1973. Send resume, and have placement file sent, to Dr. Richard S. Byers, Superintendent of Schools, Shepherd Street, Rockville Centre, New York 11570.

Educators Social Workers

Capable of Earning $15-50,000

U.P. will assist you in either advancing your present career or in assessing and capitalizing on other alternatives.

We do not use resumes or other blanket approaches. A marketing plan is tailored to your needs.

If we cannot help you we will tell you at the outset.

Call or Write for Confidential Appointment

Untapped Potentials, Inc.
274 Madison Ave., Suite 1404
New York, New York 10016
(212) 686-4794

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

for Child Care Association. Responsible for administration of program, including budgeting, development of programs, proposal writing, public relations.
Master's degree, experience in supervision and administration of programs required. Send resume to: Mrs. Jean Tufts
G. M. C. C. A.
435 South Main Street
Manchester,
New Hampshire 03102

SUPERVISOR

for programs of trainable mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed & brain injured children in Montgomery County, Pa. Work study experience desirable. Must be able to meet Pennsylvania certification in Special Education. Master's degree plus at least 5 years experience. Salary depending upon qualifications. Send resume to:
Dr. Lester Mann, Director,
Special Education
Montgomery County Intermediate Unit
Colony Office Building
6198 Butler Pike
Blue Bell, Pa. 19422

HALF HOLLOW HILLS SCHOOL DISTRICT

IMMEDIATE VACANCIES

High School
Biology English
Jr HS Vocal General Music
Elementary Reading

Write for application
Personnel Administrator
Post Office Box 637
Melville, Long Island, N.Y. 11746

JANUARY VACANCIES

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
MIDDLE SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

Chalmont Central Schools
831 Duanesburg Rd.
Schenectady, New York 12306
518-355-6110
Job descriptions available on request

ENGLISH DEPT. CHAIRMAN

Suburban New York State secondary school seeks educator with background in curriculum, teacher supervision & secondary school teaching.

Send resume to: Z 7869 TIMES

TEACHERS IMMEDIATE OPENINGS

To work with trainable, sub-trainable & multi-handicapped children in a public school setting in suburban Philadelphia. Must be capable of Pennsylvania Special Education certification. Salary dependent on qualifications & experience. Contact: Administrator.

SCHOOL DISTRICT 7, BRONX

Seeks Community Superintendent

District 7 is located in the South Bronx and is composed of 19 elementary schools, 4 intermediate, and 1 junior high school, serving a total pupil poulation of about 30,000. Candidates should hold N.Y. State School District Administrator Certificate, or equivalent.

Resumes may be submitted to
Community School Board #7
501 Cortlandt Ave., Bronx, N.Y. 10451
Recruiting for this position will close October 16

CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT OF N.Y.

PROJECT COORDINATOR

(Bilingual—Spanish)

BUILDING BRIDGES TO BETTER BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Minimum requirements include:
. . . Master's degree or equivalent
. . . 3 yrs. of teaching and/or admin. exp.

Interested candidates may send a resume to:
DR. GERALD I. BROOKS
Bureau of Educational Staff Selection
OFFICE OF PERSONNEL
65 Court St. Brooklyn, NY 11201
Deadline for receipt of resumes is:
OCTOBER 31, 1972

GTE SYLVANIA INCORPORATED

INSTRUCTOR POSITIONS

Must be able to teach basic electricity, solid state electronics, digital logic circuits, Boolean algebra, computer mainframe circuits and basic machine programming.
Must meet New York State licensing requirements. Send resume to: John I. Wynn, Education Manager
GTE SYLVANIA TECHNICAL SCHOOL
175 Fulton Ave., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550

PROJECT DIRECTOR

for continuing education, community service project. Organizational skills & writing ability essential. Administrative experience. Some knowledge computer operations helpful.

Salary: $12,700
Send resume to: Project Director
Office of Continuing Education
Bronx Community College
120 East 184 Street, Bronx, New York 10468
An Equal Opportunity Employer

ADMINISTRATIVE SUPERVISOR

challenging opportunity to assist in the administration & program development of a newly opened residential center for the vocational training of adolescents with emotional & learning problems. Requirements: Master's degree in Social Work, Psychology, Special Ed. or Vocational Rehabilitation & experience in child care supervision. Sponsored by Maimonides Institute for Exceptional Children. The oldest leading organization under Jewish sponsorship conducting Schools, Residential Treatment Centers, Day Treatment Centers & vocational training for children & youths who cannot benefit from conventional programs & ordinary facilities.
Send resume to:
Rabbi Motel Zajac
Maimondes Institute
Route 17B, Monticello, N.Y. 12701

ecs

FOR INDIVIDUALS
Annual ECS membership offers continuing opportunity to explore confidentially position openings nationwide in all types of non-profit organizations.
FOR INSTITUTIONS
Annual ECS membership offers prompt confidential referral of qualified candidates for most faculty & administrative positions including presidents, deans, professors, business development & public relations specialist.
For further information write:
EDUCATIONAL CAREER SERVICE
12 Nassau Street "N"
Princeton, N.J. 08540

Lakewood Public Schools

has immediate openings for
BILINGUAL COORDINATOR
ESL TEACHER
MATH TEACHER
READING SPECIALIST
BUSINESS ED TEACHER
PHYSICAL ED TEACHER—female

Interested persons call or write for an application to:
Superintendent of Schools
100 Linden Street,
Lakewood, N.J. 08701
201-364-2400 ext. 211 or 212

SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGIST

WESTCHESTER COUNTY
November 1, 1972 Opening

Main emphasis on elementary. School experience preferred. Excellent salary based on training and experience.
Contact: Mr. Alden Beverly
Mount Pleasant CSD #1
Columbus Ave., Thornwood, N.Y. 10594

ADJUNCT GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Faculty needed.
We are currently accepting applications for teaching positions on the Graduate level for
(1) Instructor in classroom Spanish and
(2) Instructor in the law and schools.
Applicants must have extensive prior experience. Positions to be filled by October, 1972.
Contact Ms V. A. YOUNGBLOOD,
Admin. Asst.
The Teachers Inc.
Antioch Graduate School of Education
2700 Broadway, NY NY 10025.
Tel. (212) 866-5144 or 866-7005.

COPIAGUE, L.I.
PUBLIC SCHOOL OPENINGS
SUPERVISOR OF ENGLISH
GR. 6-12

Full Time supervision
Administrative & Supervisory Exp Reqd
Salary to $20,875
Apply to:
Mr. Walter E. Cochrane
2650 Gt. Neck Rd., Copiague, N.Y. 11726
(516) 842-4000

HEALTH CARE/HOSPITAL/MEDICAL

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES 9500

MULTIDISCIPLINARY OPPORTUNITIES IN

COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH

Challenging positions in Community Health Care available with innovative NYS Mental Hygiene facility that services West Brooklyn & Staten Island through a network of centers offering variety of in-patient & out-patient services.

PSYCHIATRISTS . . . . . $25,069-$34,421
depending on experience Full or part-time
NURSES-RN's . . . . . $8,697-$12,129
depending on exp & educ
REG. OCCUPATIONAL THERAPISTS . . . . . $10,289-$11,961
OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY ASSTS . . . . . $8,237-$9,645
A.A.S. degree & some exp

Submit complete resume to: PATRICIA OULTON-Personnel Manager

South Beach Psychiatric Center
New York State Dept. of Mental Hygiene • 490 Fulton St., Bklyn, N.Y. 11201
an equal opportunity employer

JOIN OUR TEAM
R.N.'S—L.P.N.'S
Immediate Openings All Areas, All Tours

Experience preferred, must be eligible for Florida license.

Also Experienced
WARD CLERKS, NURSE AIDES

Excellent benefits, 37½ hour week, low-cost housing in Nurse's Residence on premises. Apply: Personnel Department
St. Francis Hospital
250 West 63 St., Miami Beach, Florida 33141
An Equal Opportunity Employer

PSYCHIATRISTS

Positions immediately available in Crisis Intervention Program in expanding mental health facility. Call Dr. Alan Josephson, (212) 566-7443.

VOCATIONAL COUNSELOR

Part-time, MA in Vocational Counseling, 2 years experience required. Knowledge of educational and vocational facilities and group testing helpful. Apply: Assistant Director, J.V.S., 454 William St, East Orange, N.J. 07017.

TEACHER OPENINGS 9401

TYPING INSTRUCTOR

Major progressive NYC institution has OUTSTANDING opportunity for an individual with teaching experience in business or education. Prefer business background, teaching typing and a real desire to teach JOBS students. Salary commensurate with experience.

Please send resume including salary history and requirements to:
BOX #2321
Suite 1002, 730 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10019
An Equal Opportunity Employer

Asst Campus Facilities Officer (Technical Services)

Fulltime position in the office for Campus Planning and Development at The City College. architecture prefered plus four Baccalaureate (engineering or years responsible experience required. Salary $14,830 per annum plus liberal fringe benefits. Send resume to:
Dean E. Avallone
Brett Hall
The City College
New York, N.Y. 10031
an equal opportunity and affirmative action employer

Two Senior Appointments in English
Beginning Fall 1973

at young, independent campus of the University of Maryland. Field: (1) American or Modern; (2) Open Emphasis on undergraduate teaching & interdisciplinary studies.

Apply: Professor William E. Bettridge,
Chairman English Department
University of Maryland Baltimore County
5401 Wilkens avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21228

ASSISTANT REGISTRAR

Senior College, CUNY

Starting salary $12,300 extensive fringe benefits. Baccalaureate degree plus 3 years experience in College Registrar's or Admissions Office, knowledge of City University of New York policy & practice desirable, 35 hour work week including 1 or 2 evenings. Major duties will be in admissions. Position available immediately.
Resume with work references to:
Z 7738 TIMES
equal opportunity/
affirmative action employer

outstanding suburban New Jersey system

MATHEMATICS

Contact: Personnel Dept.
Summit, New Jersey 07901
(201) 273-3024

An Equal Opportunity
Affirmative Action Employer
Summit Board of Education

TEACHER OPENING

Immediate opening for teacher grades 6-7, Language arts & Math. Southern Westchester District seeks exceptional teacher. Looking for innovative teacher possessing excellent academic credits & rapport with students. Some experience preferred. Send resume to: Z 7790 TIMES

COORDINATOR OF ADVISEMENT

Four year comprehensive regional state college in the metropolitan area having a full time enrollment of 7,000 students. Responsibilities include management of record system for advisement & production of academic publications. Master's degree & some administrative experience required.
Starting salary: $12,100
Reply with resume to:
Z 7884 TIMES

HIGH SCHOOL ENGLISH TEACHER

Experience preferred.
Mount Markham Central School
West Winfield, New York 13491
20 miles south of Utica.
Immediate Opening

SUPT OF SCHOOLS

E.V.

ETF — Desegr. Legal Developments

From the Law Office of:

NATHANIEL S. COLLEY
1810 S Street
Sacramento, California
Phone (916) 446-7584

November 29, 1972

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The NAACP today began its legal challenge to Proposition 21 the anti-school integration measure, with the filing of a court petition in Sacramento calling for the courts to declare the controversial measure in direct conflict with state and federal law and with the U. S. Constitution's Equal Protection Clause.

Nathaniel S. Colley, Western Regional Counsel for the NAACP, filed the petition in Sacramento Superior Court against the Sacramento City Unified School District. Named as plaintiffs with the NAACP are Erman J. Mason, a Sacramento manpower director for the county poverty program, and his two daughters, Lorlashone, 6, and Ermajean, 12. Both are students at Camelia Elementary School, which the petition states has an enrollment 90 per cent Black.

The petition states that passage of Proposition 21, called the Wakefield Amendment, forbids the school district from taking affirmative action to end school segregation in Sacramento. It contends further that the measure may result in the federal government's cutting off federal funds to the school district, because Proposition 21 violates the U. S. Constitution, and makes it impossible for the district to comply with its non-discrimination agreement with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

"There is no doubt the Wakefield initiative is void," Colley said. "It's really tragic that these emotional issues mean more to some people than the Constitution of the United States."

More.....

The civil rights attorney cited statutes in North Carolina and Alabama which used language almost identical to the Wakefield measure, and which U. S. Courts have already thrown out as unconstitutional.

In addition, Colley said the initiative purports to nullify 1971 legislation authored by Assemblyman William Bagley and the school guidelines set forth by the State Board of Education.

The petition also asks the court to order the Sacramento school district to come up with a plan by January 31, 1973 "for the elimination or alleviation of racial segregation and racial imbalance" in Camelia School (located on Elder Creek Road).

Proposition 21, approved by voters on November 7, is commonly called the anti-busing initiative, but in effect, its wording makes it illegal for state or local school officials to take any action to integrate any school in California.

The initiative, which is now a part of the State Constitution, thus violates the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution and the announced policies and laws passed by the State Legislature, he said.

The petition also seeks $25,000 from the defendants, the Sacramento school district, to cover court costs and attorney fees.

Colley claimed every school district in California would be violating federal contracts signed with HEW if they were forced to comply with Proposition 21, jeopardizing over $76 million of federal educational funds.

****

(them) from the risk of undue dependence on the wealthy."

W.S.J. * 12/13/72

IF A SCHOOL admits racial minorities, it can't keep it secret, the IRS says.

In a directive aimed at private schools, the Service says merely admitting minority students isn't sufficient to qualify a school for tax-exempt status. The school must show that its admission policy "has been made known to all racial segments of the community served by the school."

The school can do this by running a notice in one or more newspapers that families served by the school likely will read. The notice must be "prominent" and its message clear. If a school chooses to use the broadcast media, it must run an "adequate number" of announcements in high listening hours on stations likely to be heard by people in the school's area.

The school also may publicize its policy through its own brochures if it shows they are distributed to all segments of the community. And it may spread the word simply by telling minority group leaders, if these people will sign statements that they have adequately informed their people of the school's nondiscriminatory policy.

* * *

4,000 Students Drop Out Over Memphis Busing?

Atl. Const
1/23/73

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (UPI) — The president of Memphis Citizens against Busing (CAB) estimated Monday that more than 4,000 students have withdrawn from the public school system due to the scheduled racial busing of 13,000 pupils on Wednesday.

"It could be close to 5,000 but don't hold me to that figure exactly yet," said Ken Keele. "They have registered for the schools which CAB is setting up in the city."

The Memphis School Board closed schools Monday and Tuesday to get the nation's 10th largest system ready for busing, clustering and pairing of schools on Wednesday.

Some 138,000 students are currently enrolled in Memphis public schools .Education officials would not comment on the number of dropouts.

Most of the students who registered to attend the temporary CAB schools were said to be white.

Memphis Busing Goes Smoothly

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (AP) — The nation's 10th largest school system coasted through its first day of desegregation busing Wednesday, although possibly one-third of the pupils failed to appear and white absenteeism was expected to continue today.

Pupils who went to school were unruffled by integration. One labeled it "a fun day."

"Attendance was relatively poor, perhaps less than we had anticipated," said Quinnie McCormick, assistant school superintendent.

Memphis, which has never seen public school buses on its streets before, is required to transport about 10 per cent of its approximately 135,000 pupils under a federal court desegregation order.

Some of the 66-passenger buses arrived at schools Wednesday with 10 or fewer pupils aboard. Of 550 whites assigned to Cypress Junior High School, 50 showed up.

School officials said no systemwide breakdown on the level of absenteeism would be available until today, but guessed it at up to 35 per cent of enrollment.

"We know we are going to lose a lot of students over these first few days," said Supt. John Freeman. "Most of them will come back as soon as they see how things work out."

"Smoothly," was the way principal Ernest B. Abron assessed it at Corry Junior High, which until Wednesday had only six whites among its 1,050 pupils. "Over all, I think we've had a good day."

Busing was to give the school 300 more whites Wednesday, but only 114 arrived.

Some of them seem impressed by the Corry building, which they said was newer and better equipped than schools they had been attending.

"It feels okay. The school is all right," said Richard Hillhouse, 15, toward the end of the day.

The busing climaxed a 13-year court battle by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. City officials had fought in the courts up until Tuesday in an attempt to thwart the busing.

The 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati earlier upheld a local federal court decision on the busing and has instructed that further desegregation be planned for the fall.

UPI Photo

'ENTHUSIASM'—Boston—Actress Jane Fonda appearing with her new husband, antiwar activist Tom Hayden, discusses the coming Vietnam cease-fire and observes, "We enter the phase with a feeling of great enthusiasm and strength. We should view this as a victory for the people of both countries.

Atl. Journal

ATTENDANCE CLIMBS IN MEMPHIS SCHOOLS

1/26/73

MEMPHIS (AP) — Absences declined about a third Thursday as the second day of court-ordered desegregation busing in Memphis schools passed without serious incident, school officials reported.

About 25,000 pupils stayed away from classes Thursday, representing about 18 per cent of an anticipated total enrollment of 137,795, a school spokesman estimated.

About 38,613 students, roughly 28 per cent of total enrollment, were absent Wednesday, when the pairing, clustering, boundary changes and busing went into effect.

A school official said normal absenteeism is about 6 per cent, or 8,000 pupils.

City Schools Supt. John Freeman said Wednesday that about 7,000 pupils of the almost 13,000 scheduled to be bused actually rode the buses.

Figures compiled Thursday indicated that perhaps as many as 1,500 to 2,000 white pupils rode buses, adding to already heavy black ridership.

TO SCHOOLS

Atl. Const

Memphis Buses Move Quietly

1/26/73

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (AP) — "We're mighty proud. We think it's going very smoothly," beamed transportation supervisor Charles Hurtado Thursday as the nation's 10th largest school system rolled into its second day of forced busing.

Court-ordered transportation, involving about 13,000 of the school system's 135,000 pupils, got off to a relatively easy start Wednesday—a day marked mainly by calm, and low attendance.

Hurtado said some of the system's teething problems were being straighted out and most buses were making all their stops and were on time. Wednesday, at least one bus driver got lost and several ran considerably late.

School officials had refused to disclose Wednesday's attendance and various figures were speculated. The most reliable sources indicated an absentee rate of about 35 per cent in the school system, with most of those absent being white.

Accurate figures were not available for Thursday's attendance either, but it appeared to be on the increase.

"Our early reports today show that we have a lot more people riding the buses. Also, things seem to be going much smoother administratively," said school Supt. John Freeman.

"It wasn't bad at all and I don't mind going back," said Pam White, 11, who was transf e r r e d from mainly-white Treadwell school to predominantly black Lester.

Wednesday, Pam was the only white child to board the bus in her neighborhood, where signs dotting yards proclaim that "happiness is walking to your neighborhood school."

"I don't know why some of the others didn't go to school today," said Pam, "I think the mothers and daddys kept some of them home that wanted to go. If I learn to get along with black people it will help me when I get big and start work-[illegible]"

The initial drop in attendance was attributed to parents waiting to see if the plan would work, and to a boycott of the schools proclaimed by Citizens Against Busing.

Rolls Reported Up At Private Schools

Atl. J. + Const

2/4/73

Metro Atlanta private schools have increased their enrollment by about 5,000 pupils in their last two years, but have room for no more than 1,500-2,000 new pupils next academic year, according to Research Atlanta.

Private schools, now flooded with applications for admission because of a desegregation lawsuit expected to result in busing of pupils in the Atlanta public school system, were the subject of a third desegregation report issued this weekend by Research Atlanta.

The private-schools report and two others released during the past week will be included in a study of school desegregation in the metro area, to be released this week.

A total of 20,146 pupils — 6 per cent of all elementary and high school pupils in the metro area — are enrolled in private schools this academic year, according to the report.

THE SHARP INCREASE in private-school enrollment since the 1970-71 school year contrasts with a decrease of about 750 in metro Altanta public school enrollment since last year.

Total enrollment in the nine metro area public school systems is now 324,187, the report said.

About 13 per cent of the private school enrollment is black, as compared to 29 per cent of the public school rolls.

Research Atlanta based its computations on figures supplied by the state Education Department, as well as a telephone survey in which it was able to contact 53 of the 66 private schools in the five-county metro area. Its report reflects "the best information available," Research Atlanta said.

Most of the schools contacted expected little increase in enrollment next year because they lack "the necessary resources," the report said.

Most interested in expansion were the smaller schools currently under-enrolled, the report said, but many of these schools face difficulty raising money for expansion.

"The larger and older 'prestige' schools are generally filled to capacity," the report said. "Of the schools contacted, only Pace Academy has an expansion program. Some of the others plan to discuss expansion in the near future, but extensive expansion is not expected."

ROMAN CATHOLIC schools were said to be filled to capacity, with little increase in enrollment possible next year.

In Atlanta, whose public schools have about 96,000 pupils of whom at least 77 per cent are black, 9,289 students attend private schools. That figure includes 1,802 black students, 24 per cent of the total.

The survey covered Fulton, DeKalb, Cobb, Clayton and Gwinnett counties. It included both accredited and non-accredited regular primary and secondary schools, but excluded special schools, adult education and nurseries.

Some Atlanta parents, including a group at S. M. Inman Elementary School, are making plans to organize new private schools if the courts require busing in Atlanta public schools.

Research Atlanta is a nonprofit, independent organization which studies housing, taxation and education problems in metro Atlanta. It is funded by donations and other private sources.

LWV Atlanta Fulton County. Education Committee. March, 1969

During the month of February, unit meetings focused on a study of the impact of the urban crisis in education and local schools. 15 of 17 units reported to the committee on suggested improvements.

The overall topic was a broad one and unit leaders determined specific interests in the fields of desegregation plans, equality of opportunity, quality improvements, and public participation in policy making decisions. The proposed State Budget was discussed and members were especially interested in seeing that school lunch funds are to be provided.

After the Education Committee received the suggestions from units they discussed the proposals and submit the following suggestions for Board action. We recommend sending these suggestions to the members of the Atlanta Board of Education and requesting time for discussion. If no answer comes before the April 14th meeting, we recommend asking for inclusion on the Board Agenda to highlight points in the five minutes allowed.

RACIAL BALANCE

The League feels better racial balance in city schools is still a viable goal; difficult, but not impossible to improve. Ways to accomplish this include modifications in the present mainly freedom of choice plan, more interpretive information on schools, improvement in transportation routes, and professional advice from outside consultants.

Faculty

Increased faculty integration would be desirable, particularly in the lower grades where better results might be expected for students and teachers. Consider possible incentives for teachers, voluntary rotation of teachers, use of teacher aides and diversified staff. Continue to recruit teachers of all races and both sexes for each school. Petitition the State Board, the State Department of Education and the State Legislature for necessary changes to make flexible use of personnel.

Transportation needs

The League feels Atlanta as an independent system is discriminated against at the State level. Funds should be made available to complement regular student fares. The Board of Education in Atlanta should petition the Legislature and ~~also petition~~ the Atlanta Transit Company for changes. The League recommends North South routes for the convenience of students who wish to exercise freedom of choice provisions. (for example, a bus on Northside Drive S.W. to N.W. would perform such a service.) If fares do not provide the necessary financial support, state aid should supplement the regular student fares. The Atlanta Board of Education should provide transportation services for students who attend special schools for Exceptional Children. State funds should be available to Atlanta for this purpose.

Neighborhood schools and alternatives

The League generally approves schools with easy access, especially for small children and approves flexible use of state funds to provide them. At the same time, provisions should be made to make children aware of the larger community: possibly by the use of special auxiliary facilities on a regularly scheduled basis.

The League favors the concept of comprehensive high schools, but

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

feels more consideration should be given to student andfaculty needs for "sense of belonging", communication problems, supportive services, and community support. Dividing students into groups or smaller units was suggested. Flexible arrangements should be made at the Area Office level and community wishes considered.

New buildings should be planned with a socio-economic mix and provisions for racial diversity. Stress should be placed on the advantages of cultural diversity. The size of schools should be openly discussed and advantages and disadvantages of larger units, educational complexes, etc. explained and considered.

The League feels the "Schools without Walls" is a valid concept for urban schools and the Atlanta Board should pursue this idea, seek State support for flexible use of State Funds. An attractive feature to support this idea is the cooperative use of facilities of local business and industry, and on the job training possibilities. Consideration should be given to requesting changes to allow 15 year olds to participate more actively inthis training to lower drop-out rates. Concentrate on this age group, especially boys. (Reports from Social Work Activities indicate problem)

The League feels special facilities should be used to develop special talents and to help desegregation in city schools. Particular promise in the fields of art, music, drama. Expand idea of classroom in Cultural Arts Center so many children can use facilities at the same time. Expand science possibilities using community facillilites already in existance, such as Zoo, Georgia Tech, etc.

POLICY MAKING DECISIONS

The Atlanta School Board should lead, inform, and accept major responsibility for policy making decisions. The administrative staff should carry out decisions, without bearing the full brunt of criticism. The Board should revise procedures to allow and encourage community participation. The Board should seek contact with classroom teachers to improve communications.

Some of the suggestions from League units included: a seat on the Board for a representative of teacher groups, area meetings, changes in Board meeting format, and interpretive publications. The League feels significant changes in teaching techniques, use of new materials, flexible groupings, etc. will come only with the involvement and cooperation of the best possible classroom teachers who are relieved of some clerical and disciplinary problems, given freedom and time to teach.

Parents must be encouraged to act cooperatively with school officials and personnel. Parents need to know their own schools, neighboring schools, and area staff and resources better. The Board is urged to reinstate Area Advisory Councils or similar groups, involve the community in solving common problems. Reexamine present area organization to explore possibilities of further decentralization. Decide which functions need central administrative procedures and reorganize accordingly.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PROGRAMS AND SERVICES TO IMPROVE QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

The League feels many programs begun as pilot projects should be expanded. The community ~~xxxxxx~~ should be made aware of the limited numbers of children who benefit from such programs at the present time and the intent of Federally funded projects. Emphasis should be placed on Program for the coming decade much as emphasis has been on Buildings in the past decade. The League particularly recommends the expansion of the following programs:

1. Prekindergarten for significant numbers of children, starting at 4 years of age and younger.

2. Improved kindergarten programs for all children in the city.
   - Smaller classes.
   - Better trained personnel. (Petition State Department of Education for Certification Changes and use of Stae Funds. Petition for change in Compulsory Attendance Law change to lower age)
   - Add content to course. (Follow lead of private kindergarten development in Atlanta area)
   - Use diversified personnel. (Allow use of part-time teachers, home economics majors trained in child care, teachers trained in other states, but not yet certified in Georgia)

3. Strengthen elementary grades.
   - Smaller classes for grades 1-3.
   - Continue to improve and stress reading programs. (Petittion for use of state funds for books not on state list if more suited for urban schools. Investigate ~~special~~ series designed for special area, more multiethnic materials.)
   - Continue innovations, expanding use as quickly as possible to schools not receiving federal funds.
   - Expand Communications Skills Laboratories to lower grades.

4. High schools
   - Expand present limited programs of pre-vocational training, independent study, honors programs, etc.
   - Make study of underachiever and plan program to help.
   - Expand counseling and social worker staff, changing role as necessary.
   - Make strang attack on social problems including absenteeism, truancy, drop-out, delinquency.

Teacher training

The League approves adequate inservice training for teachers, but feels quality is more important than quantity of offerings. Subject should be relevant, content worth the time to attend classes.

The Board of Education should ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ petition the State Board for provisions of a differntiated staff. This might not require more money from the State, but more flexible use of State funds. Why not point out to State Department the need for specialists, the number of newcomers who have special abilities, but are not state certified, the number of former teachers who cannot teach full time, the possibility of using clerical aides to perform school duties?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INFORMATION SERVICES

The League information furnished to the Board and to the Public should be interpretive in nature and point out needs, problems and programs in local schools. They should be designed to build public support for new programs needed and to aid parents, both residents and newcomers, to make intelligent choice in schools for their children to attend. For example:

1. Use monthly Board meetings to communicate and respond to the public as well as transact business. Decisions which clearly require professional competency may be more lightly treated in public meeting and increasing time spent on problems of interest to community at large. Consider relaxing rule about answering delegations.

2. Use more realistic terminology in discussing desegration. Even the terms may be legally correct, they are not always satisfying. If an individual school has all black students, calling it desegregated is not very meaningful and freedom of choice form seems irrelevant.

3. Publish material about individual schools so parents can make intelligent choice in home buying, renting etc. Suggested information might include: languages taught, special classes personnel and services offered, extent of vocational and pre-vocational offerings, indication of achievement level, size of school and approximate crowding (last year, for example), ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ racial composition. At the present time realtors in the metropolitan area make their own judgements, often using innacurate information, and influence housing patterns.

AREAS OF GREAT CONCERN (NON-ACADEMIC)

Admittedly, the Board of Education cannot solve all of Atlanta's problems, but records of school children contain some of the best clues as to where the problems are and what they are. A total community effort will be necessary to solve them. The Board of Education should seek to inform other agencies, business and industry leaders and community groups of the extent of the impact of the urban crisis on schools and seek help to solve problems which include:

1. Serious unmet health needs
2. The hunger problem and school lunch programs
3. Absenteeism in city schools, truancy, delinquency,
4. The needs of children who come to Atlanta to go to school but do not have a parentoof legal guardian to sign for admittance to city schools. If they are State residents, they should be able to go to school and the the system should receive state funds.
4. Children who have never been enrolled in school anywhere and are lost statistically.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Summary of SUGGESTIONS:

1. Call in expert on urban school problems.

2. Examine needs for financing programs, not buildings. Inforam the community, seek flexible use of existing funds.

3. Contact State Board of Education, State Department of Education and members of General Assembly for needed changes.

4. Outline suggestions for interested community groups.
   Need of general fund to meet needs not filled by state, federal or local funds. (PTA's expand idea of Ira Jarrel Milk Fund, Central Library Fund for example, or Central Music Fund)

   Explore possibility of naming sister schools for groups to work cooperatively together to pool resources, train volunteer staff, utilize talents.

   Explore what services and programs can be assigned to agencies other than schools to relieve some of the non-academic chores.

Ethel Williams
355-2715

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FEDERAL PROGRAMS
monitor
CENTER FOR COMMUNITY CHANGE
WASHINGTON, D.C. AUGUST, 1973

File

EDA to Continue but Other Economic Development Programs in Jeopardy

The Federal funding outlook for community-oriented economic development programs is beginning to shift as the Administration intentions, revealed in the proposed Fiscal Year 1974 budget are subjected to the Congressional authorization and appropriations process.

The first big switch of the new fiscal year came as the President compromised with the Congress on renewing the life of the **Economic Development Administration.**

EDA's activities, largely designed to provide grant funds for public works projects in rural areas, have proven popular on Capitol Hill.

Last year, Congress passed a renewal of the basic legislation authorizing the agency's programs, only to have the measure vetoed by the President.

In the FY 74 Budget, the Administration revealed plans to close the agency down entirely on June 30, 1973, asserting that other agencies and new programs authorized by the **Rural Development Act of 1972** could carry the ball on rural development.

Congressional support for EDA again became evident as a one-year extension of EDA programs was passed in early June. In a shift of position, the President signed the bill and EDA received a new lease on life.

The basis for the compromise between the President and Congress was spelled out in the President's statement on signing the renewal bill. Mr. Nixon agreed to a FY 74 funding level of approximately $200 million, as contrasted to the $430 million authorized in the legislation and to the $270 to $280 million which the agency has customarily received in past years.

The Administration will submit a new proposal to re-structure the Federal economic development programs to the Congress before January 1st.

The necessary appropriations bill for EDA is still working its way through the Congress. If the final appropriations level follows the President's suggestion, the outlook is for a reduction in the size of the public works program and a drastic reduction in the business loan program.

The technical assistance program, the agency program most useful to community groups in the past, would be increased. However, this increase is targeted for technical assistance efforts in communities affected by closings and cutbacks in military installations.

EDA support for economic development on Indian reservations is projected at approximately its current level, with the non-Federal share of Indian technical assistance grants eliminated by a special provision of the law renewing the agency.

In other developments, the Administration has submitted its legislative proposal for the transfer of the **OEO Community Economic Development Program** to the **Office of Minority Business Enterprise** in the **Department of Commerce.**

The fate of the program is of considerable importance to community groups, since it is presently the largest single source of Federal dollars for community-based economic development efforts.

The proposed legislation, dubbed the **"Minority Business Assistance Act of 1973"** would remove the current legal prohibition against transferring the Community Economic Development Program outside OEO.

The bill would do this by specifically transferring the responsibility of Part A of Title VII of the Economic Opportunity Act from the director of OEO to the Secretary of Commerce.

However, the bill makes no mention of Part B of the same title, which authorizes community-based rural development programs, nor does it mention Part C, which authorizes support training and technical assistance programs. Part C also authorizes the crea-

(Continued on page four)

In This Issue:

White House-Congress compromise on **EDA** leads shift in development plans . . .

Status of **OEO** programs in doubt; four key projects are analyzed . . .

Census Bureau shows decrease in overall poverty but increase among Blacks . . .

CDC's get a chance to influence next year's revenue sharing outlays . . .

CDCs Urged to Seek Revenue Share for FY 74

Community development organizations will have an opportunity, although perhaps a brief one, to affect how their local governments spend Federal revenue sharing dollars in the fiscal year which began July 1.

The **Office of Revenue Sharing** of the **Treasury Department** last month mailed to local units, among other things, copies of the Planned Use Report, in which every local government must set forth how it intends to spend revenue shares in the coming year.

This report must be filed with Treasury no later than September 20. The governmental unit must specify by that time what expenditures it intends to make for the eight priority areas called for in the general revenue sharing law as well as capital outlays planned.

These eight priorities are public safety, environmental protection, public transportation, health, recreation, libraries, social services for the aged and poor and financial administration.

The planned use data must indicate also how much of next year's funds will be allocated for the continuation of presently-provided public services and what percentage will be spent for new or expanded services in each of the eight areas.

In addition, the Planned Use Report must show how much the unit intends to use for capital expenditures including education, transportation, housing and the like. There is virtually no ceiling on such outlays.

Finally, the chief executive officer of the local government unit must "advise a local newspaper and the news media of the contents of this report." Furthermore, he must swear, "I have records documenting the contents of this report and they are open for public and news media scrutiny."

All of this means community groups will be able to a) examine carefully what it is the local unit plans to do with its revenue share for the full fiscal year which ends next June, and b) determine whether all segments of the community, particularly the poor and disadvantaged, will share equitably in the distribution of services and other expenditures.

One way to make certain CDCs will have support for their positions on future spending is to examine what local governments have done with money already received.

For the Revenue Sharing Office in Treasury also demands in another report an accounting on what's happened to revenue sharing dollars for the past year and a half, the time general revenue sharing legislation has been in effect.

This Actual Use Report (covering the period of January 1, 1972 through June 30, 1973), will show what local units have done by way of spreading their revenue shares throughout the community.

The Actual Use Report must be filed with Treasury by September 1 and will indicate the expenditure of all revenue sharing dollars received through June 30 of this year.

Local CDCs should be able to acquire a copy of the Actual Use Report in the near future, because the report must be prepared for presentation to Washington by the first of September. This report should be helpful to local groups in developing plans for the future expenditure of funds.

For example, if the Actual Use Report shows only small amounts spent for social services or other programs helping low income residents or that the major portion of the funds went for the construction of buildings or other capital improvements, these facts can be used as arguments to support a community group's suggestions for more desirable use of Federal funds in the future.

It is most important that local CDC s report to MONITOR on experiences undergone with governmental units on either the past use of Federal revenue sharing dollars or the disposition of CDC suggestions on planned use of these monies.

End of Housing Freeze Viewed as Unlikely

The Department of Housing and Urban Development's freeze on spending for housing continues into its seventh month with no sign it will be removed. HUD still promises new legislative recommendations by September 7, but action by Congress this year seems unlikely.

The nature of the Administration's recommendation also is unknown and unpredictable.

Federal District Judge Richey in Washington recently ordered HUD to lift the moratorium and resume processing applications. The Administration will appeal, so this does not seem to be a source of relief in the near future.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS
monitor

MONITOR is the Federal Programs Information Service of the Center for Community Change, a non-profit, tax-exempt organization which assists local community development corporations in low-income urban and rural areas of the United States.

DAVID RAMAGE, JR.
President

WOODROW L. GINSBURG
Editor

Inquiries should be directed to MONITOR, The Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007

Poverty Rose for Blacks, Ebbed for Whites in '72

Recently the **Census Bureau** reported that 24.5 million persons were living in poverty during 1972. The poverty definition used was an annual income of $4,275 for a four-person, non-farm family. For a family of four persons living on the farm the figure was $3,643. (These figures are adjusted according to family size and place of residence. For example, for a two person non-farm family the figure is $2,724; for a five person non-farm family the figure is $5,044. Also, the poverty line or "poverty threshold," as it is sometimes called, is adjusted each year to take into account changes in price levels.)

Of the 24.5 million persons, about 20 million were living in 5.1 million families, while 4.8 million were so-called unrelated individuals. About 94 per cent or 4.8 million, of the 5.1 million families lived in non-farm communities.

The overall figure represents a decline of 1.1 million persons between 1971 and 1972, but that total hides sharply different movements among Whites and Blacks and other races. For while the number of poor Whites declined by 1.6 million, the number of poor among Blacks and other races showed an increase of 500,000, netting out to the slightly more than one million person decline.

Overall, the progress made by our nation in reducing poverty in recent years has been disappointing.

In 1969, the number of poor totalled 24.2 million, rose by 1.2 million in 1970 (the first increase in the number of poor since 1959 when such data were first tabulated), increased by another 140,000 in 1971 and and then showed the 1.1 million decline referred to earlier.

The comparable figures for Blacks and other races separately show a worsening in 1970, a slight improvement in 1971 and once again a worsening in 1972.

The number of non-White poor in 1972 was actually 800,000 greater than in 1969 and 260,000 greater than in 1968. One must go back to 1967 for a year when the poor among Blacks and other races were more numerous than in the latest census count.

Year	Total Persons In Poverty	Whites	Non-Whites
	(figures in millions)		
1969	24.2	16.7	7.5
1970	25.4	17.5	7.9
1971	25.6	17.8	7.8
1972	24.5	16.2	8.3

Among Blacks alone, what improvement was made took place among the families headed by a male. Such poor Black families declined by some 200,000 during the year, but that was more than offset by the over 500,000 increase in the number of poor Black families headed by a female. Overall some 32 per cent of all Black and other minorities were in poverty, a rate more than three times as high as poverty among Whites.

The census information on the poor shatters one of widely-held myths about poverty and work. Substantial numbers of the poor worked but, because of irregularity of work, low wages and other factors, still found themselves and their families mired in poverty. Even among those who worked on a full-time basis each week and worked year-round, there were one million such persons during 1972 whose earnings kept them and their families below the poverty threshold. (Of these 250,000 were Black, 750,000 were White.)

Besides these working poor, there were an additional 1.5 million who worked part-year. These poor were employed between one and 49 weeks during the year. In one out of three cases, unemployment was responsible for the part-time factor.

The 24.5 million persons officially counted as poor by the census represent about 12 per cent of our total population. But considering the extremely low standards used in that definition, many more who lived in severe deprivation are not reflected in the official poverty count.

The census reports do contain another measure which should be noted. That measure is one which uses a figure of 125 per cent for the poverty threshold. In other words, it uses a poverty line of $5,344 for a four person non-farm family, rather than the $4,275 figure mentioned earlier.

Using this measure, the census statisticians found there were 34.7 million persons who had incomes less than 125 per cent of the poverty level. While these 9.3 million persons are not officially included in the poverty definition, they, too, are living at the brink of poverty.

Break Ground on New TWO Housing Project

Construction began in late May on Jackson Park Terrace, The Woodlawn Organization's most recent housing project. The terrace will offer 322 apartments and town houses on a nine-acre site next to Jackson Park and the Lake Michigan waterfront.

It will be offered to a wide range of income groups and will house single persons and elderly couples as well as large families. Air-conditioning, security equipment and neighborhood shopping are among the many features to be offered.

The terrace is financed by the **Illinois Housing Development Authority,** the state housing finance agency. All tenants will benefit from the reasonable mortgage terms available from IHDA, and many families will receive Section 236 interest subsidies as well.

In addition, IHDA has made an unprecedented grant to TWO which will enable the group to put $800,000 aside as a reserve to be used for unanticipated management, maintenance or other costs after construction is completed. This assures the financial flexibility which the wave of FHA foreclosures has proven necessary.

The project received its feasibility letters before the **Department of Housing and Urban Development** imposed its housing moratorium. It therefore was not affected by the freeze.

EDA Set but Other Programs in Danger

(Continued from page one)

tion of two development loan funds: one for Special Impact Projects under Part A and one for rural projects under Part B.

Other provisions of the bill would build a legislative base for the programs now run by OMBE and oriented toward the development of individually-owned as distinct from community minority business.

The fate of the bill is uncertain as this issue of MONITOR goes to press.

Despite the public attention given to it, the new Rural Development Act has yet to be implemented. The law, passed through Congressional initiative last fall, calls for a number of new grant and loan programs aimed at generating more business and job opportunities for rural and small town residents.

In the FY 74 Budget, the Administration proposed to implement the loan authorities but asked for minimal funding of the grant programs.

The Department of Agriculture has published proposed regulations covering the loan programs and says it will begin to release money as soon as funds are available from the pending FY 74 appropriations act for the department.

The department's implementation strategy has been keyed around close involvement of the governors. The proposed regulations would give the governors the opportunity to say which projects they favor and in what priority order for funding. The governors would also be asked to designate a limited number of multi-county planning districts where RDA programs would be tested.

Agriculture's strategy has run into strong public and Congressional opposition. There is considerable sentiment for starting up with a nation-wide, rather than a selected district program. There is also a chance that the governors' control over RDA projects may be downgraded before the final regulations are published.

The usefulness of RDA loan programs for community-based business ventures appears limited. The proposed regulations call for a 25 per cent equity requirement, a condition which capital-starved rural groups will find hard to meet.

The proposed regulations also defer to current **Small Business Administration** programs and the lending activities of local banks, setting out the role of RDA financing as that of a guarantor of bank loans for ventures too large for SBA to handle.

Fate of OEO Awaits Nixon-Congress Accord

Pending final action by Congress and the President, the future of major programs of the **Office of Economic Opportunity** remains in doubt.

As reported in the April, 1973 issue of MONITOR, the Administration proposed to terminate the **Community Action Programs,** create an independent **Legal Services Corporation** to continue legal services programs and to transfer other OEO programs, including the migrant and special impact programs, to the **Departments of Labor and Commerce.**

Until September of this year, OEO will remain in operation under a continuing resolution that maintains both the CAP and legal service programs at last year's level of funding.

What happens after September is a matter of guesswork. The signs, however, are not hopeful. Here is the current status:

• **Legal Services:** As predicted in the June issue of MONITOR, the Legal Services Corporation bill passed the House but with far more restrictions on the program than contemplated. Amendments restricting law reform, lobbying on behalf of the poor and the use of backup centers were added to the bill. Whether an effective program will emerge from the Senate and conference action is an open question.

• **Community Action Programs:** If the Administration has its way, there will be no funds for the support of the 1,000 community action agencies which employ 150,000 persons and provide a multitude of services for the poor. Reports from the field indicate that few communities are being pressured to set aside other monies to continue the CAA's. However, these examples are instructive. In Los Angeles, community groups have convinced the local administration to use general revenue sharing funds to maintain the CAP program. In Erie, Pa. and Nassau County, New York, both general revenue sharing and general local revenues are being set aside to pick up the programs. Overall, the Administration prediction that this would be done in many places has turned out to be "disappointing" in the words of the new acting director, Al Arnett.

• **Migrant Services:** Acting according to its own plan, the Administration continues to move toward transferring $39 million for migrant programs to the Department of Labor.

Under OEO administration, migrant monies were used for a variety of services, including education, self-help housing and family-oriented services.

Indications now are that the Labor Department will restrict the use of money to helping farm workers find other means of employment. This would end services to two-thirds of the migrant population, destroy flexibility and spell the end of support for non-profit community groups controlled by farm workers and providing services to migrant constituencies.

Testifying before the Senate, the new acting director conceded that specific plans have not been drawn up beyond the plan to transfer the money. Regulations to insure a flexible use of the money do not exist.

• **Special Impact:** Under Administration plans, OEO economic development funds will be administered by the **Office of Minority Business Enterprise** at the Department of Commerce. What's happening in this area is treated in detail elsewhere in this issue of MONITOR.

Not for Publication without permission

Rylos Urban Lab BSU

CHAPTER II

CITIZEN ATTITUDES TOWARD PUBLIC EDUCATION

For quite some time, public education has been in the vortex of the "urban crisis." Whether the issue in question has concerned taxes, proper socialization of the young, drugs, collective bargaining, desegregation, community control or a host of other explosive issues, at one time or another the schools have been involved in virtually every major controversy of the day.[1] While some school systems may have suffered severely from their involvement in social controversy, the fact nevertheless remains that most Americans hold quite favorable attitudes toward public schools. Indeed, Campbell and Schuman's important study of racial attitudes in fifteen American cities reported public education to be the most highly esteemed of all local government services among both blacks and whites.[2] Also, a recent study of citizen attitudes toward state services and tax policies in Georgia found Georgians to rank education more favorably than any other program; the 584 respondents in this statewide survey were also more willing to increase taxes for educational purposes than for any other program.[3]

Thus, on the basis of these findings, there is good reason to expect Atlantans to give highly favorable evaluations of their public schools. To test this expectation, this chapter will examine citizen attitudes toward the following: 1) quality of education provided by neighborhood schools; 2) perceived quality of neighborhood education compared to educational quality in other areas of the city; 3) whether parents and

PAGINATION INCORRECT

citizens have had the right amount of say in neighborhood educational decision making; 4) school integration and busing; and 5) willingness to spend more money on public education.

Citizen Evaluations of Educational Quality

Two questions attempted to measure citizen perceptions of the quality of education provided to Atlanta youth. The first question was designed to test perceived quality of neighborhood schools by asking respondents to rate the quality of education children receive as very good, good enough, not so good, or not good at all. Our second question attempted to measure perceived neighborhood inequalities in the public schools by asking respondents whether they thought their neighborhood schools were better, the same, or not as good as schools in the rest of the city. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 report our findings, and these data may be summarized as follows.

First, quality of public education is accorded rather favorable ratings with over three-fourths of those responding, rating the educational quality of neighborhood schools as very good or good enough. Conversely, approximately one-fourth evaluate the schools less favorably. It is also important to note that there are no statistically significant differences by race, educational level, or age. Only homeownership is related to evaluations of public school quality with homeowners being more positive than renters in their views on the quality of education in neighborhood schools.

Second, a somewhat different pattern emerges when attention is focused on perceived inequality of education across neighborhoods in Table 2.2. Although 58.8 percent respond that their neighborhood schools

TABLE 2.1

Citizen Evaluations of Quality of Education
Provided by Neighborhood Schools (in rounded percentages)

	Very Good	Good Enough	Not So Good	Not Good at All	(N)
Sample	32.0	43.2	21.2	3.6	(387)
Race*					
White	35.3	40.7	21.1	2.9	(204)
Black	28.4	45.9	21.3	4.4	(183)
Education*					
Low	31.1	46.5	19.5	2.9	(241)
High	33.8	37.2	24.1	4.8	(145)
Age*					
Young	28.8	42.3	23.6	5.3	(208)
Old	36.3	42.7	19.3	1.8	(171)
Homeownership					
Owners	38.0	42.9	16.3	2.7	(184)
Renters	26.6	43.3	25.6	4.4	(203)

*Not significant

TABLE 2.2

Citizen Perceptions of Neighborhood Educational Quality
Compared With Schools in Other Parts of the City (in rounded percentages)

	Schools are Better Quality	Quality is Same	Not as Good	(N)
Sample	24.0	58.8	17.3	(388)
Race				
White	30.6	56.8	12.6	(206)
Black	16.5	61.0	22.5	(182)
Education*				
Low	31.1	46.5	22.4	(241)
High	33.8	37.2	28.9	(145)
Age				
Young	27.4	50.5	22.1	(208)
Old	20.5	67.3	12.3	(171)
Homeownership*				
Owners	23.9	61.7	14.4	(180)
Renters	24.0	56.3	19.7	(208)

*Not significant

rank about equal in quality with schools in the city at-large, perceived inequality varies by race, education, and age. Because the most pronounced differences are racial (with blacks being less satisfied than whites), the differences are best delineated by controlling for race. Table 2.3 contains the relevant data which show that whites, regardless of age and education, have the most favorable perceptions of neighborhood educational quality. Satisfaction with neighborhood schools is particularly evident among all white groups except the low educated where 14.9 percent see their schools as better than those in other parts of the city. Among blacks, the tendency to evaluate neighborhood schools as "not as good" as elsewhere in Atlanta is slightly more pronounced among young persons. In the final analysis, however, perhaps the most important attribute of the data in Table 2.3 is that persons of lower social rank--including both lower status whites and blacks--tend to hold the most critical views toward the city's public education system.

Community Relations

One of the most important concerns of school officials in metropolitan areas is the school's relationship with its constituency of parents and other citizens. School-community relations are especially important because of American notions that schools are to serve the public and because schools must often depend upon public approval via referenda of additional funds to cover rising educational costs. In recent years, another phenomenon, demands for community control of schools, has been nurtured by the civil rights movement, the "maximum feasible participation" ethos of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act,

TABLE 2.3

Citizen Perceptions of Neighborhood Educational Quality
With Controls (in rounded percentages)

	Schools are Better Quality	Quality is Same	Not as Good
White, Young	35.4	47.5	17.2
White, Old	26.5	64.7	8.8
White, Low Education	14.9	74.5	10.6
White, High Education	34.8	51.9	13.3
Black, Young	20.2	53.2	26.6
Black, Old	11.6	71.0	17.4
Black, Low Education	15.2	62.8	22.1
Black, High Education	21.6	54.1	24.3

seemingly impervious school bureaucracies, as well as class and cultural conflicts between school leaders and the community.[4] Needless to say, the demand for community control has received widespread attention, and its advocates often leave the impression that parents and citizens are universally disenchanted with urban school systems.[5]

Is there evidence that Atlantans conform to this disenchanted citizen model? Our survey data in Table 2.4 suggest quite the contrary; 67.6 percent of respondents assert that parents and citizens have the right amount of say in neighborhood educational decisions. In contrast, only 32.4 percent state that parents and citizens do not have the right amount of say. Moreover, levels of disenchantment do not vary to any significant degree by race, age or homeownership. The low visibility of community control and community relations problems is enunciated further by responses to an open-ended question asking citizens how schools could be improved. Of the 339 persons responding to this item, only 6.2 percent identify community relations as a means of improving schools; and even among this small proportion of respondents, answers are usually stated in a positive rather than a negative manner. Hence, on the basis of these data it is quite apparent that school-community relations are perceived quite favorably by most citizens.

School Desegregration and Busing

Since the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in Brown vs. Board of Education (1954), the struggle to achieve school desegregation has been catalogued in numerous studies.[6] These studies thoroughly document the seriousness of school desegregation as a major problem and describe the

TABLE 2.4

Citizen Opinions on Whether Parents and Citizens
Have Had the Right Amount of Say in Neighborhood Educational Decisions (in percentages)

	Yes, Have Had Right Amount of Say	No, Have Not Had Right Amount	(N)
Sample	67.6	32.4	(364)
Race*			
White	65.4	34.6	(188)
Black	69.9	30.1	(176)
Education*			
Low	70.5	29.5	(227)
High	63.0	37.0	(135)
Age			
Young	61.5	38.5	(200)
Old	74.5	25.5	(157)
Homeownership*			
Owners	70.4	29.6	(169)
Renters	65.1	34.9	(195)

*Not Significant

various means devised for circumventing or evading desegregation. Thus, there is little reason for summarizing these general aspects of the school desegregation controversy since our principal concern is with perceived desegregation problems in Atlanta.

Following Brown vs. Board of Education, Atlanta's school board was successful in averting desegregation through appeals processes until 1961 when Atlanta became the first city in the hard-core, segregationist states of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina to successfully desegregate its school system. Crain et al. show that the desegregation controversy was marked by open civil rights activity, and, in contrast to other Deep South cities, relatively peaceful resolution of racial conflict. Atlanta's fairly commendable record in dealing with desegregation has been attributed to the "modernizing" ideology of local elites and civic leaders who have been determined to see that the city's progressive image will not be tarnished by extremism.[7] A politically moderate electoral coalition of higher status whites and blacks, arrayed against lower status whites and state political leaders, aided in the peaceful transition toward desegregation.[8] By 1970, most city schools had achieved some degree of desegregation. However, the fact that blacks constitute 70 percent of the student population, the 1968 presidential election campaign, attempts to close some neighborhood schools, faculty desegregation, and other issues continued to give salience to the desegregation question. Our objective here is to describe citizen perceptions of the problems surrounding desegregation.

First, to what extent is school desegregation perceived as a serious problem by our respondents? Table 2.5 indicates that 37.5 percent view

TABLE 2.5

Opinions Regarding Seriousness of
School Integration as a Problem (in rounded percentages)

	Serious Problem	Some Problem	Little or No Problem	(N)
Sample	37.5	40.6	21.9	(443)
Race				
White	42.3	38.8	18.8	(245)
Black	31.3	42.9	25.8	(198)
Education				
Low	33.1	42.6	25.3	(272)
High	44.7	37.1	18.3	(170)
Age*				
Young	40.5	40.9	18.6	(232)
Old	34.0	40.0	26.0	(200)
Homeownership*				
Owners	37.3	39.2	23.6	(204)
Renters	37.7	41.8	20.5	(239)

*Not significant

the question as a serious problem, 40.6 percent assign a moderate (i.e., some problem) ranking, whereas 21.6 percent state that integration of schools is little or no problem at all. Whites and persons of high educational status tend to view desegregation as being more serious than blacks or low educated persons. Statistical controls for race and education do not significantly alter the relationships in Table 2.5, although race controls show young blacks to view desegregation as a serious problem by a 37 to 23 percent margin over older black respondents. On the other hand, among whites, perceptions vary only marginally by age and educational level.

Of course, the agency which has primary responsibility for effecting desegregation is the local school board and other school officials, a fact which directs attention to citizen evaluations of how well these officials have handled the integration problem. The data in Table 2.6 demonstrate quite conclusively that Atlantans are satisfied with the way in which officials have handled school desegregation. Almost three-fourths of those responding to the question of how well school officials have handled integration respond favorably (i.e., very well or well enough). Conversely, only 7.2 percent report a highly unfavorable (i.e., not well at all) response. On this question no statistically significant differences appear by race or education. Renters are less favorable in their evaluations than homeowners, but the most important differences are generational--younger respondents, by far, hold the most negative evaluations of school authorities' handling of school integration. Indeed, 36.6 percent of younger persons report negative evaluations, compared to only 15.3 percent among older respondents. Further manipulation of the

TABLE 2.6

Citizen Evaluations of How Well School Officials
Have Handled Integration Problem (in rounded percentages)[a]

	Very Well	Well Enough	Not Too Well	Not Well at All	(N)
Sample	38.6	34.8	19.4	7.2	(391)
Race*					
White	37.6	36.2	18.3	8.0	(213)
Black	39.9	33.1	20.8	6.2	(178)
Education*					
Low	40.0	34.5	18.7	6.8	(235)
High	36.8	34.8	20.6	7.7	(155)
Age					
Young	29.2	34.3	27.3	9.3	(216)
Old	50.0	34.8	10.4	4.9	(164)
Homeownership					
Owners	45.1	33.1	14.3	7.4	(175)
Renters	33.3	36.1	23.6	6.9	(216)

[a]Table excludes those who said integration has not been a problem

*Not significant

data reveal that these generational cleavages do not disappear when race is controlled. In other words, young Atlantans, regardless of race, are more critical of school officials than older Atlantans.

These generational differences may be attributed to two factors. First, younger persons are more likely to have children in school and the problem impinges more directly upon them. Second, the general thrust of our survey data suggests that older persons have more favorable images of virtually all aspects of city government, while young persons tend to be less accepting of system directives and behavior.[9] To a large extent, therefore, the age differences may be a reflection of genuine commitments to different values; older residents are more traditionalistic and acquiescent; younger persons appear to show signs of breaking with social and political traditions.[10] Two characteristics of this more modernistic value system among younger persons is a greater willingness to react critically to system performance and to expect more from the system than older citizens. Evidently, this higher level of expectation extends to authorities' handling of school desegregation.

One of the most controversial aspects of desegregation is that of busing students to achieve the goal of an integrated society. Advantages and disadvantages of busing have been articulated elsewhere and need not be stipulated here since our emphasis is upon citizen reactions to the plan, not upon the plan's substantive merits. But in view of the Supreme Court's recent decision in Swann, et al. vs. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education, the busing issue assumes paramount importance.[11] Two questions attempted to measure citizen perceptions of busing. Respondents were first asked whether assigning children to schools outside their neighborhoods

to achieve a more even spread of blacks and whites would be "a good idea or not." Second, persons with children in school were asked whether they would be willing to have their children sent to schools outside their neighborhoods to achieve integration. Responses to these two items are reported in Tables 2.7 and 2.8.

Focusing first on citizen evaluations of busing's relative merits (Table 2.7), our data show that over two-thirds of respondents (67.8 percent) do not consider busing to be a good idea. On this question, however, blacks and whites hold widely divergent perspectives. Whites are almost uniformly opposed to the idea, with 89.3 percent reporting that busing would not be a good idea, whereas almost 6 out of 10 blacks (59.7 percent) consider busing to be a good idea. There are also some noticeable differences by age, education, and homeownership, but these differences turn out to be mere artifacts of socioeconomic differences between blacks and whites: Statistically significant differences by age, education and homeownership disappear when controls are introduced for race. (It is worthy of mention that younger whites and whites who rent are more favorably inclined toward busing than older persons and homeowners. On the other hand, among blacks, younger persons are less favorably inclined toward busing than their elders while owners and renters divide in the same manner as whites. But despite these fluctuations, the racial cleavages shown in Table 2.7 remain intact.)

Are parents willing to send children to schools outside their neighborhoods to achieve integration? Our data in Table 2.8 provide an emphatic "no" in response to this question: 61.6 percent of the respondents report an "unwilling" reply compared to only 38.4 percent

TABLE 2.7

Citizen Attitudes Toward Assigning Children to Schools
Outside Their Neighborhoods
to Achieve a More Even Spread of Blacks and Whites (in rounded percentages)

	Good Idea	Not a Good Idea	(N)
Sample	32.2	67.8	(454)
Race			
White	10.7	89.3	(253)
Black	59.7	40.3	(201)
Education			
Low	37.3	62.7	(276)
High	23.3	76.7	(176)
Age			
Young	35.1	64.8	(239)
Old	28.9	71.1	(204)
Homeownership			
Owners	22.2	77.8	(207)
Renters	40.5	59.5	(247)

TABLE 2.8

Personal Willingness to Send Children to Schools
Outside of Neighborhood to Achieve Integration (in rounded percentages)[a]

	Willing	Not Willing	(N)
Sample	38.4	61.6	(112)
Race			
White	15.4	84.6	(52)
Black	58.3	41.7	(60)
Education*			
Low	39.8	60.2	(83)
High	34.5	65.5	(29)
Age*			
Young	44.0	56.0	(75)
Old	24.2	75.8	(33)
Homeownership*			
Owners	32.2	67.8	(59)
Renters	45.3	54.7	(53)

[a]Includes only persons with children in school
*Not significant

who state a willingness to have their children bused. Again, the differences are primarily racial with almost 6 out of 10 blacks willing to bus compared to only 15.4 percent of the whites. These racial differences remain constant under statistical controls, whereas the differences associated with age, education, and homeownership vanish.

In fact, among high educated whites, only 11.8 percent report a willingness to have their children bused compared to 17.1 percent among lower status whites. Although the differences are not statistically significant, this finding is important for two reasons: 1) a higher educational achievement does not appear to have much ameliorating influence among white Atlantans;[12] 2) the finding further enunciates mass racial polarization on the notion of busing to achieve racial integration of schools.

Citizen Willingness to Spend More Money for Education

Despite findings that citizens generally accord a high level of support for schools, this support is sometimes difficult to translate into citizen willingness to increase expenditures for education. One section of our survey sought to tap citizen willingness to spend more, the same, or less money in sixteen program areas, including education. Responses in Table 2.9 show a strong willingness to spend more for public education with 63.7 percent of respondents taking this position. In contrast, only 2.7 percent report a preference for spending less on education. Of course, variations occur by race, education, and homeownership, but the principal source of divisiveness is age. Young persons, by a wide margin (75 percent to 50 percent) express a desire to spend more on education. The pervasiveness of this difference between

TABLE 2.9

Citizen Attitudes Toward Spending
More, Same, or Less on Education (in rounded percentages)

	Spend More	Spend Same	Spend Less	(N)
Sample	63.7	33.6	2.7	(449)
Race				
White	59.3	36.7	4.0	(248)
Black	69.1	29.9	1.0	(201)
Education				
Low	59.8	38.4	1.8	(276)
High	69.6	26.3	4.1	(171)
Age				
Young	75.0	23.3	1.7	(240)
Old	50.8	45.7	3.5	(199)
Homeownership				
Owners	57.6	38.5	3.9	(205)
Renters	68.9	29.5	1.6	(244)

younger and older respondents is well illustrated under statistical controls for both education and race. In no instance does the level of support for spending more drop below 73.5 percent among youth; conversely, in no instance does the support level for higher expenditures rise above 57.5 percent among older respondents. Thus, age turns out to be the principal line of cleavage between forces wishing to increase public school expenditures and forces wishing to maintain or decrease present expenditure levels.[13]

Summary

Our major findings regarding citizen attitudes toward Atlanta's public school system may be summarized as follows:

(1) There is a relatively high level of public satisfaction with the quality of Atlanta's public school system. However, there is a tendency for blacks and lower class whites to perceive greater inequities in their neighborhood schools than is the case among higher status whites. This perceived inequity does not result in a dramatic withdrawal of support from the public schools, but officials might devote attention to possible inequities among schools in different types of neighborhoods.

(2) Community-school relations are perceived quite satisfactorily and there is little evidence to suggest that authorities will be presented with any demands for community control that will have widespread public support.

(3) School desegregation is perceived by a solid majority of citizens as a continuing problem. This is especially true among whites, persons of higher formal educational achievement, and younger blacks. In spite of this finding, almost three-fourths of our respondents give favorable evaluations of the way in which public authorities have handled school desegregation. Authorities receive their most critical evaluations from younger persons and the more critical posture of youth persists when controls are introduced for race.

(4) Busing of children to achieve a more even spread of blacks and whites is not a popular subject for whites. On the other hand, blacks

are more favorably disposed toward busing, obviously perceiving it as a means of eliminating racial barriers and of reducing racial inequality in the public schools. Nevertheless, any concerted effort to implement mass busing will probably meet with strong resistance from whites and a few younger blacks who have apparently begun to question the wisdom of this approach to school integration.

(5) Atlantans express a strong willingness to spend more for public education. Policy makers should not interpret this liberal attitude as a mandate for increased taxation, but the fact nevertheless remains that a good education for their children is a major concern of Atlanta adults. Under favorable circumstances, it is conceivable that this sentiment could be converted into public approval of higher taxes. A major obstacle to such an effort, however, is that of providing some means of alleviating the opposition of older persons to increased expenditures.

NOTES

1. Robert L. Crain et al., The Politics of School Desegregation (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968); Marilyn Gittell, Participants and Participation: A Study of School Policy in New York City (New York: Center for Urban Education, n.d.); David Rogers, 110 Livingston Street (New York: Random House, 1968); Robert A. Dentler et al., (eds.), The Urban R's (New York: Praeger, 1967); James C. Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967); Harmon Zeigler, The Political Life of American Teachers (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967); Robert E. Agger and Marshall N. Goldstein, Who Will Run the Schools: A Cultural Class Conflict (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1970).

2. Angus Campbell and Howard Schuman, Racial Attitudes in 15 American Cities (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ann Arbor Institute for Social Research, 1968), p. 39; Basil Zimmer and Amos H. Hawley found that 90 percent of the residents of six metropolitan areas were satisfied with their schools. See Metropolitan Area Schools (Beverly Hills: Sage Publishing Co., 1968), p. 86.

3. E.O. Kline, Donald L. Fairchild, Charles B. Pyles, and Tim C. Ryles, "Citizen Attitudes Toward State Taxation and Public Policies in Georgia," (Atlanta: Report to the Committee on Economy, Reorganization, and Efficiency in Government, Georgia General Assembly, 1969).

4. Phillip B. Meranto, School Politics in the Metropolis (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1970), pp. 74-84; Daniel P. Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding (New York: Free Press, 1969).

5. See Gittell, Participants and Participation.

6. Crain et al., Politics of School Desegregation; Jack W. Peltason, Fifty-eight Lonely Men (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961); and the works summarized in Meranto, School Politics, esp. Chapter 4.

7. Crain et al., Politics of School Desegregation, p. 247.

8. M. Kent Jennings and Harmon Zeigler, "Class, Party, and Race in Four Types of Elections: The Case of Atlanta," Journal of Politics, 28 (1966): 391-407.

9. See especially Chapter VIII below.

10. See Anthony M. Orum and Edward W. McCranie, "Class, Tradition, and Partisan Alignment in a Southern Urban Electorate," Journal of Politics, 32 (1970): 156-76, for a similar view.

11. The text of this opinion is reported in the Atlanta Constitution, Wednesday, April 21, 1971.

12. James W. Prothro and Donald R. Matthews, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), p. 343, report a similar finding. This contrasts somewhat with Ralph W. Conant, Sheldon Levy, and Ralph Lewis, "Mass Polarization: Negro and White Attitudes on the Pace of Integration," American Behavioral Scientist, 13 (1969): 247-63.

13. This finding reinforces a need to attempt some variation of the "circuit-breaker" approach in local taxation to gain support for more taxes (if necessary) for schools. See Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, "State and Local Finances: Significant Features, 1966-1969," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 4-5.

SCHOOLS

B1. (Interviewer: Check one)

R has no children

All R's children 18 or older

R's children all under 5

R has children 5 - 18

B2. (Are your children going to/Will your children go to) public schools here in Atlanta, private schools or parochial schools?

B3. As you know, many children go to Catholic or other church-supported parochial schools instead of to public schools. Some people have said that local tax money should be used to help support such schools. Do you think this is a good idea or not?

B4. Now thinking of the public schools, how good would you say is the education children get in the schools in this neighborhood, very good, good enough, not so good, or not good at all?

B5. What, if anything, could be done to make the schools in this neighborhood better?

B6. Compared with schools in the rest of Atlanta, do you think the schools in this neighborhood are better, the same, or not as good as those in other parts of the city?

B7. Are there any courses or subjects that are not taught in public schools now that you think ought to be taught? (What?)

B8. Do you think that parents and citizens in this neighborhood have had the right amount of say in important decisions about education in the neighborhood schools, or not?

B9. What things should be done so they would have more say in the schools?

B10. Interviewer: (Check one)

Albuquerque

Other City

PAGINATION INCORRECT

B11. How much of a problem has racial integration of schools been here in Atlanta in the past three or four years - a serious problem, some problem, a little problem, or no problem at all?

B12. And how do you think school officials here have handled school integration - very well, well enough, not too well, or not well at all?

B13. As you probably know, in some places they assign children to schools in other neighborhoods to get a more even spread of black and white children in schools. Do you think this is a good idea, or not?

B14. Why do you say that?

B15. (Interviewer: Check one)

R has children in public school

R does not have children in public school

B16. Suppose people in your neighborhood were asked to send their children to a school a little farther away from home than the one they go to now to help integrate the schools in Atlanta. Would you be willing to do this or not?

SERVICES

J1. Here is a list of services and problems. Some we have talked about already, others we have not. For each, I want you to tell me whether you think the local agencies should spend more money, less money, or about as much money as is now spent on these services, or problems. Remember, that to spend more on something, the local government has to spend less on something else or it has to raise taxes.

a. Public schools

b. Police patrolling the streets at night

c. Giving tickets and towing cars parked in illegal places

d. Street lighting

e. Cleaning and repairing streets

f. Providing medical care to people who cannot afford to pay for it themselves

g. Cleaning up parks and playgrounds for small children

h. Places for teen-age boys to go when they want to play a game, have some recreation or a good time

i. Trash and garbage collection

j. Inspecting and making owners clean up houses that are run down or have rats or other safety hazards

k. Helping kids and others who are on drugs

l. Building low-cost housing

m. Controlling air pollution

n. Improve public transportation

o. Building freeways

p. Welfare and aid for dependent children (AFDC)

PAGINATION INCORRECT

J2. I know there are a lot of things on this list. But could you pick out the three where you think increased efforts are most needed.

J3. And if some things had to be cut back on, which three would you choose?

J4. As you know, costs keep going up. If a choice has to be made, do you think taxes should be raised or services like those on the list should be cut down?

J5. Here are five ways that local governments can raise money. If more tax money is needed, which do you think is the best way to raise it?

Tax on property

Tax on income or earnings

Tax on utilities - like electricity, gas, or water

Sales tax

Tax on automobile owners

J6. Which is the next best way?

J7. From what you know, do you think taxes are too high here in Atlanta, about right, or are they too low to pay for needed services?

J8. Do you think that trash and garbage collection should be paid for by taxes, or should people hire and pay for their own trash collection service?

J9. How about libraries and museums - should tax money be used to help support these, or should people who use them have to pay enough to support them?

J10. As you probably know, land that is owned by private schools and universities in the city by law cannot be taxed. Do you think this law should be changed or not?

J11. Also, as you probably know, land that is owned by churches in the city, by law, cannot be taxed. Do you think this law should be changed or not?

J12. Why do you feel that way?

REPORT ON THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP) has, through the nature of its flexibility, provided diversified approaches attempting to identify and devise solutions to problems arising from desegregation.

The original funding of $1,150,989.00 was divided into general categories established in the proposal, e.g., Community Relations, Pupil Personnel Services, Special Curriculum Revision. The funds in each category were then apportioned to schools based on three groupings (A, B, and C) dependent upon the amount of integration of the student body which had taken place during the 1969-70 school year and projected for 1970-71.

Community Involvement

Each school in the system received $525 to be used in community relations and parental involvement. Eighty-five schools have proposed some type of action to include members of the community. The approach has often been an indirect one to get people working together on a problem of common interest. These programs have involved such diverse activities as get-togethers, workshops on community beautification or the new math, and the employment of a person to work door to door answering questions and combating rumors.

Special Pupil Personnel Services

Four dollars for each first grade child in the group A and B schools were provided for behavior modification. In addition, some schools asked to utilize funds originally allocated to Supplies and Materials to assist in behavior modification. Various techniques were proposed in 16 schools. Two workshops in behavior modification techniques were held using consultants from the Georgia Mental Health Institute for a period of six weeks. In the Area V Workshop, two-thirds of the teachers were new white teachers teaching in predominantly black schools, and one-third of the group was black teachers teaching in predominantly white schools. All had expressed dissatisfaction with their

teaching because of disciplinary problems. The second workshop was held by teacher in-service training in the spring, whereby 55 additional teachers were released to work on improvement of classroom management in the integrated classroom.

Special Curriculum Revision

Each of the 12 schools in group A and the 25 schools in group B were provided funds for the improvement of communication, in addition each high school in the system received funds to help devise courses dealing with problems of desegregation, and further, all schools received a sum to be used to purchase materials and supplies and equipment for the lower academic one-third of the student body. The latter ranged from $166 for the smallest of the C elementary schools to $6,480 for the largest A high school.

The heaviest concentration of expenditure by schools has been in the purchasing of materials, supplies, and equipment. One hundred twenty-five of one hundred fifty-seven schools have utilized their funds primarily in the purchase of material items to enhance Communication Skills Laboratories, individual instruction, and provide multi-ethnic books.

Experimental work in curriculum development and individualization of instruction based on the Duluth Model will be carried out in several schools this fall.

Teacher Preparation Program

Some funds in this category were allocated to all schools and most often the funds were used to supplement usage of funds in other categories.

Teacher preparation projects have been planned in 59 of 157 schools. In 24 schools, students' services have been employed in connection with various project plans such as helping new teachers become acquainted with the school community via walking tours. A citywide Communication Skills Laboratory

workshop has recently been completed.

To develop teaching teams and improvement of instruction through the use of team teaching across ethnic lines, five schools are holding a workshop which started in June and will continue into August.

A special citywide workshop for teachers new to the system has been planned for late summer.

Seven schools in Area IV participated in the Instructional Development Institute Workshop. This is a system of instructional development in which the first stage is to define the problem and identify it, analyze the setting, and organize the management process. The second stage of development incorporates identifying objectives, specifying methods and constructing prototypes. The third stage is evaluation, calling for teaching prototypes, analyzing results and implementing and recycling where necessary.

Dr. Robert Waggoner, Coordinator of Music, has planned a city wide workshop for music teachers in late August to emphasize the background materials for black studies in music, whereby black music will be studied in more diversity than just "spiritual" and "blues" music.

Special Student To Student

There were 16 proposals establishing direct student-to-student tutoring programs. Often these tutorial programs were conducted by high school students with their feeder elementary schools in order to establish better rapport and quell rumor and fear in the community. The major portion of the activities of the ESAP team during May was expended in the establishment of the Sky Lake Camp project as a student-to-student activity.

This modular, problem solving, fourth-quarter course of which the camp community experiment is an integral part, calls for two days in which the class

meets in their respective middle or high schools. The classes of twenty students, accompanied by their teacher, then go to Sky Lake by chartered transportation for a ten-day period in a controlled environment, after which they return to their respective schools to further refine the solutions they proposed for the problems relating to the desegregation process. Parents are encouraged to join into the community for the weekend their son or daughter is in camp. Of the 29 middle and secondary schools, all but three are participating in the program.

The structure of the program in the controlled environment calls for classes in human relations, leadership, problem solving techniques, problems across ethnic lines and individual school problems. Other classes in science, art and swimming are also provided. Physical activities such as canoeing, tennis, softball, basketball, volley ball and table tennis are also provided. Provisions for teacher training in value identification and problem solving techniques are built into the program while the students are involved in their classes with the camp staff and the teacher is "free".

Adjustments were found to be necessary in curriculum on almost a day-to-day basis to deal with needs reflected by the camp population. The effectiveness of the program will not be immediately measurable, but problem areas are being identified and correction made. Feedback from the sessions has provided the basis of a continually revision so that each session has proceeded somewhat smoother than those preceding it. Discipline problems which some adults had originally feared, have not materialized.

Follow-up on the schools participating in the program will continue through the summer and into the fall.

The lack of lead-time provided by the government for the establishment of the fourth-quarter course proved a serious defect. Selection of a corps of camp staff personnel highly qualified in their respective areas, and provisions

for the logistical support for the camp was accomplished only by the cooperation of the Purchasing, Personnel and Administrative Services Departments.

FOR INFORMATION

BRIEF EXPLANATION OF SCHOOL CAPACITY

Within reasonable limits, student capacity of any given school facility is primarily the function of specific educational programs conducted at the facility, how it is organized, and the teacher-pupil ratio at any given time. Programs, organization, and teacher-pupil ratios vary from time to time and from school to school. Therefore, the capacity at each school will vary accordingly.

Further, most schools experience overcrowding and operate at under capacity in one or more specific areas, programs or departments within the same school at some time. No school is ever perfectly balanced in space utilization.

Since these and other complicating factors make single capacity numbers inaccurate to varying degrees, a reasonable approximation of student capacity is used for planning purposes. The attached report of capacities is simply based upon the number of teaching spaces (any regular and reasonably adequate space a principal would assign a class to meet on a regular basis), the number of supplementary classrooms and other acceptable space and the current staffing goal (teacher-pupil ratio) of the system as a whole.

SCHOOL PLANT PLANNING
AND CONSTRUCTION

COMPARISON OF FEBRUARY ACTIVE ROLL WITH APPROXIMATED STUDENT CAPACITY

ELEMENTARY	Teach. Spaces	Supp. Clrm.	Total	Cap. x 28	AR	Over Cap.	Under Cap.
Adair	14	-	14	392	295	-	97
Anderson	24	8	32	896	818	-	78
Arkwright	16	2	18	504	533	29	-
Beecher Hills	24	2	26	728	578	-	150
Ben Hill (Incl. Annex)	24	9	33	924	883	-	41
Benteen	10	2	12	336	292	-	44
Bethune	34	-	34	952	395	-	557
Birney	15	-	15	420	250	-	170
Blair Village	32	6	38	1064	935	-	129
Bolton	8	2	10	280	260	-	20
Brandon	22	-	22	616	387	-	229
Brewer	14	1	15	420	360	-	60
Bryant	15	-	15	420	362	-	58
Burgess	15	8	23	644	589	-	55
Butler	25	-	25	700	524	-	176
Campbell	29	2	31	868	780	-	88
Capitol Ave.	27	8	35	980	728	-	252
Capitol View	16	-	16	448	350	-	98
Carey	18	6	24	672	586	-	86
Carter	24	7	31	868	588	-	280
Cascade	15	1	16	448	446	-	2
Center Hill	24	4	28	784	722	-	62
Chattahoochee	15	4	19	532	463	-	69
Clement	22	-	22	463	457	-	6
Cleveland	15	6	21	588	669	81	-
Coan Middle	39	12	51	1326	1348	22	-
Collier Heights	22	4	26	728	592	-	136
Connally	17	20	37	1036	1202	166	-
Continental Colony	27	-	27	756	510	-	246
Cook	33	-	33	924	681	-	243
Cooper	10	-	10	280	163	-	117
Craddock	27	-	27	756	562	-	194
Crogman	30	-	30	840	509	-	331
Dobbs	18	9	27	756	823	67	-
Drew	0	14	14	392	436	44	-
Dunbar	37	-	37	1036	843	-	193
East Lake	20	6	26	728	812	84	-
English	36	6	42	1176	988	-	188
English Primary	11	-	11	308	220	-	88
Fain	13	14	27	756	901	145	-

ELEMENTARY	Teach. Spaces	Supp. Clrm.	Total	Cap. x 28	AR	Over Cap.	Under Cap.
Finch	18	-	18	504	448	-	56
Forrest	28	-	28	784	486	-	298
Fountain	30	-	30	840	792	-	48
Fowler	16	-	16	448	271	-	177
Garden Hills	20	-	20	560	434	-	126
Gideons	27	-	27	756	466	-	290
Gilbert	15	4	19	532	474	-	58
Goldsmith	9	3	12	336	271	-	65
Gordon	23	-	23	644	619	-	25
Grant Park	15	7	22	616	492	-	124
Grant Park Primary	10	2	12	336	188	-	148
Grove Park	48	18	66	1848	1813	-	35
Guice	15	8	23	644	828	184	-
Hardnett	7	4	11	308	273	-	35
Harper	15	6	21	588	521	-	67
Harris	22	5	27	756	611	-	145
Harwell	17	-	17	476	556	80	-
Haygood	10	-	10	280	177	-	103
Herndon	36	-	36	1008	854	-	154
Highland	15	-	15	420	322	-	98
Hill	35	-	35	980	639	-	341
Home Park	16	-	16	448	265	-	183
Hope, John	15	7	22	616	587	-	29
Hope, R. L.	23	-	23	644	425	-	219
Howell, E. P.	17	-	17	476	312	-	164
Howell, Minnie	15	4	19	532	455	-	77
Hubert	26	-	26	728	522	-	206
Humphries	18	2	20	560	535	-	25
Hutchinson	17	2	19	532	454	-	78
Inman	24	4	28	784	762	-	22
Inman Park	9	2	11	308	262	-	46
Jackson	16	-	16	448	284	-	164
Johnson	32	-	32	896	389	-	507
Jones, Jerome	13	4	17	476	482	6	-
Jones, Jessie	24	-	24	672	323	-	349
Jones, M. Agnes	27	2	29	812	664	-	148
Kimberly	25	-	25	700	576	-	124
Kirkwood	24	4	28	784	730	-	54
Lakewood	17	2	19	532	492	-	40
Lin	19	5	24	672	713	41	-

ELEMENTARY	Teach. Spaces	Supp. Clrm.	Total	Cap. x 28	AR	Over Cap.	Under Cap.
Luckie	12	-	12	336	267	-	69
Mayson (Incl. Annex)	11	34	45	1260	1369	109	-
McClatchey	14	5	19	532	340	-	192
Miles	23	10	33	924	797	-	127
Mitchell	15	2	17	476	456	-	20
Moreland	22	2	24	672	565	-	107
Morningside	28	-	28	784	484	-	300
Mount Vernon	8	-	8	224	197	-	27
Oglethorpe	19	-	19	532	490	-	42
Peeples	19	-	19	532	381	-	151
Perkerson	14	1	15	420	298	-	122
Peterson	15	4	19	532	556	24	-
Peyton Forest	17	-	17	476	419	-	57
Pitts	49	2	51	1428	1384	-	44
Pryor	20	-	20	560	427	-	133
Ragsdale	13	9	22	616	710	94	-
Reynolds	10	2	12	336	280	-	56
Rivers	28	-	28	784	563	-	221
Robinson	13	6	19	532	441	-	91
Rock Springs	20	-	20	560	434	-	126
Rusk	27	-	27	756	656	-	100
Scott	30	-	30	840	558	-	282
Slater	32	-	32	896	810	-	86
Slaton	23	5	28	784	659	-	125
Smith, S. R.	15	-	15	420	319	-	101
Spring	15	1	16	448	336	-	112
Stanton, Daniel	35	-	35	980	744	-	236
Stanton, Frank	20	-	20	560	374	-	186
Sylvan Hills	16	2	18	504	425	-	79
Toomer	17	-	17	476	418	-	58
Towns	17	6	23	644	619	-	25
Tuxedo	15	-	15	420	275	-	145
Venetian Hills	26	4	30	840	911	71	-
Walker	15	-	15	420	270	-	150
Ware	22	5	27	756	516	-	240
Waters	23	-	23	644	655	11	-
Wesley	29	6	35	980	765	-	215
West	14	2	16	448	434	-	14
West Haven	8	4	12	336	297	-	39
West Manor	15	8	23	644	628	-	16
White	25	-	25	700	747	47	-
Whitefoord	20	6	26	728	644	-	84
Williams	34	-	34	952	1107	155	-
Wright	13	-	13	364	317	-	47

HIGH	Teach. Spaces	Supp. Clrm.	Total	Cap. x 26	AR	Over Cap.	Under Cap.
Archer	50	12	62	1612	1331	-	281
Bass	40	-	40	1040	1048	8	-
Brown	55	2	57	1482	1400	-	82
Carver	70	2	72	1872	1286	-	586
Coan Middle	See Elementary						
Douglass	88	-	88	2288	2531	243	-
Dykes	42	6	48	1248	1038	-	210
East Atlanta	35	3	38	988	707	-	281
Fulton	72	2	74	1924	1326	-	598
George	38	18	56	1456	1358	-	98
Grady	58	-	58	1508	1187	-	321
Harper	40	16	56	1456	1590	134	-
Howard	69	-	69	1794	1155	-	639
Kennedy Middle	42	-	42	1092	822	-	270
Murphy	47	12	59	1534	1431	-	103
North Fulton	52	-	52	1352	1158	-	194
Northside	68	-	68	1768	1308	-	460
O'Keefe	54	-	54	1404	1158	-	246
Parks Jr.	35	-	35	910	691	-	219
Price	62	6	68	1768	1340	-	428
Roosevelt	55	-	55	1430	1097	-	333
Smith	49	2	51	1326	1101	-	225
Southwest	38	6	44	1144	1287	143	-
Sylvan Hills	46	-	46	1196	1157	-	39
Therrell	70	-	70	1820	1368	-	452
Turner	51	2	53	1378	1049	-	329
Walden Middle	31	-	31	806	571	-	235
Washington	98	-	98	2548	2211	-	337
West Fulton	46	6	52	1352	1168	-	184

Connally - Includes 5 classrooms in church and 2 in house.

Grove Park - Includes 8 classrooms in church.

Harris - Includes 2 classrooms in house.

4/28/71

Interviewer's Kit

For Reviewing Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (P. L. 89-10)

Public Law 89-10
89th Congress, H. R. 2362
April 11, 1965

An Act

79 STAT. 27.

To strengthen and improve educational quality and educational opportunities in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965". Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

TITLE I—FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES FOR THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES AND EXTENSION OF PUBLIC LAW 874, EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SEC. 2. The Act of September 30, 1950, Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress, as amended (20 U.S.C. 236–244), is amended by inserting: 64 Stat. 1100.

"TITLE I—FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES IN AREAS AFFECTED BY FEDERAL ACTIVITY"

immediately above the heading of section 1, by striking out "this Act" wherever it appears in sections 1 through 6, inclusive (other than where it appears in clause (B) of section 4(a)), and inserting in lieu thereof "this title", and by adding immediately after section 6 the following new title: 67 Stat. 532. 20 USC 239.

"TITLE II—FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES FOR THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

"DECLARATION OF POLICY

"SEC. 201. In recognition of the special educational needs of children of low-income families and the impact that concentrations of low-income families have on the ability of local educational agencies to support adequate educational programs, the Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance (as set forth in this title) to local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means (including preschool programs) which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.

"KINDS AND DURATION OF GRANTS

"SEC. 202. The Commissioner shall, in accordance with the provisions of this title, make payments to State educational agencies for basic grants to local educational agencies for the period beginning July 1, 1965, and ending June 30, 1968, and he shall make payments to State educational agencies for special incentive grants to local educational agencies for the period beginning July 1, 1966, and ending June 30, 1968.

46-250 (10)—O—65

"BASIC GRANTS—AMOUNT AND ELIGIBILITY

"SEC. 203. (a)(1) From the sums appropriated for making basic grants under this title for a fiscal year, the Commissioner shall reserve such amount, but not in excess of 2 per centum thereof, as he may determine and shall allot such amount among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands according to their respective need for such grants. The maximum basic grant which a local educational agency in Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands shall be eligible to receive shall be determined pursuant to such criteria as the Commissioner determines will best carry out the purposes of this title.

"(2) In any case in which the Commissioner determines that satisfactory data for that purpose are available, the maximum basic grant which a local educational agency in a State shall be eligible to receive under this title for any fiscal year shall be (except as provided in paragraph (3)) an amount equal to the Federal percentage (established pursuant to subsection (c)) of the average per pupil expenditure in that State multiplied by the sum of (A) the number of children aged five to seventeen, inclusive, in the school district of such agency, of families having an annual income of less than the low-income factor (established pursuant to subsection (c)), and (B) the number of children of such ages in such school district of families receiving an annual income in excess of the low-income factor (as established pursuant to subsection (c)) from payments under the program of aid to families with dependent children under a State plan approved under title IV of the Social Security Act. In any other case, the maximum basic grant for any local educational agency in a State shall be determined on the basis of the aggregate maximum amount of such grants for all such agencies in the county or counties in which the school district of the particular agency is located, which aggregate maximum amount shall be equal to the Federal percentage of such per pupil expenditure multiplied by the number of children of such ages and families in such county or counties and shall be allocated among those agencies upon such equitable basis as may be determined by the State educational agency in accordance with basic criteria prescribed by the Commissioner. For purposes of this subsection the 'average per pupil expenditure' in a State shall be the aggregate current expenditures, during the second fiscal year preceding the fiscal year for which the computation is made, of all local educational agencies in the State (without regard to the sources of funds from which such expenditures are made), divided by the aggregate number of children in average daily attendance to whom such agencies provided free public education during such preceding year. In determining the maximum amount of a basic grant and the eligibility of a local educational agency for a basic grant for any fiscal year, the number of children determined under the first two sentences of this subsection or under subsection (b) shall be reduced by the number of children aged five to seventeen, inclusive, of families having an annual income of less than the low-income factor (as established pursuant to subsection (c)) for whom a payment was made under title I for the previous fiscal year.

49 Stat. 627.
42 USC 601-609.

"Average per pupil expenditure."

"(3) If the maximum amount of the basic grant determined pursuant to paragraph (1) or (2) for any local educational agency for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, is greater than 30 per centum of the sum budgeted by that agency for current expenditures for that year (as determined pursuant to regulations of the Commissioner), such maximum amount shall be reduced to 30 per centum of such budgeted sum.

"(4) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'State' does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

"(b) A local educational agency shall be eligible for a basic grant for a fiscal year under this title only if it meets the following requirements with respect to the number of children aged five to seventeen, inclusive, of families having an annual income of less than the low-income factor (as established pursuant to subsection (c)):

"(1) In any case (except as provided in paragraph (3)) in which the Commissioner determines that satisfactory data for the purpose of this subsection as to the number of such children of such families are available on a school district basis, the number of such children of such families in the school district of such local educational agency shall be—

"(A) at least one hundred, or

"(B) equal to 3 per centum or more of the total number of all children aged five to seventeen, inclusive, in such district,

whichever is less, except that it shall in no case be less than ten.

"(2) In any other case, except as provided in paragraph (3), the number of children of such ages of families with such income in the county which includes such local educational agency's school district shall be one hundred or more.

"(3) In any case in which a county includes a part of the school district of the local educational agency concerned and the Commissioner has not determined that satisfactory data for the purpose of this subsection are available on a school district basis for all the local educational agencies for all the counties into which the school district of the local educational agency concerned extends, the eligibility requirement with respect to the number of children of such ages of families of such income for such local educational agency shall be determined in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Commissioner for the purposes of this subsection.

"(c) For the purposes of this section, the 'Federal percentage' and the 'low-income factor' for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, shall be 50 per centum and $2,000, respectively. For each of the two succeeding fiscal years the Federal percentage and the low-income factor shall be established by the Congress by law.

"Federal percentage."
"Low-income factor."

"(d) For the purposes of this section, the Commissioner shall determine the number of children aged five to seventeen, inclusive, of families having an annual income of less than the low-income factor (as established pursuant to subsection (c)) on the basis of the most recent satisfactory data available from the Department of Commerce. At any time such data for a county are available in the Department of Commerce, such data shall be used in making calculations under this section. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall determine the number of children of such ages from families receiving an annual income in excess of the low-income factor (established pursuant to subsection (c)) from payments under the program of aid to families with dependent children under a State plan approved under title IV of the Social Security Act on the basis of the best available data for the period most nearly comparable to those which are used by the Commissioner under the first two sentences of this subsection in making determinations for the purposes of subsections (a) and (b). When requested by the Commissioner, the Secretary of Commerce shall make a special estimate of the number of children of such ages who are from families having an annual income less than the low

49 Stat. 627.
42 USC 601-609.

income factor (established pursuant to subsection (c)) in each county or school district, and the Commissioner is authorized to pay (either in advance or by way of reimbursement) the Secretary of Commerce the cost of making this special estimate. The Secretary of Commerce shall give consideration to any request of the chief executive of a State for the collection of additional census information.

"SPECIAL INCENTIVE GRANTS

"SEC. 204. Each local educational agency which is eligible to receive a basic grant for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, shall be eligible to receive in addition a special incentive grant which does not exceed the product of (a) the aggregate number of children in average daily attendance to whom such agency provided free public education during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and (b) the amount by which the average per pupil expenditure of that agency for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, exceeded 105 per centum of such expenditure for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964. Each local educational agency which is eligible to receive a basic grant for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, shall be eligible to receive in addition a special incentive grant which does not exceed the product of (c) the aggregate number of children in average daily attendance to whom such agency provided free public education during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and (d) the amount by which the average per pupil expenditure of that agency for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, exceeded 110 per centum of such expenditure for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964. For the purpose of this section the 'average per pupil expenditure' of a local educational agency for any year shall be the aggregate expenditures (without regard to the sources of funds from which such expenditures are made, except that funds derived from Federal sources shall not be used in computing such expenditures) from current revenues made by that agency during that year for free public education, divided by the aggregate number of children in average daily attendance to whom such agency provided free public education during that year.

"Average per pupil expenditure."

"APPLICATION

"SEC. 205. (a) A local educational agency may receive a basic grant or a special incentive grant under this title for any fiscal year only upon application therefor approved by the appropriate State educational agency, upon its determination (consistent with such basic criteria as the Commissioner may establish)—

"(1) that payments under this title will be used for programs and projects (including the acquisition of equipment and where necessary the construction of school facilities) (A) which are designed to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children in school attendance areas having high concentrations of children from low-income families and (B) which are of sufficient size, scope, and quality to give reasonable promise of substantial progress toward meeting those needs, and nothing herein shall be deemed to preclude two or more local educational agencies from entering into agreements, at their option, for carrying out jointly operated programs and projects under this title;

"(2) that, to the extent consistent with the number of educationally deprived children in the school district of the local educational agency who are enrolled in private elementary and secondary schools, such agency has made provision for including

special educational services and arrangements (such as dual enrollment, educational radio and television, and mobile educational services and equipment) in which such children can participate;

"(3) that the local educational agency has provided satisfactory assurance that the control of funds provided under this title, and title to property derived therefrom, shall be in a public agency for the uses and purposes provided in this title, and that a public agency will administer such funds and property;

"(4) in the case of any project for construction of school facilities, that the project is not inconsistent with overall State plans for the construction of school facilities and that the requirements of section 209 will be complied with on all such construction projects;

"(5) that effective procedures, including provision for appropriate objective measurements of educational achievement, will be adopted for evaluating at least annually the effectiveness of the programs in meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children;

"(6) that the local educational agency will make an annual report and such other reports to the State educational agency, in such form and containing such information, as may be reasonably necessary to enable the State educational agency to perform its duties under this title, including information relating to the educational achievement of students participating in programs carried out under this title, and will keep such records and afford such access thereto as the State educational agency may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports;

"(7) that wherever there is, in the area served by the local educational agency, a community action program approved pursuant to title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-452), the programs and projects have been developed in cooperation with the public or private nonprofit agency responsible for the community action program; and

78 Stat. 516.
42 USC 2781-2831.

"(8) that effective procedures will be adopted for acquiring and disseminating to teachers and administrators significant information derived from educational research, demonstration, and similar projects, and for adopting, where appropriate, promising educational practices developed through such projects.

"(b) The State educational agency shall not finally disapprove in whole or in part any application for funds under this title without first affording the local educational agency submitting the application reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

"ASSURANCES FROM STATES

"SEC. 206. (a) Any State desiring to participate in the program of this title shall submit through its State educational agency to the Commissioner an application, in such detail as the Commissioner deems necessary, which provides satisfactory assurance—

"(1) that, except as provided in section 207(b), payments under this title will be used only for programs and projects which have been approved by the State educational agency pursuant to section 205(a) and which meet the requirements of that section, and that such agency will in all other respects comply with the provisions of this title, including the enforcement of any obligations imposed upon a local educational agency under section 205(a);

"(2) that such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures will be adopted as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement

of, and accounting for, Federal funds paid to the State (including such funds paid by the State to local educational agencies) under this title; and

"(3) that the State educational agency will make to the Commissioner (A) periodic reports (including the results of objective measurements required by section 205(a)(5)) evaluating the effectiveness of payments under this title and of particular programs assisted under it in improving the educational attainment of educationally deprived children, and (B) such other reports as may be reasonably necessary to enable the Commissioner to perform his duties under this title (including such reports as he may require to determine the amounts which the local educational agencies of that State are eligible to receive for any fiscal year), and assurance that such agency will keep such records and afford such access thereto as the Commissioner may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

Records.

"(b) The Commissioner shall approve an application which meets the requirements specified in subsection (a), and he shall not finally disapprove an application except after reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing to the State educational agency.

"PAYMENT

"SEC. 207. (a)(1) The Commissioner shall, subject to the provisions of section 208, from time to time pay to each State, in advance or otherwise, the amount which the local educational agencies of that State are eligible to receive under this title. Such payments shall take into account the extent (if any) to which any previous payment to such State educational agency under this title (whether or not in the same fiscal year) was greater or less than the amount which should have been paid to it.

"(2) From the funds paid to it pursuant to paragraph (1) each State educational agency shall distribute to each local educational agency of the State which is not ineligible by reason of section 203(b) and which has submitted an application approved pursuant to section 205(a) the amount for which such application has been approved, except that this amount shall not exceed an amount equal to the total of the maximum amount of the basic grant plus the maximum amount of the special incentive grant as determined for that agency pursuant to sections 203 and 204, respectively.

"(b) The Commissioner is authorized to pay to each State amounts equal to the amounts expended by it for the proper and efficient performance of its duties under this title (including technical assistance for the measurements and evaluations required by section 205(a)(5)), except that the total of such payments in any fiscal year shall not exceed 1 per centum of the total of the amount of the basic grants paid under this title for that year to the local educational agencies of the State.

"(c)(1) No payments shall be made under this title for any fiscal year to a State which has taken into consideration payments under this title in determining the eligibility of any local educational agency in that State for State aid, or the amount of that aid, with respect to the free public education of children during that year or the preceding fiscal year.

"(2) No payments shall be made under this title to any local educational agency for any fiscal year unless the State educational agency finds that the combined fiscal effort (as determined in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner) of that agency and the State with

respect to the provision of free public education by that agency for the preceding fiscal year was not less than such combined fiscal effort for that purpose for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964.

"ADJUSTMENTS WHERE NECESSITATED BY APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 208. If the sums appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, for making the payments provided in this title are not sufficient to pay in full the total amounts which all local and State educational agencies are eligible to receive under this title for such year, such amounts shall be reduced ratably. In case additional funds become available for making payments under this title for that year, such reduced amounts shall be increased on the same basis that they were reduced.

"LABOR STANDARDS

"SEC. 209. All laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors on all construction projects assisted under this title shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a-5). The Secretary of Labor shall have with respect to the labor standards specified in this section the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 5 U.S.C. 133z-15) and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276c).

49 Stat. 1011;
78 Stat. 238.
64 Stat. 1267.
63 Stat. 108.

"WITHHOLDING

"SEC. 210. Whenever the Commissioner, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to any State educational agency, finds that there has been a failure to comply substantially with any assurance set forth in the application of that State approved under section 206(b), the Commissioner shall notify the agency that further payments will not be made to the State under this title (or, in his discretion, that the State educational agency shall not make further payments under this title to specified local educational agencies affected by the failure) until he is satisfied that there is no longer any such failure to comply. Until he is so satisfied, no further payments shall be made to the State under this title, or payments by the State educational agency under this title shall be limited to local educational agencies not affected by the failure, as the case may be.

"JUDICIAL REVIEW

"SEC. 211. (a) If any State is dissatisfied with the Commissioner's final action with respect to the approval of its application submitted under section 206(a) or with his final action under section 210, such State may, within sixty days after notice of such action, file with the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which such State is located a petition for review of that action. A copy of the petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Commissioner. The Commissioner thereupon shall file in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based his action, as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code.

72 Stat. 941.

"(b) The findings of fact by the Commissioner, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive; but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Commissioner to take further evidence, and the Commissioner may thereupon make new or modified

findings of fact and may modify his previous action, and shall file in the court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence.

"(c) Upon the filing of such petition, the court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Commissioner or to set it aside, in whole or in part. The judgment of the court shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code.

62 Stat. 928.

"NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

"SEC. 212. (a) The President shall, within ninety days after the enactment of this title, appoint a National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children for the purpose of reviewing the administration and operation of this title, including its effectiveness in improving the educational attainment of educationally deprived children, and making recommendations for the improvement of this title and its administration and operation. These recommendations shall take into consideration experience gained under this and other Federal educational programs for disadvantaged children and, to the extent appropriate, experience gained under other public and private educational programs for disadvantaged children.

"(b) The Council shall be appointed by the President without regard to the civil service laws and shall consist of twelve persons. When requested by the President, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall engage such technical assistance as may be required to carry out the functions of the Council, and the Secretary shall make available to the Council such secretarial, clerical, and other assistance and such pertinent data prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as it may require to carry out such functions.

Report to President and Congress.

"(c) The Council shall make an annual report of its findings and recommendations (including recommendations for changes in the provisions of this title) to the President not later than March 31 of each calendar year beginning after the enactment of this title. The President shall transmit each such report to the Congress together with his comments and recommendations.

"(d) Members of the Council who are not regular full-time employees of the United States shall, while serving on business of the Council, be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the President, but not exceeding $100 per day, including travel time; and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in Government service employed intermittently."

60 Stat. 808;
75 Stat. 339,340.

TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS

SEC. 3. (a) Clause (A) of section 3(c)(4) of the Act of September 30, 1950, Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress, as amended (20 U.S.C. 238 (c)(4)(A)) is amended by striking out "), and inserting ", but excluding funds available under title II) is,".

67 Stat. 531;
70 Stat. 971.

(b) The sentence which immediately follows clause (B) of section 4(a) of such Act (20 U.S.C. 239(a)(B)) is amended by inserting "(exclusive of funds available under title II)" immediately after "Federal funds".

67 Stat. 532.

(c)(1) Such Act is further amended by inserting "TITLE III—GENERAL" above the heading for section 7, and by redesignating sections 7, 8, and 9, and references thereto, as sections 301, 302, and 303, respectively. 64 Stat. 1107. 20 USC 242-244.

(2) Subsections (b) and (c) of the section of such Act redesignated as section 302 are amended by striking out "this Act" wherever it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "title I".

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 4. (a) Paragraph (2) of the section of the Act of September 30, 1950, Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress, as amended, redesignated by section 3 of this Act as section 303, is amended to read as follows:

"(2) The term 'child', except as used in title II, means any child who is within the age limits for which the applicable State provides free public education." "Child."

(b) Paragraph (4) of such section 303 is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", except that for the purposes of title II such term does not include any education provided beyond grade 12".

(c) Paragraph (5) of such section 303 is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: ", or any expenditures made from funds granted under title II of this Act or titles II or III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965".

(d)(1) Paragraph (8) of such section 303 is amended by inserting "American Samoa," after "the District of Columbia,", and by inserting after "the Virgin Islands" the following: ", and for purposes of title II, such term includes the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands".

(2) Sections 3(d) and 6(c) of such Act (20 U.S.C. 238(d), 241(c)) are each amended by inserting "American Samoa," after "Guam," each time that it appears. 64 Stat. 1102; 67 Stat. 530, 532, 535.

(e) Such section 303 is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(11) The term 'county' means those divisions of a State utilized by the Secretary of Commerce in compiling and reporting data regarding counties.

"(12) The term 'construction' includes the preparation of drawings and specifications for school facilities; erecting, building, acquiring, altering, remodeling, improving, or extending school facilities; and the inspection and supervision of the construction of school facilities.

"(13) The term 'school facilities' means classrooms and related facilities (including initial equipment) for free public education and interests in land (including site, grading, and improvements) on which such facilities are constructed, except that such term does not include those gymnasiums and similar facilities intended primarily for exhibitions for which admission is to be charged to the general public.

"(14) The term 'equipment' includes machinery, utilities, and built-in equipment and any necessary enclosures or structures to house them, and includes all other items necessary for the functioning of a particular facility as a facility for the provision of educational services, including items such as instructional equipment and necessary furniture, printed, published, and audio-visual instructional materials, and books, periodicals, documents, and other related materials.

"(15) For the purpose of title II, the term 'elementary school' means a day or residential school which provides elementary educa-

tion, as determined under State law, and the term 'secondary school' means a day or residential school which provides secondary education, as determined under State law, except that it does not include any education provided beyond grade 12."

EXTENSION OF TITLE I OF PUBLIC LAW 874

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

64 Stat. 1101; 67 Stat. 530, 532; 78 Stat. 1109.

SEC. 5. Sections 2(a), 3(b), and 4(a) of title I of the Act of September 30, 1950, Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress, as amended (20 U.S.C. 237(a), 238(b), 239(a)), are each amended by striking out "1966" each place where it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "1968".

TITLE II—SCHOOL LIBRARY RESOURCES, TEXTBOOKS, AND OTHER INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 201. (a) The Commissioner shall carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and each of the four succeeding fiscal years, a program for making grants for the acquisition of school library resources, textbooks, and other printed and published instructional materials for the use of children and teachers in public and private elementary and secondary schools.

(b) For the purpose of making grants under this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $100,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; but for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the three succeeding fiscal years, only such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

ALLOTMENT TO STATES

SEC. 202. (a) From the sums appropriated for carrying out this title for any fiscal year, the Commissioner shall reserve such amount, but not in excess of 2 per centum thereof, as he may determine and shall allot such amount among the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands according to their respective needs for assistance under this title. From the remainder of such sums, the Commissioner shall allot to each State an amount which bears the same ratio to such remainder as the number of children enrolled in the public and private elementary and secondary schools of that State bears to the total number of children enrolled in such schools in all of the States. The number of children so enrolled shall be determined by the Commissioner on the basis of the most recent satisfactory data available to him. For purposes of this subsection, the term "State" shall not include the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(b) The amount of any State's allotment under subsection (a) for any fiscal year which the Commissioner determines will not be required for such fiscal year shall be available for reallotment from time to time, on such dates during such year as the Commissioner may fix, to other States in proportion to the original allotments to such States under subsection (a) for that year but with such proportionate amount for any of such other States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the

sum the Commissioner estimates such State needs and will be able to use for such year; and the total of such reductions shall be similarly reallotted among the States whose proportionate amounts were not so reduced. Any amount reallotted to a State under this subsection during a year from funds appropriated pursuant to section 201 shall be deemed part of its allotment under section (a) for such year.

STATE PLANS

SEC. 203. (a) Any State which desires to receive grants under this title shall submit to the Commissioner a State plan, in such detail as the Commissioner deems necessary, which—

(1) designates a State agency which shall, either directly or through arrangements with other State or local public agencies, act as the sole agency for administration of the State plan;

(2) sets forth a program under which funds paid to the State from its allotment under section 202 will be expended solely for (A) acquisition of library resources (which for the purposes of this title means books, periodicals, documents, audio-visual materials, and other related library materials), textbooks, and other printed and published instructional materials for the use of children and teachers in public and private elementary and secondary schools in the State, and (B) administration of the State plan, including the development and revision of standards relating to library resources, textbooks, and other printed and published instructional materials furnished for the use of children and teachers in the public elementary and secondary schools of the State, except that the amount used for administration of the State plan shall not exceed for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, an amount equal to 5 per centum of the amount paid to the State under this title for that year, and for any fiscal year thereafter an amount equal to 3 per centum of the amount paid to the State under this title for that year;

(3) sets forth the criteria to be used in allocating library resources, textbooks, and other printed and published instructional materials provided under this title among the children and teachers of the State, which criteria shall—

(A) take into consideration the relative need of the children and teachers of the State for such library resources, textbooks, or other instructional materials, and

(B) provide assurance that to the extent consistent with law such library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials will be provided on an equitable basis for the use of children and teachers in private elementary and secondary schools in the State which comply with the compulsory attendance laws of the State or are otherwise recognized by it through some procedure customarily used in the State;

(4) sets forth the criteria to be used in selecting the library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials to be provided under this title and for determining the proportions of the State's allotment for each fiscal year which will be expended for library resources, textbooks, and other printed and published instructional materials, respectively, and the terms by which such library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials will be made available for the use of children and teachers in the schools of the State;

(5) sets forth policies and procedures designed to assure that Federal funds made available under this title for any fiscal year will be so used as to supplement and, to the extent practical, increase the level of State, local, and private school funds that would in the absence of such Federal funds be made available for library resources, textbooks, and other printed and published instructional materials, and in no case supplant such State, local, and private school funds;

(6) sets forth such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of, and accounting for, Federal funds paid to the State (including any such funds paid by the State to any other public agency) under this title; and

(7) provides for making such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Commissioner may reasonably require to carry out his functions under this title, and for keeping such records and for affording such access thereto as the Commissioner may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

(b) The Commissioner shall approve any State plan and any modification thereof which complies with the provisions of subsection (a).

PAYMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 204. (a) From the amounts allotted to each State under section 202 the Commissioner shall pay to that State an amount equal to the amount expended by the State in carrying out its State plan. Such payments may be made in installments, and in advance or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments.

(b) In any State which has a State plan approved under section 203(b) and in which no State agency is authorized by law to provide library resources, textbooks, or other printed and published instructional materials for the use of children and teachers in any one or more elementary or secondary schools in such State, the Commissioner shall arrange for the provision on an equitable basis of such library resources, textbooks, or other instructional materials for such use and shall pay the cost thereof for any fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1970, out of that State's allotment.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF LIBRARY RESOURCES, TEXTBOOKS, AND OTHER INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL AND TYPES WHICH MAY BE MADE AVAILABLE

SEC. 205. (a) Title to library resources, textbooks, and other printed and published instructional materials furnished pursuant to this title, and control and administration of their use, shall vest only in a public agency.

(b) The library resources, textbooks, and other printed and published instructional materials made available pursuant to this title for use of children and teachers in any school in any State shall be limited to those which have been approved by an appropriate State or local educational authority or agency for use, or are used, in a public elementary or secondary school of that State.

ADMINISTRATION OF STATE PLANS

SEC. 206. (a) The Commissioner shall not finally disapprove any State plan submitted under this title, or any modification thereof, without first affording the State agency administering the plan reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

(b) Whenever the Commissioner, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to such State agency, finds—

(1) that the State plan has been so changed that it no longer complies with the provisions of section 203(a), or

(2) that in the administration of the plan there is a failure to comply substantially with any such provisions,

the Commissioner shall notify such State agency that the State will not be regarded as eligible to participate in the program under this title until he is satisfied that there is no longer any such failure to comply.

JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 207. (a) If any State is dissatisfied with the Commissioner's final action with respect to the approval of its State plan submitted under section 203(a) or with his final action under section 206(b), such State may, within sixty days after notice of such action, file with the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which such State is located a petition for review of that action. A copy of the petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Commissioner. The Commissioner thereupon shall file in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based his action, as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code. 72 Stat. 941.

(b) The findings of fact by the Commissioner, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive; but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Commissioner to take further evidence, and the Commissioner may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify his previous action, and shall certify to the court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence.

(c) The court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Commissioner or to set it aside, in whole or in part. The judgment of the court shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code. 62 Stat. 928.

TITLE III—SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATIONAL CENTERS AND SERVICES

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 301. (a) The Commissioner shall carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and each of the four succeeding fiscal years, a program for making grants for supplementary educational centers and services, to stimulate and assist in the provision of vitally needed educational services not available in sufficient quantity or quality, and to stimulate and assist in the development and establishment of exemplary elementary and secondary school educational programs to serve as models for regular school programs.

(b) For the purpose of making grants under this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $100,000,000, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; but for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the 3 succeeding fiscal years, only such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

APPORTIONMENT AMONG STATES

SEC. 302. (a) From the sums appropriated for carrying out this title for each fiscal year, the Commissioner shall reserve such amount, but not in excess of 2 per centum thereof, as he may determine and shall apportion such amount among the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, according to their respective needs for assistance under this title. From the remainder of such sums the Commissioner shall apportion $200,000 to each State and shall apportion the remainder of such sums among the States as follows:

(1) he shall apportion to each State an amount which bears the same ratio to 50 per centum of such remainder as the number of children aged five to seventeen, inclusive, in the State bears to the number of such children in all the States, and

(2) he shall apportion to each State an amount which bears the same ratio to 50 per centum of such remainder as the population of the State bears to the population of all the States.

For purposes of this subsection, the term "State" does not include the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(b) The number of children aged five to seventeen, inclusive, and the total population of a State and of all the States shall be determined by the Commissioner on the basis of the most recent satisfactory data available to him.

(c) The amount apportioned under this section to any State for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, shall be available for payments to applicants with approved applications in that State during that year and the next fiscal year.

(d) The amount apportioned to any State under subsection (a) for any fiscal year which the Commissioner determines will not be required for the period for which that amount is available shall be available for reapportionment from time to time, on such dates during that period as the Commissioner may fix, among other States in proportion to the amounts originally apportioned among those States under subsection (a) for that year, but with the proportionate amount for any of the other States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the sum the Commissioner estimates that State needs and will be able to use for that period; and the total of these reductions shall be similarly reapportioned among the States whose proportionate amounts were not so reduced. Any amount reapportioned to a State under this subsection from funds appropriated pursuant to section 301 for any fiscal year shall be deemed to be a part of the amount apportioned to it under subsection (a) for that year.

USES OF FEDERAL FUNDS

SEC. 303. Grants under this title may be used, in accordance with applications approved under section 304(b), for—

(a) planning for and taking other steps leading to the development of programs designed to provide supplementary educational

activities and services described in paragraph (b), including pilot projects designed to test the effectiveness of plans so developed; and

(b) the establishment, maintenance, and operation of programs, including the lease or construction of necessary facilities and the acquisition of necessary equipment, designed to enrich the programs of local elementary and secondary schools and to offer a diverse range of educational experience to persons of varying talents and needs by providing supplementary educational services and activities such as—

(1) comprehensive guidance and counseling, remedial instruction, and school health, physical education, recreation, psychological, and social work services designed to enable and encourage persons to enter, remain in, or reenter educational programs, including the provision of special educational programs and study areas during periods when schools are not regularly in session;

(2) comprehensive academic services and, where appropriate, vocational guidance and counseling, for continuing adult education;

(3) developing and conducting exemplary educational programs, including dual-enrollment programs, for the purpose of stimulating the adoption of improved or new educational programs (including those programs described in section 503(a)(4)) in the schools of the State;

(4) specialized instruction and equipment for students interested in studying advanced scientific subjects, foreign languages, and other academic subjects which are not taught in the local schools or which can be provided more effectively on a centralized basis, or for persons who are handicapped or of preschool age;

(5) making available modern educational equipment and specially qualified personnel, including artists and musicians, on a temporary basis to public and other nonprofit schools, organizations, and institutions;

(6) developing, producing, and transmitting radio and television programs for classroom and other educational use;

(7) providing special educational and related services for persons who are in or from rural areas or who are or have been otherwise isolated from normal educational opportunities, including, where appropriate, the provision of mobile educational services and equipment, special home study courses, radio, television, and related forms of instruction, and visiting teachers' programs; and

(8) other specially designed educational programs which meet the purposes of this title.

APPLICATIONS FOR GRANTS AND CONDITIONS FOR APPROVAL

SEC. 304. (a) A grant under this title for a program of supplementary educational services may be made to a local educational agency or agencies, but only if there is satisfactory assurance that in the planning of that program there has been, and in the establishing and carrying out of that program there will be, participation of persons broadly representative of the cultural and educational resources of the area to be served. For the purposes of this section, the term "cultural and educational resources" includes State educational agen-

"Cultural and educational resources."

cies, institutions of higher education, nonprofit private schools, public and nonprofit private agencies such as libraries, museums, musical and artistic organizations, educational radio and television, and other cultural and educational resources. Such grants may be made only upon application to the Commissioner at such time or times, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Commissioner deems necessary. Such applications shall—

(1) provide that the activities and services for which assistance under this title is sought will be administered by or under the supervision of the applicant;

(2) set forth a program for carrying out the purposes set forth in paragraph (a) or paragraph (b) of section 303 and provide for such methods of administration as are necessary for the proper and efficient operation of the program;

(3) set forth policies and procedures which assure that Federal funds made available under this title for any fiscal year will be so used as to supplement and, to the extent practical, increase the level of funds that would, in the absence of such Federal funds, be made available by the applicant for the purposes described in paragraphs (a) and (b) of section 303, and in no case supplant such funds;

(4) in the case of an application for assistance under this title which includes a project for construction of necessary facilities, provide satisfactory assurance (A) that reasonable provision has been made, consistent with the other uses to be made of the facilities, for areas in such facilities which are adaptable for artistic and cultural activities, (B) that upon completion of the construction title to the facilities will be in a State or local educational agency, and (C) that the requirements of section 308 will be complied with on all construction projects assisted under this title;

(5) provide for such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the applicant under this title; and

(6) provide for making an annual report and such other reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Commissioner may reasonably require to carry out his functions under this title and to determine the extent to which funds provided under this title have been effective in improving the educational opportunities of persons in the area served, and for keeping such records and for affording such access thereto as the Commissioner may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

Records.

(b) Applications for grants under this title may be approved by the Commissioner only if—

(1) the application meets the requirements set forth in subsection (a);

(2) the program set forth in the application is consistent with criteria established by the Commissioner for the purpose of achieving an equitable distribution of assistance under this title within each State, which criteria shall be developed by him on the basis of a consideration of (A) the size and population of the State, (B) the geographic distribution of the population within the State, (C) the relative need of persons in different geographic areas and in different population groups within the State for the kinds of services and activities described in paragraph (b) of

section 303, and their financial ability to provide those services and activities, and (D) the relative ability of particular local educational agencies within the State to provide those services and activities;

(3) in the case of an application for assistance for a program for carrying out the purposes described in paragraph (b) of section 303, the Commissioner determines (A) that the program will utilize the best available talents and resources and will substantially increase the educational opportunities in the area to be served by the applicant, and (B) that, to the extent consistent with the number of children enrolled in nonprofit private schools in the area to be served whose educational needs are of the type which the supplementary educational activities and services provided under the program are to meet, provision has been made for participation of such children; and

(4) the application has been submitted for review and recommendations to the State educational agency.

(c) Amendments of applications shall, except as the Commissioner may otherwise provide by or pursuant to regulations, be subject to approval in the same manner as original applications.

PAYMENTS

SEC. 305. (a) From the amounts apportioned to each State under section 302 the Commissioner shall pay to each applicant in that State which has an application approved under this title an amount equal to the total sums expended by the applicant under the application for the purposes set forth therein.

(b) Payments under this title may be made in installments and in advance or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

SEC. 306. (a) The Commissioner shall establish in the Office of Education an Advisory Committee on Supplementary Educational Centers and Services, consisting of the Commissioner, who shall be Chairman, and eight members appointed, without regard to the civil service laws, by the Commissioner with the approval of the Secretary.

(b) The Advisory Committee shall advise the Commissioner (1) on the action to be taken with regard to each application for a grant under this title, and (2) in the preparation of general regulations and with respect to policy matters arising in the administration of this title, including the development of criteria for approval of applications thereunder. The Commissioner may appoint such special advisory and technical experts and consultants as may be useful in carrying out the functions of the Advisory Committee.

(c) Members of the Advisory Committee shall, while serving on the business of the Advisory Committee, be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding $100 per day, including travel time; and, while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

60 Stat. 808; 75 Stat. 339, 340.

RECOVERY OF PAYMENTS

SEC. 307. If within twenty years after completion of any construction for which Federal funds have been paid under this title—

(a) the owner of the facility shall cease to be a State or local educational agency, or

(b) the facility shall cease to be used for the educational and related purposes for which it was constructed, unless the Commissioner determines in accordance with regulations that there is good cause for releasing the applicant or other owner from the obligation to do so,

the United States shall be entitled to recover from the applicant or other owner of the facility an amount which bears to the then value of the facility (or so much thereof as constituted an approved project or projects) the same ratio as the amount of such Federal funds bore to the cost of the facility financed with the aid of such funds. Such value shall be determined by agreement of the parties or by action brought in the United States district court for the district in which the facility is situated.

LABOR STANDARDS

SEC. 308. All laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors on all construction projects assisted under this title shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a–5). The Secretary of Labor shall have with respect to the labor standards specified in this section the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 5 U.S.C. 133z–15) and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276c).

49 Stat. 1011; 78 Stat. 238.
64 Stat. 1267.
63 Stat. 108.

TITLE IV—EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING

SEC. 401. The second section of the Act of July 26, 1954 (20 U.S.C. 332), entitled "An Act to authorize cooperative research in education", is redesignated as section 3 and the material which precedes it is amended to read as follows:

68 Stat. 533.

"PURPOSE

"SEC. 1. The purpose of this Act is to enable the Office of Education more effectively to accomplish the purposes and to perform the duties for which it was originally established.

"EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND RESEARCH TRAINING

"SEC. 2. (a)(1) The Commissioner of Education (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the 'Commissioner') is authorized to make grants to universities and colleges and other public or private agencies, institutions, and organizations and to individuals, for research, surveys, and demonstrations in the field of education (including programs described in section 503(a)(4) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965), and for the dissemination of information derived from educational research (including but not limited to information concerning promising educational practices developed under programs

carried out under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965) and, without regard to sections 3648 and 3709 of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 529; 41 U.S.C. 5), to provide by contracts or jointly financed cooperative arrangements with them for the conduct of such activities; except that no such grant may be made to a private agency, organization, or institution other than a nonprofit one.

"(2) No grant shall be made or contract or jointly financed cooperative arrangement entered into under this subsection until the Commissioner has obtained the advice and recommendations of a panel of specialists who are not employees of the Federal Government and who are competent to evaluate the proposals as to the soundness of their design, the possibilities of securing productive results, the adequacy of resources to conduct the proposed research, surveys, or demonstrations, and their relationship to other similar educational research or dissemination programs already completed or in progress.

"(b) The Commissioner is authorized to make grants to public and other nonprofit universities and colleges and to other public or nonprofit agencies, institutions, and organizations to assist them in providing training in research in the field of education (including such research described in section 503(a)(4) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965), including the development and strengthening of training staff and curricular capability for such training. Grants under this subsection may, when so authorized by the Commissioner, also be used by such grantees (1) in establishing and maintaining research traineeships, internships, personnel exchanges, and pre- and post-doctoral fellowships, and for stipends and allowances (including traveling and subsistence expenses) for fellows and others undergoing training and their dependents not in excess of such maximum amounts as may be prescribed by the Commissioner, or (2), where the grantee is a State educational agency, in providing for such traineeships, internships, personnel exchanges, and fellowships either directly or through arrangements with public or other nonprofit institutions or organizations. No grant shall be made under this subsection for training in sectarian instruction or, for work to be done in an institution, or a department or branch of an institution, whose program is specifically for the education of students to prepare them to become ministers of religion or to enter upon some other religious vocation or to prepare them to teach theological subjects.

"(c) In addition to the authority granted by section 603(b) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, funds available to the Commissioner for grants or contracts or jointly financed cooperative arrangements under this section shall, with the approval of the Secretary, be available for transfer to any other Federal agency for use (in accordance with an interagency agreement) by such agency (alone or in combination with funds of that agency) for purposes for which such transferred funds could be otherwise expended by the Commissioner under the foregoing provisions of this section, and the Commissioner is likewise authorized to accept and expend funds of any other Federal agency for use under this section.

"(d) The Commissioner shall transmit to the Congress annually a report concerning the research, surveys, and demonstrations, the information disseminating activities, and the training in research initiated under this Act, the recommendations made by research specialists pursuant to subsection (a)(2), and any action taken with respect to such recommendations." Report to Congress.

CONFORMING AMENDMENTS

Ante, p. 44.

SEC. 402. The section of such Act redesignated as section 3 is amended by striking out "this Act" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 2".

CONSTRUCTION OF REGIONAL FACILITIES FOR RESEARCH AND RELATED PURPOSES

SEC. 403. Such Act is further amended by adding the following new sections at the end thereof:

"CONSTRUCTION OF REGIONAL FACILITIES FOR RESEARCH AND RELATED PURPOSES

"SEC. 4. (a) There is authorized to be appropriated over a period of five fiscal years beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, $100,000,000 in the aggregate, to enable the Commissioner to carry out the purposes of this section. Sums so appropriated shall remain available until expended for payments with respect to projects for which applications have been filed under this section before July 1, 1970, and approved by the Commissioner before July 1, 1971.

"(b) Whenever the Commissioner finds that the purposes of this Act can best be achieved through the construction of a facility for research, or for research and related purposes (as defined in this section), and that such facility would be of particular value to the Nation or a region thereof as a national or regional resource for research or related purposes, he may make a grant for part or all of the cost of constructing such facility to a university, college, or other appropriate public or nonprofit private agency or institution competent to engage in the types of activity for which the facility is to constructed, or to a combination of such agencies or institutions, or may construct or make arrangements for constructing such facility through contracts for paying part or all of the cost of construction or otherwise. The Commissioner may, where he deems such action appropriate, make arrangements, by contract or otherwise, for the operation of such facilities or may make contributions toward the cost of such operation of facilities of this nature whether or not constructed pursuant to, or with the aid provided under, this section. Title to any facility constructed under this section, if vested in the United States, may be transferred by the Commissioner on behalf of the United States to any such college or university or other public or nonprofit private agency or institution, but such transfer shall be made subject to the condition that the facility will be operated for the purposes for which it was constructed and to such other conditions as the Commissioner deems necessary to carry out the objectives of this title and to protect the interests of the United States.

"(c) All laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors in the performance of work on construction of any project under this section shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a-5). The Secretary of Labor shall have, with respect to the labor standards specified in this clause, the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 5 U.S.C. 133z-15), and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276c).

49 Stat. 1011; 78 Stat. 238.

64 Stat. 1267.

63 Stat. 108.

"(d) Payments under this section shall be made in advance or by way of reimbursement, in such installments consistent with construction progress, and on such conditions as the Commissioner may determine.

"(e) As used in this section, the term 'research and related purposes' means research, research training, surveys, or demonstrations in the field of education, or the dissemination of information derived therefrom, or all of such activities, including (but without limitation) experimental schools, except that such term does not include research, research training, surveys, or demonstrations in the field of sectarian instruction or the dissemination of information derived therefrom. "Research and related purposes."

"DEFINITIONS

"SEC. 5. As used in this Act—

"(1) The term 'State' includes, in addition to the several States of the Union, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands.

"(2) The term 'State educational agency' means the State board of education or other agency or officer primarily responsible for the State supervision of public elementary and secondary schools, or, if there is no such officer or agency, an officer or agency designated by the Governor or by State law.

"(3) The term 'nonprofit' as applied to any agency, organization, or institution means an agency, organization, or institution owned and operated by one or more nonprofit corporations or associations no part of the net earnings of which inures, or may lawfully inure, to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

"(4) The terms 'construction' and 'cost of construction' include (A) the construction of new buildings and the expansion, remodeling, and alteration of existing buildings, including architects' fees, but not including the cost of acquisition of land or off-site improvements, and (B) equipping new buildings and existing buildings, whether or not expanded, remodeled, or altered.

"SHORT TITLE

"SEC. 6. This Act may be cited as the 'Cooperative Research Act'."

TITLE V—GRANTS TO STRENGTHEN STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 501. (a) The Commissioner shall carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and each of the four succeeding fiscal years, a program for making grants to stimulate and assist States in strengthening the leadership resources of their State educational agencies, and to assist those agencies in the establishment and improvement of programs to identify and meet the educational needs of States.

(b) For the purpose of making grants under this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; but for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the three succeeding fiscal years, only such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

APPORTIONMENT AMONG STATES

SEC. 502. (a)(1) From 85 per centum of the sums appropriated for carrying out this title for each fiscal year, the Commissioner shall reserve such amount, but not in excess of 2 per centum of such 85 per centum of such sums, as he may determine and shall apportion such amount among the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands according to their respective needs for assistance under this title. From the remainder of such 85 per centum of such sums the Commissioner shall apportion $100,000 to each State, and shall apportion to each State such part of the remainder of such 85 per centum of such sums as the number of public school pupils in the State bears to the number of public school pupils in all the States, as determined by the Commissioner on the basis of the most recent satisfactory data available to him. For purposes of this paragraph, the term 'State' does not include the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands.

(2) Fifteen per centum of the sums appropriated pursuant to section 501 for each fiscal year shall be reserved by the Commissioner for grants for special projects pursuant to section 505.

(b)(1) The amount apportioned to any State under paragraph (1) of subsection (a) for any fiscal year which the Commissioner determines will not be required for that year shall be available for reapportionment from time to time, on such dates during that year as the Commissioner may fix, to other States in proportion to the amounts originally apportioned among those States under subsection (a)(1) for that year, but with the proportionate amount for any of the other States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the sum the Commissioner estimates that State needs and will be able to use for that year; and the total of these reductions shall be similarly reapportioned among the States whose proportionate amounts were not so reduced. Any amount reapportioned to a State under this subsection from funds appropriated pursuant to section 501 for any fiscal year shall be deemed part of the amount apportioned to it under subsection (a)(1) for that year.

(2) In accordance with regulations of the Commissioner any State may file with him a request that a specified portion of the amount apportioned to it under subsection (a)(1) be added to the amount apportioned to another State under that subsection for the purpose of meeting a portion of the Federal share (as defined in section 503 (b)) of the cost of carrying out one or more programs or activities under an approved application of that other State. If the Commissioner finds that the programs or activities with respect to which the request is made would meet needs of the State making the request and that use of the specified portion of the amount apportioned to that State, as requested by it, would assist in carrying out the purposes of this title, that portion shall be added to the amount apportioned to the other State under subsection (a)(1) to be used for the purpose referred to above. The Federal share of the total funds expended for such programs or activities shall be adjusted on the basis of the proportion of such total funds so expended by each participating State from the amounts originally apportioned to each such State.

GRANTS FROM APPORTIONED FUNDS

SEC. 503. (a) From the amount apportioned to any State for any fiscal year under section 502 the Commissioner may, upon approval of an application or applications therefor submitted to him by such State through the State educational agency, make a grant or grants to such agency equal to the Federal share of expenditures incurred by such agency for the planning of, and for programs for, the development, improvement, or expansion of activities promoting the purposes set forth in section 501(a) and more particularly described in such application and for which such application is approved, such as—

(1) educational planning on a statewide basis, including the identification of educational problems, issues, and needs in the State and the evaluation on a periodic or continuing basis of education programs in the State;

(2) providing support or services for the comprehensive and compatible recording, collecting, processing, analyzing, interpreting, storing, retrieving, and reporting of State and local educational data, including the use of automated data systems;

(3) dissemination or support for the dissemination of information relating to the condition, progress, and needs of education in the State;

(4) programs for conducting, sponsoring, or cooperating in educational research and demonstration programs and projects such as (A) establishing and maintaining curriculum research and innovation centers to assist in locating and evaluating curriculum research findings, (B) discovering and testing new educational ideas (including new uses of printed and audio-visual media) and more effective educational practices, and putting into use those which show promise of success, and (C) studying ways to improve the legal and organizational structure for education and the management and administration of education in the State;

(5) publication and distribution, or support for the publication and distribution, of curricular materials collected and developed at curriculum research centers and elsewhere;

(6) programs to improve the quality of teacher preparation, including student-teaching arrangements, in cooperation with institutions of higher education and local educational agencies;

(7) studies or support for studies concerning the financing of public education in the State;

(8) support for statewide programs designed to measure the educational achievement of pupils;

(9) training and otherwise developing the competency of individuals who serve State or local educational agencies and provide leadership, administrative, or specialist services throughout the State, or throughout the area served by a local educational agency, through the initiation, improvement, and expansion of activities such as (A) sabbatical leave programs, (B) fellowships and traineeships (including educational expenses and the cost of travel) for State educational agency personnel to pursue graduate studies, and (C) conducting institutes, workshops, and conferences (including related costs of operation and payment of the expenses of participants); and

(10) providing local educational agencies and the schools of those agencies with consultative and technical assistance and services relating to academic subjects and to particular aspects of edu-

cation such as the education of the handicapped, school building design and utilization, school social work, the utilization of modern instructional materials and equipment, transportation, educational administrative procedures, and school health, physical education, and recreation.

(b)(1) For the purposes of this section the Federal share for any State shall be 100 per centum for fiscal years ending prior to July 1, 1967. Thereafter the Federal share for any State shall be 100 per centum less the State percentage, except that (A) the Federal share shall in no case be more than 66 per centum or less than 50 per centum, and (B) the Federal share for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands shall be 66 per centum. The "State percentage" for any State shall be that percentage which bears the same ratio to 50 per centum as the per capita income of that State bears to the per capita income of all the States (excluding the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands).

(2) The Federal share for each State for the fiscal years beginning July 1, 1967, and July 1, 1968, shall be promulgated by the Commissioner between July 1 and August 31, 1966, and the Federal share for each State for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1969, shall be promulgated by the Commissioner between July 1 and August 31, 1968. Such Federal share shall be computed on the basis of the average of the per capita incomes of each State and of all the States (excluding the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands) for the three most recent consecutive years for which satisfactory data are available from the Department of Commerce.

APPROVAL OF APPLICATIONS FOR GRANTS FROM APPORTIONED FUNDS

SEC. 504. An application for a grant under section 503 may be approved by the Commissioner only upon his determination that—

(a) each of the proposed projects, programs, and activities for which it is approved meets the requirements of section 503(a) and will make a significant contribution to strengthening the leadership resources of the applicant or its ability to participate effectively in meeting the educational needs of the State;

(b) the application contains or is supported by adequate assurance that Federal funds made available under the approved application will be so used as to supplement, and to the extent practical, increase the amounts of State funds that would in the absence of such Federal funds be made available for projects and activities which meet the requirements of section 503(a);

(c) the application sets forth such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of, and accounting for, Federal funds paid to the State (including any such funds paid by the State to agencies, institutions, or organizations) under this title; and

Records.

(d) the application provides for making such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Commissioner may require to carry out his functions under this title, and for keeping such records and for affording such access thereto as the Commissioner may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

SPECIAL PROJECT GRANTS

SEC. 505. Fifteen per centum of the sums appropriated pursuant to section 501 for each fiscal year shall be used by the Commissioner to make grants to State educational agencies to pay part of the cost of experimental projects for developing State leadership or for the establishment of special services which, in the judgment of the Commissioner, hold promise of making a substantial contribution to the solution of problems common to the State educational agencies of all or several States.

PAYMENTS

SEC. 506. Payments pursuant to grants under this title may be made in installments, and in advance or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments, as the Commissioner may determine.

INTERCHANGE OF PERSONNEL WITH STATES

SEC. 507. (a) For the purposes of this section, the term "State" means a State or any agency of a State engaged in activities in the field of education, but it does not include a local educational agency; and the term "Office" means the Office of Education.

(b) The Commissioner is authorized, through agreements or otherwise, to arrange for assignment of officers and employees of States to the Office and assignment of officers and employees in the Office to States, for work which the Commissioner determines will aid the Office in more effective discharge of its responsibilities as authorized by law, including cooperation with States and the provision of technical or other assistance. The period of assignment of any officer or employee under an arrangement shall not exceed two years.

(c)(1) Officers and employees in the Office assigned to any State pursuant to this section shall be considered, during such assignment, to be (A) on detail to a regular work assignment in the Office, or (B) on leave without pay from their positions in the Office.

(2) Persons considered to be so detailed shall remain as officers or employees, as the case may be, in the Office for all purposes, except that the supervision of their duties during the period of detail may be governed by agreement between the Office and the State involved.

(3) In the case of persons so assigned and on leave without pay—

(A) if the rate of compensation (including allowances) for their employment by the State is less than the rate of compensation (including allowances) they would be receiving had they continued in their regular assignment in the Office, they may receive supplemental salary payments from the Office in the amount considered by the Commissioner to be justified, but not at a rate in excess of the difference between the State rate and the Office rate; and

(B) they may be granted annual leave and sick leave to the extent authorized by law, but only in circumstances considered by the Commissioner to justify approval of such leave.

Such officers and employees on leave without pay shall, notwithstanding any other provision of law, be entitled—

(C) to continuation of their insurance under the Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance Act of 1954, and coverage under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959, so long

68 Stat. 736.
5 USC 2091 note.
73 Stat. 708.
5 USC 3001 note.

as the Office continues to collect the employee's contribution from the officer or employee involved and to transmit for timely deposit into the funds created under such Acts the amount of the employee's contributions and the Government's contribution from appropriations of the Office; and

(D) to credit the period of their assignment under the arrangement under this section toward periodic or longevity step increases and, upon payment into the civil service retirement and disability fund of the percentage of their State salary, and of their supplemental salary payments, if any, which would have been deducted from a like Federal salary for the period of such assignment and payment by the Commissioner into such fund of the amount which would have been payable by him during the period of such assignment with respect to a like Federal salary, to treat (notwithstanding the provisions of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1959, under the head "Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund") their service during such period as service within the meaning of the Civil Service Retirement Act;

72 Stat. 1064.
5 USC 2267 note.
70 Stat. 743.
5 USC 2251 note.

except that no officer or employee or his beneficiary may receive any benefits under the Civil Service Retirement Act, the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959, or the Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance Act of 1954, based on service during an assignment hereunder for which the officer or employee or (if he dies without making such election) his beneficiary elects to receive benefits, under any State retirement or insurance law or program, which the Civil Service Commission determines to be similar. The Office shall deposit currently in the funds created under the Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance Act of 1954, the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959, and the civil service retirement and disability fund, respectively, the amount of the Government's contribution under these Acts on account of service with respect to which employee contributions are collected as provided in subparagraph (C) and the amount of the Government's contribution under the Civil Service Retirement Act on account of service with respect to which payments (of the amount which would have been deducted under that Act) referred to in subparagraph (D) are made to such civil service retirement and disability fund.

68 Stat. 736.
5 USC 2091 note.
73 Stat. 708.
5 USC 3001 note.

(4) Any such officer or employee on leave without pay who suffers disability or death as a result of personal injury sustained while in the performance of his duty during an assignment hereunder, shall be treated, for the purposes of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, as though he were an employee, as defined in such Act, who had sustained such injury in the performance of duty. When such person (or his dependents, in case of death) entitled by reason of injury or death to benefits under that Act is also entitled to benefits from a State for the same injury or death, he (or his dependents in case of death) shall elect which benefits he will receive. Such election shall be made within one year after the injury or death, or such further time as the Secretary of Labor may for good cause allow, and when made shall be irrevocable unless otherwise provided by law.

39 Stat. 742.
5 USC 751 note.

(d) Assignment of any officer or employee in the Office to a State under this section may be made with or without reimbursement by the State for the compensation (or supplementary compensation), travel and transportation expenses (to or from the place of assignment), and allowances, or any part thereof, of such officer or employee

during the period of assignment, and any such reimbursement shall be credited to the appropriation utilized for paying such compensation, travel or transportation expenses, or allowances.

(e) Appropriations to the Office shall be available, in accordance with the standardized Government travel regulations, for the expenses of travel of officers and employees assigned to States under an arrangement under this section on either a detail or leave-without-pay basis and, in accordance with applicable law, orders, and regulations, for expenses of transportation of their immediate families and expenses of transportation of their household goods and personal effects, in connection with the travel of such officers and employees to the location of their posts of assignment and their return to their official stations.

(f) Officers and employees of States who are assigned to the Office under an arrangement under this section may (1) be given appointments in the Office covering the periods of such assignments, or (2) be considered to be on detail to the Office. Appointments of persons so assigned may be made without regard to the civil service laws. Persons so appointed in the Office shall be paid at rates of compensation determined in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, and shall not be considered to be officers or employees of the Office for the purposes of (1) the Civil Service Retirement Act, (2) the Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance Act of 1954, or (3) unless their appointments result in the loss of coverage in a group health benefits plan whose premium has been paid in whole or in part by a State contribution, the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959. State officers and employees who are assigned to the Office without appointment shall not be considered to be officers or employees of the Office, except as provided in subsection (g), nor shall they be paid a salary or wage by the Office during the period of their assignment. The supervision of the duties of such persons during the assignment may be governed by agreement between the Commissioner and the State involved.

63 Stat. 954; 78 Stat. 400. 5 USC 1071 note. 70 Stat. 743. 5 USC 2251 note. 68 Stat. 736. 5 USC 2091 note. 73 Stat. 708. 5 USC 3001 note.

(g)(1) Any State officer or employee who is assigned to the Office without appointment shall nevertheless be subject to the provisions of sections 203, 205, 207, 208, and 209 of title 18 of the United States Code.

Conflict-of-interest. 76 Stat. 1121.

(2) Any State officer or employee who is given an appointment while assigned to the Office, or who is assigned to the Office without appointment, under an arrangement under this section, and who suffers disability or death as a result of personal injury sustained while in the performance of his duty during such assignment shall be treated, for the purpose of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, as though he were an employee, as defined in such Act, who had sustained such injury in the performance of duty. When such person (or his dependents, in case of death) entitled by reason of injury or death to benefits under that Act is also entitled to benefits from a State for the same injury or death, he (or his dependents, in case of death) shall elect which benefits he will receive. Such election shall be made within one year after the injury or death, or such further time as the Secretary of Labor may for good cause allow, and when made shall be irrevocable unless otherwise provided by law.

39 Stat. 742. 5 USC 751 note.

(h) The appropriations to the Office shall be available, in accordance with the standardized Government travel regulations, during the period of assignment and in the case of travel to and from their places

of assignment or appointment, for the payment of expenses of travel of persons assigned to, or given appointments by, the Office under an arrangement under this section.

(i) All arrangements under this section for assignment of officers or employees in the Office to States or for assignments of officers or employees of States to the Office shall be made in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner.

ADMINISTRATION OF STATE PLANS

SEC. 508. (a) The Commissioner shall not finally disapprove any application submitted under section 504, or any modification thereof, without first affording the State educational agency submitting the application reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

(b) Whenever the Commissioner, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State educational agency administering a program under an application approved under this title, finds—

(1) that the application has been so changed that it no longer complies with the provisions of section 504(a), or

(2) that in the administration of the plan there is a failure to comply substantially with any such provision,

the Commissioner shall notify such State educational agency that the State will not be regarded as eligible to participate in the program under this title until he is satisfied that there is no longer any such failure to comply.

JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 509. (a) If any State is dissatisfied with the Commissioner's final action with respect to the approval of an application submitted under section 504(a) or with his final action under section 508(b), such State may, within sixty days after notice of such action, file with the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which such State is located a petition for review of that action. A copy of the petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Commissioner. The Commissioner thereupon shall file in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based his action as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code.

72 Stat. 941.

(b) The findings of fact by the Commissioner, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive; but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Commissioner to take further evidence, and the Commissioner may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify his previous action, and shall certify to the court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence.

(c) The court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Commissioner or to set it aside, in whole or in part. The judgment of the court shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code.

62 Stat. 928.

PERIODIC REVIEW OF PROGRAM AND LAWS

SEC. 510. (a) The Secretary shall, within ninety days after the date of enactment of this title, appoint an Advisory Council on State Departments of Education for the purpose of reviewing the administration of the programs for which funds are appropriated pursuant to this title and making recommendations for improvement of such

administration, and reviewing the status of and making recommendations with respect to such programs and this title and with respect to other Acts under which funds are appropriated to assist State educational agencies to administer Federal programs relating to education.

(b) The Council shall be appointed by the Secretary without regard to the civil service laws and shall consist of twelve persons who shall, to the extent possible, include persons familiar with the educational needs of the Nation, persons familiar with the administration of State and local educational programs, and persons representative of the general public.

(c) The Secretary is authorized to engage such technical assistance as may be required to carry out the functions of the Council, and the Secretary shall, in addition, make available to the Council such secretarial, clerical, and other assistance and such pertinent data prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as it may require to carry out such functions.

(d) The Council shall make an annual report of its findings and recommendations (including recommendations for changes in the provisions of this title and of other education Acts) to the Secretary not later than March 31 of each calendar year beginning after the enactment of this title. The Secretary shall transmit each such report to the President and the Congress together with his comments and recommendations.

Report to President and Congress.

(e) Members of the Council who are not regular full-time employees of the United States shall, while serving on business of the Council, be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding $100 per day, including travel time; and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in Government service employed intermittently.

60 Stat. 808; 75 Stat. 339, 340.

TITLE VI—GENERAL PROVISIONS

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 601. As used in titles II, III, and V of this Act—

(a) The term "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Education.

(b) The term "construction" means (1) erection of new or expansion of existing structures, and the acquisition and installation of equipment therefor; or (2) acquisition of existing structures not owned by any agency or institution making application for assistance under this Act; or (3) remodeling or alteration (including the acquisition, installation, modernization, or replacement of equipment) of existing structures; or (4) a combination of any two or more of the foregoing.

(c) The term "elementary school" means a day or residential school which provides elementary education, as determined under State law.

(d) The term "equipment" includes machinery, utilities, and built-in equipment and any necessary enclosures or structures to house them, and includes all other items necessary for the functioning of a particular facility as a facility for the provision of educational services, including items such as instructional equipment and necessary furniture, printed, published, and audio-visual instructional materials, and books, periodicals, documents, and other related materials.

(e) The term "institution of higher education" means an educational institution in any State which—

(1) admits as regular students only individuals having a certificate of graduation from a high school, or the recognized equivalent of such a certificate;

(2) is legally authorized within such State to provide a program of education beyond high school;

(3) provides an educational program for which it awards a bachelor's degree, or provides not less than a two-year program which is acceptable for full credit toward such a degree, or offers a two-year program in engineering, mathematics, or the physical or biological sciences which is designed to prepare the student to work as a technician and at a semiprofessional level in engineering, scientific, or other technological fields which require the understanding and application of basic engineering, scientific, or mathematical principles or knowledge;

(4) is a public or other nonprofit institution; and

(5) is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association listed by the Commissioner pursuant to this paragraph or, if not so accredited, is an institution whose credits are accepted, on transfer, by not less than three institutions which are so accredited, for credit on the same basis as if transferred from an institution so accredited: *Provided, however*, That in the case of an institution offering a two-year program in engineering, mathematics, or the physical or biological sciences which is designed to prepare the student to work as a technician and at a semiprofessional level in engineering, scientific, or technological fields which require the understanding and application of basic engineering, scientific, or mathematical principles or knowledge, if the Commissioner determines that there is no nationally recognized accrediting agency or association qualified to accredit such institutions, he shall appoint an advisory committee, composed of persons specially qualified to evaluate training provided by such institutions, which shall prescribe the standards of content, scope, and quality which must be met in order to qualify such institutions to participate under this Act and shall also determine whether particular institutions meet such standards. For the purposes of this paragraph the Commissioner shall publish a list of nationally recognized accrediting agencies or associations which he determines to be reliable authority as to the quality of education or training offered.

(f) The term "local educational agency" means a public board of education or other public authority legally constituted within a State for either administrative control or direction of, or to perform a service function for, public elementary or secondary schools in a city, county, township, school district, or other political subdivision of a State, or such combination of school districts or counties as are recognized in a State as an administrative agency for its public elementary or secondary schools. Such term also includes any other public institution or agency having administrative control and direction of a public elementary or secondary school.

(g) The term "nonprofit" as applied to a school, agency, organization, or institution means a school, agency, organization, or institution owned and operated by one or more nonprofit corporations or associations no part of the net earnings of which inures, or may lawfully inure, to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

(h) The term "secondary school" means a day or residential school which provides secondary education, as determined under State law, except that it does not include any education provided beyond grade 12.

(i) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

(j) The term "State" includes, in addition to the several States of the Union, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands and for purposes of title II and title III, such term includes the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(k) The term "State educational agency" means the State board of education or other agency or officer primarily responsible for the State supervision of public elementary and secondary schools, or, if there is no such officer or agency, an officer or agency designated by the Governor or by State law.

ADVISORY COUNCILS

SEC. 602. (a) The Commissioner may, without regard to the civil service laws, and subject to the Secretary's approval in such cases as the Secretary may prescribe, from time to time appoint, in addition to the advisory councils and committees authorized in preceding titles, an advisory council of ten members to advise and consult with the Commissioner with respect to his functions under this law.

(b) Members of such an advisory council who are not regular full-time employees of the United States shall, while attending meetings or conferences of such council or otherwise engaged on business of such council, be entitled to receive compensation at a rate fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding $100 per diem, including travel time, and, while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

60 Stat. 808; 75 Stat. 339, 340.

FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 603. (a) The Commissioner may delegate any of his functions under this Act or any Act amended by this Act, except the making of regulations, to any officer or employee of the Office of Education.

(b) In administering the provisions of this Act or any Act amended by this Act, the Commissioner is authorized to utilize the services and facilities of any agency of the Federal Government and of any other public or nonprofit agency or institution in accordance with appropriate agreements, and to pay for such services either in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be agreed upon.

FEDERAL CONTROL OF EDUCATION PROHIBITED

SEC. 604. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system, or over the selection of library resources, textbooks, or other printed or published instructional materials by any educational institution or school system.

LIMITATION ON PAYMENTS UNDER THIS ACT

SEC. 605. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize the making of any payment under this Act, or under any Act amended by this Act, for religious worship or instruction.

Approved April 11, 1965.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 143 (Comm. on Education & Labor).
SENATE REPORT No. 146 (Comm. on Labor & Public Welfare).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 111 (1965):
Mar. 24-25: Considered in House.
Mar. 26: Considered and passed House.
Apr. 6-8: Considered in Senate.
Apr. 9: Considered and passed Senate.

BLACK BELT SCHOOLS:

Beyond Desegregation

TOWARD REGIONAL REALISM
NO. 4

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

BLACK BELT SCHOOLS:

Beyond Desegregation

By

Donald Ross Green

James A. Jordan

W. J. Bridgeman

Clay V. Brittain

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 1965

THE AUTHORS are professional educators. Each was a faculty member at Emory University in the Division of Teacher Education when this report was prepared. Dr. Donald Ross Green and Dr. James A. Jordan, both associate professors of education, and Dr. W. J. Bridgeman, assistant professor of education, still teach at Emory, Atlanta, Ga. Dr. Clay V. Brittain, former assistant professor of education at Emory, recently moved to Washington, D. C., to work for the U.S. Office of Education. Their provocative findings and suggestions for improving education in rural schools go beyond the problems of consolidation and desegregation and make interesting reading.

Samuel L. Adams

Director of Research

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In the Spring of 1964 we spent a number of days visiting the school systems of a county in Georgia and a county in South Carolina. We wanted to look at examples of southern rural school systems. For many years the schools in the large cities of the nation have struggled with the educational deficiencies imposed on them by migrants from the rural South. We went to look at the roots of this problem. We went knowing then, as we know now, that large numbers of people from such areas grow up without an adequate education. We also knew before we started that school segregation did not help the situation; in fact, desegregation of the schools was in our minds as a certainly proper and a probably helpful step. Unquestionably what we saw in these two counties was influenced by our preconceptions.

Still, we were strongly impressed in two ways. First, in both school systems large numbers of intelligent, energetic, and sensitive people are performing remarkably well and in a professional fashion. We, therefore, do not believe that if one could put an appropriate number of the teachers and administrators drawn from one of our better suburban districts into these two systems, many of the school problems would thereby be solved. Secondly, the feature of life in these communities that struck me most forcefully was the dominant role played by race and segregation in the lives of all. Even the two of us raised in the South were impressed all over again with the salience of race in the thoughts, actions, and patterns of life of the citizens, white and Negro alike, in these two counties.

These two impressions have been the leading influences in what we see as the educational problems facing rural areas of this sort and what we think might be done about these problems. The first impression has led us to propose drastic changes in the arrangement of the school system. It seemed clear to us that, if people of the calibre we encountered in these county school systems are unable to do any better than they are doing, it is not possible to achieve the desired improvements in chil-

dren's learning by doing more adequately the same sort of things. It seemed evident to us that some basic changes in the system itself would be necessary to accomplish much. Our second strong impression suggested what the first step in this direction needs to be. We concluded that the starting point for improvement of education in such communities must be the complete elimination of segregation. It seems to us that these two basic propositions have not been fully faced by those concerned with education, either in communities of this sort or anywhere else in the country.

To be sure, the situation has changed dramatically since the Spring of 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 mean that formal desegregation of school systems in counties of this sort is beginning to take place and that relatively large amounts of federal funds are now available to these systems. These are helpful steps, but by themselves they are not enough.

It is our purpose in this report to explain why they are not enough and especially why, after formal desegregation, ordinary school improvements are still likely to prove inadequate. To this end our discussion will include brief descriptions of the conditions of living and of education we found in the counties visited; these examples are offered in the hope that our discussion of the nature of the basic educational problem will be clearer. Finally, again using the two school systems for illustration, we shall offer some suggestions for changes in the standard pattern of schooling which we believe indicate the kind of alterations conditions in the rural South make necessary.

Inadequate education is a prominent feature of life for most people growing up in the rural South; so is poverty, so is segregation. We have asserted that the elimination of segregation is the first step toward making the education adequate. But this simple assertion does not dispose of the matter because segregation is not a simple matter; it is complicated, and it is a particularly difficult fact to come to terms with in education. Segregation doesn't just mean that white children go to "white" schools with white teachers (but Negro janitors), while Negro children go to "black" schools with Negro teachers (and no janitors). Segregation creeps into the fiber of the society and

culture within which education as a process takes place. There are many practices which could be cited as part of the general fact of segregation, but it isn't always clear just how these practices affect education—only that they do, directly or indirectly.

What does it mean for education when Negro adults, regardless of status and personal attainment, are all called by their first names by all the members of the white community they meet? What does it mean for education if there are no Negro doctors or Negro lawyers in a community on the one hand, and no white janitors or white maids on the other? What does it mean for education if life is so arranged that to the casual, uninformed visitor, the group which in fact constitutes the majority in a community appears to be a tiny and unimportant minority? What does it mean for education when the language used in all the books studied by a child is not the same as that used by anyone like him? What does it mean when all the pictures in the books, about both present and past times, are of members of another group?

To put it another way, education always takes place in a context. If a community being served by a school is largely lower middle class, then this fact tells something about the kinds of values and the kinds of expectations children bring to school with them. It tells something about the kinds of things that parents are likely to want for their children, and are likely to expect the school to provide. If 50% of a high school's graduates go on to college, then certain kinds of educational practices are obviously more appropriate than others. If 70% of the children who leave high school go into industrial jobs, then certain other kinds of practices are called for.

In rural southern communities, these ordinary difficulties are multiplied by the fact of segregation. One can expect some of the white students in the community to return as doctors or lawyers, and the like. But what of the Negro students? The manners and mores of the great middle class are perhaps obviously appropriate for the white students, but are they for the Negroes? Every student must be taught the responsibilities of good citizenship, such as the responsibility of voting, but are Negroes expected to vote? Whatever facet of the community

one chooses to study in order to relate it to educational practice, the picture is complicated by the fact of segregation, and if the full intellectual development of all children is the goal of education, then segregation is inappropriate. Segregation is corrosive of the basic processes that make it possible for education to take place.

For example, a child who asks questions about the society around him must be answered honestly, for his full intellectual growth. In fact a child needs the stimulation to ask such questions as well as honest answers to the questions to attain this growth. The answers one can give to a Negro child in a fully segregated society amount either to the assertion that he is inferior, or that he is being treated unjustly. A child who accepts the notion that he is inferior loses much of his drive to achieve. A child who believes he is being treated unjustly is angry and frustrated, so that while he will have strong drives, he will not learn to think well or clearly. Thus, either answer will arouse feelings that will thereafter interfere with intellectual growth. The remaining alternative, and probably the course adopted most often, is to prevent the children from asking questions. This, also, interferes with adequate education.

An analogous difficulty is created for the white child. In such communities he also is not encouraged to ask questions about segregation and certainly it must often happen that when he does the answers given are not accurate, although on occasion they may be honest as the teacher sees it. These conditions also are less than positive contributions to intellectual growth. However, for the white child, in contrast to the Negro, there is the encouragement and stimulation to intellectual growth that can come from the belief in one's superior ability to learn. Probably more serious are the distorted views of his responsibilities as a citizen that develop as he learns to ignore the incongruities between the practices of segregation and the statements about equality and freedom he is asked to learn.

In short, it is immediately, painfully, and unmistakably obvious that in southern rural communities Negroes are assigned an inferior role, and it follows directly that for Negro children especially, proper intellectual growth is impossible. Segregation is both the symbol of this situation and the means for its main-

tenance. Consequently, we do not believe a proper education for any child, white or Negro, can be provided in a segregated system.

But school desegregation is only one of the changes needed to eliminate segregation as an influence on education, and it is beyond the scope of this report (and our ability) to discuss the ways of accomplishing legal desegregation. Our suggestions are designed to help solve the educational problems that remain after this necessary condition to intellectual development has been established.

This does not mean that we shall avoid further consideration of the fact of segregation. As a pervasive and dominant feature of life, its role in education requires repeated attention. We shall assume, however, that the educational practices we are proposing will take place in school systems in which all concerned treat race as irrelevant to educational decisions. Recognizing that this assumption is currently contrary to fact let us turn to our second proposition. It is that legal desegregation is only the first step and that in rural Black Belt areas profound educational problems will remain. The nature of these problems can best be understood by looking more closely at the life of these areas.

CHAPTER II

Two Rural Counties

A. *Geography and Economics*

Burke County is just south of Augusta on the Savannah River. As counties go in Georgia, Burke is large; it is roughly triangular with each side extending for about 40 miles. While not flat, there are no large hills and most of the land is arable. There is one central town, Waynesboro, in which about one-fourth of the county's 20,000 residents live. The remaining three-fourths are spread throughout the county in such a way that there are few clusters of population sufficient to support schools. There are a half-dozen much smaller towns scattered around the county, several of them near the apexes of the

triangle; these towns are rapidly dying, and in some cases, are already too small to justify a school of their own.

This dispersion creates problems of several kinds. It complicates the sheer mechanical problem of getting children together in sufficient numbers for a sufficient length of time to have a full school day. It means that many children spend unreasonable lengths of time getting to and from school, and, for many of the children, that contact with other children outside their own families is largely limited to the chances schools (and buses) provide.

These facts are important because children probably do more to educate each other than schools as such do, which is one reason why it is difficult to raise the educational level of a community by "good" schools or lower it by "bad" schools. We do not mean that a group of children without a school would learn what they would in school. We mean that by acting as models for each other, by setting standards and by supporting or squelching each other's interests and expectations, the children in the classes of all but the most rare teachers set both the upper and lower limits of achievement. The most strenuous efforts of teachers, principals, and superintendents rarely alter these limits. For the most part, the time and effort spent going to and from schools is not a very constructive force in children's education. Long rides in crowded, noisy buses do not provide learning conditions conducive to academic progress. These particular educational problems are probably characteristic of most rural school systems, although they undoubtedly vary in degree.

The economic conditions in Burke County also create educational problems.[1] Historically, the county depended on agriculture (principally cotton) for its economic health, and agricultural activities are important sources of livelihood still, especially for Negroes. The county has a few small industries which do not depend upon agriculture. These industries have not greatly increased in number or size in recent years, and have not been able to counteract the problems created by the shrinking number of jobs in agriculture; they mostly employ only

[1]What follows describes the facts to be found in Tables 1, 2, and 3. For some, reading the tables will suffice.

whites, the group least in need of job opportunities. Cotton production was once an adequate basis for a plantation economy employing many people. Twenty-five years ago, farming alone employed more people than are in the total labor force today. But while there is still substantial cotton acreage, it has proved to be an increasingly inadequate source of income for the county.

The amount of land being farmed has declined a bit (10% since 1945), but the number of farms has declined even more (50% since 1945), because the size of farms has increased (84% since 1945). Burke County has always had some large plantations. It still does. But for a long time Burke also had many small farms, a number of which were owned by Negroes. The average size of farms is increasing partly because these Negro farmers are being put out of business. The declining number of Negro farm operators indicates that the Negro is among the first victims of the complex and mounting pressures on small farmers. Heavy machinery and technically trained personnel are increasingly necessary for successful farming. All of these phenomena, then, point to the same thing: a dramatic reduction in the need for unskilled farm labor, a fact which means in a place like Burke that there is no longer much need for Negro labor.

Table 1 shows these and other economic facts about Burke County. One obvious consequence of these conditions is widespread poverty, especially among Negroes. As shown in Table 2, the 1960 census data indicate the median family income of Burke Negroes was approximately $1,200 a year, less than half of the $3,000 per year now commonly cited as the minimum needed by the typical family in the United States. Only 11% of the Negro families in Burke County had in 1960 incomes of $3,000 or more per year, while two-thirds of the white families had incomes meeting or exceeding this minimum. In short, a large portion of Negroes in Burke County live in conditions of severe poverty and have little prospect of change as long as they remain in the county. There are also substantial numbers of whites who live in conditions of poverty, but their prospect of a better future is not quite so plainly unattainable.

It is not surprising that the Negro population in Burke has decreased more than 18% between 1950 and 1960, while the white population has remained fairly stable (see Table 3). Not too many years ago, Negroes made up more than 80% of the population in Burke County. Today, about two-thirds of the population is Negro, but among adults the ratio of whites to Negroes is beginning to approach 1 to 1. It should be noted that not only does this suggest that Negroes tend to have larger families than the white residents of the county, but it also reflects the fact that a great many Negro parents leave their children in the county while they go to cities to work. A crude survey taken in Edgefield County suggests that approximately 25% of the Negro children in the schools had one or both parents working and living somewhere else (usually in the North). While the parents migrate, they frequently let the county educate their children. Migration, then, relieves the county of less of the educational burden than the migration rate suggests.

Edgefield County is across the Savannah River in South Carolina about as far north of Augusta as Burke is south of Augusta. Like Burke, it is roughly triangular, but a bit smaller, with each side running roughly 30 rather than 40 miles. In one sense, it is even smaller than that size indicates, since much of the northern border of the county is part of Sumter National Forest, and is thinly populated. The county has three sizeable towns: Edgefield, Johnston, and Trenton. While Trenton is shrinking, both Edgefield and Johnston are reasonably vigorous communities more than holding their own in size (i.e. slight growth, as in Waynesboro). Another important difference is that while Edgefield was also once primarily a cotton producing county, it is now a peach producing area, and much of the land is in peach orchards. The agricultural problems of the county seem slightly less severe than those of Burke County, but a glance at Table 1 will show that the changes have been about the same with respect to number of farms, their size, and the role played by Negro operators. Exactly as in Burke, the number of farms has decreased dramatically while average size has increased, and it has been the Negro operator who has been

squeezed the most. In Edgefield as in Burke, agriculture is no longer the principal kind of employment.

Unlike Burke, however, employment opportunities for Negroes in industry have increased. The number of such jobs is still not large, but the difference in direction of change is probably one reason why Edgefield has lost less of its Negro population (see Tables 2 and 3).

Perhaps the most prominent difference is the use the citizens of Edgefield County make of employment opportunities outside the county. For example, a perceptible number of citizens of the community work at the Savannah River Project, a large nearby Atomic Energy Commission installation. Burke County, directly across the river from the project (but the nearest bridge is in Augusta), has few residents who work at the project, and has at least some prominent citizens who are pleased rather than irritated at this lack of involvement with the federal government. In Edgefield, both whites and Negroes find work outside the county, not only at the Savannah River Project but in Aiken, Augusta, and in the counties east and north of Edgefield. Nevertheless, while Negroes have not been totally excluded from industrial jobs in Edgefield, to date at least, industrial employment has not been a substantial solution to their problems. Income of the people in Edgefield, while a little better than in Burke, still puts a substantial number of whites and most of the Negroes in the poverty-stricken category. The median family income among Negroes in Edgefield, as Table 2 indicates, was approximately $1,600 a year. This is severe poverty. The consequences with respect to population have been much the same in Edgefield as in Burke, the Negro population having declined about 10% between 1950 and 1960. Furthermore, the white population declined by about 3% as well. Back in 1920, the Negroes were about three-quarters of the population in Edgefield County; now they are barely more than half. The rate of Negro emigration from Edgefield in proportion to the total population, however, has decreased in recent years, compared with the 1930's and 1940's.

In both Burke and Edgefield Counties, and in counties similar to them, unless there are dramatic changes in trends, large numbers of children will continue living and going to

school under conditions of severe poverty, with little prospect of bettering themselves in their home communities. Most of those who do succeed in getting educated will leave home. The prospects for those who stay are dim indeed among the Negroes. A fair number of the better educated and more successful white youths will also find it advantageous to leave these counties, as they, too, have been doing.

The consequences for education are many. These affect Negro and white students somewhat differently. If a Negro student and his parents are to see that education is a path to an adequate livelihood as an adult, they must recognize that the student is preparing to live somewhere else. In other words, they must have enough foresight and enough knowledge of the world to understand what is needed in other parts of the country. Generally speaking, such knowledge and foresight come through education. On the other hand, the white student, although he may also see greater opportunities outside of his county, can see that he probably can make an adequate living at home, provided he acquires an appropriate education. For whites, education provides immediate visible opportunities; for Negroes, education provides the only possible opportunity, but it is less visible. This lack of visibility is only one of the reasons why the educational efforts of the school systems are not very successful, and why segregation stymies educational progress.

One way of describing this situation is to say that for the Negro attempting to live in his home, neither education nor anything else leads anywhere. Essentially, it is a situation of "no hope." This problem's solution clearly involves recommendations that go far beyond the field of education.

There are no educational recommendations that will be sufficient even to attack the problems of "no hope" in education, because these problems stem from the function of education in a society. What good will imaginatively conceived vocational education programs be if there is no place in society for the use of skills developed? What good will supplementary educational services be if education itself fits an individual to live in a social, cultural, and economic milieu that simply does not exist? Educational recommendations cannot have their proper effect unless something is done to allow the *use* of edu-

cation by all members of society. In order for education to have its desired effect, the problem of giving hope to education must be addressed and solved *by the community*. Fundamentally, this means that the community must display to the school that educational accomplishment entitles one to social, cultural, and economic rewards. The rural communities of the Black Belt South do not do this, and until and unless they do, plans, energies, and money poured into their schools will do little to solve their basic educational problems.

This means that Negroes must be allowed to compete openly for jobs, and that there must be jobs; it means that cultural opportunities must be made available to all who want them and are ready to appreciate them, and that there must *be* cultural opportunities; it means that social interaction must become a function of natural factors such as temperament, education, concern, and interest. In sum there are no *educational* recommendations we can make that will restore hope to education; to alter the function of education for the Negro community means to make the good things of a free society available to all men.

B. *The School*

At first glance, the schools of Burke County appear to be much like those anywhere. The buildings and the classrooms, ranging from old to new, look much like those one would encounter anywhere in the United States. Of the roughly 7,000 children of school age in the county, about 4,500 Negro and 1,800 white are enrolled in the schools; apparently, some 700-800 children, mostly Negro, are not in school. The white population is served by three high schools and five elementary schools, while the Negro population is served by one high school and six elementary schools. Average daily attendance of students in the system is fair, but is higher among the white (88%) than among the Negro (78%) students. This difference is at least partly because some Negro children do not enter school in the fall until after crops are harvested. Both the curriculum and the general arrangements of the schools appear fairly typical of what one might find in any school.** The

**For a summary of educational statistics, see Table 4.

system is probably not unlike those in the rural South generally but, if anything, somewhat better than the average of these systems. In fact, given the basic conditions in which the system functions, it can be called a good system.

We have already described two of these conditions: the severe and widespread poverty and the low and decreasing density of population in most of the county. A third condition is partly but not entirely a consequence of the first. This is the fact that monies for school operations in Burke County are very nearly at the minimum the state permits. About 88% of these school funds come from the state (1963-64 data), and what little the county raises over and above that required by the state is spent for the teachers in unconsolidated white schools that the state will not support. In spite of the extensive poverty in the county, it could clearly spend more for education. Per pupil expenditures for the county in average daily attendance figures were slightly over $265 in 1963-64. The corresponding figures for Atlanta, for Georgia as a whole, and for the entire country were $380, $295, and $460, respectively.

The fourth and last condition is—as of 1964-65 at least—total segregation, the importance of which we have already discussed briefly. Actually, there are two parallel school systems with an entirely white superstructure. The parallelism is not perfect, since the Negro system is not only twice as large but is fully consolidated and in fairly new but poorly equipped buildings. The Negro high school is about as well equipped as the white high schools. Most of these structures were built shorly after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The white schools are not fully consolidated, are only partly in modern buildings, but are, with the exception noted, somewhat better equipped and more adequately staffed (numerically, at least) than the Negro schools. Segregation is, of course, a universal fact of life in this county, and it should be noted that the discrepancies favoring the white schools over the Negro schools are far smaller than the discrepancies in almost all other aspects of life.

Within the limits of these conditions, it is fair to rate the school system a pretty good one. Despite its shortcomings, the physical facilities are not markedly poor for American schools

(although the libraries are); the paper qualifications of the school personnel are at the state average; and the children do somewhat better academically than some data on Georgia children indicate as state average. Table 5 shows some of these data in the form of average lag in grade placement scores of Georgia children relative to national norms. Burke County children appear to do a bit better than this; white high school children are close to the national norms, and it appears probable that the Negro children, though considerably lower than the national norm, are a bit above the state average for Negroes. Dropout rates and progress through school also meet state averages insofar as it is possible to get hard data on this matter; neither the state nor the county keeps records adequate for fully assessing this point. However, the age-grade enrollment figures shown in Table 6 seem to indicate that the rate at which children progress through the grades is much like that found elsewhere in the state. Finally, it should be carefully noted that the system has its quota of able, competent, and industrious school personnel; all things considered, perhaps more than its share in the Negro system.

Obviously, even within the social and economic framework given, improvements are possible. Consolidation could be completed; more local money could be found; libraries could be developed; and so on indefinitely. But the same sort of statement could be made about almost any school system. For those who like the status quo in the community and especially those interested in maintaining total segregation and minimum expenditure for school operation, the system is satisfactory. In the white community, such satisfaction is a common, perhaps dominant, feeling. There are, of course, some white citizens who want improvements in the white schools, but they do not appear to be an important segment of the community. Perhaps a few of these same people, but not many of them, are dissatisfied with the conditions in the Negro schools.

Among the Negro population, dissatisfaction with the schools is probably not common either. In fact, for large numbers of the Negroes in this county the schools are better than they really believe is necessary. While among the Negro school personnel there is some dissatisfaction with conditions, many

of them are pleased because conditions are vastly better than they were only a few short years ago. It would be difficult to maintain that any substantial proportion of the Negro community is unhappy with the schools, especially since it appears doubtful that there are many outside the professional personnel who are aware of the shortcomings that exist.

To repeat, within the framework of the basic conditions outlined, the school system is performing well and to the satisfaction of the people being served, and we suspect that few school systems working within familiar conditions do much better. Let us look more closely, however, at what this means. Taking the white schools first, although they serve a clientele well above the average of the county socially, economically, and intellectually, their students do not typically fall into an above-average group on a national basis. Only about 40% graduate from high school, and of these only two-thirds go to college; even this relatively privileged minority in the county, i.e., the white citizens, do not contribute their share of developed talent to the nation. Only so long as Burke County can maintain its relative isolation will this white system prove satisfactory even to the county itself.

Clearly, however, the white schools are not where the serious problems in the county's educational system lie, in any immediate sense. They are to be found instead in the Negro schools and in the Negro community. Problems here are very serious indeed. These schools, like most in Georgia, do far better than they did a few short years ago but, still, fewer than 40% of the students reach grade ten, and only about one in seven graduate from high school (see Table 6). When it is recognized that for these Negro children in Burke, as almost anywhere else in similar areas, a high school diploma represents, on the average, a level of academic and intellectual development far short of the typical tenth grade student in the United States (see Table 5) the seriousness of this problem can be seen. It appears probable that among the 400-450 Negro children of a given age in the county, fewer than 20 will ever develop intellectually and academically to a point where they might be called average in this nation. Of about 4,500 school children, 4,200 must be classified as academically retarded or

slow by the end of their school careers. This appalling fact is evidently characteristic of the rural South.

Although there are some differences, the similarities between Burke's schools and those of Edgefield are more marked than the differences. Those differences that exist are not large. The white schools in Edgefield County seem a little more open to the world, and somewhat more intellectually diverse and stimulating. Strom Thurmond High School in Edgefield is not only well equipped, but reflects an attempt to incorporate new ideas in school planning into its structure. The new Waynesboro High School in Burke County is much less well equipped, and does not show signs of such an attempt. Perhaps another symptom, or perhaps a cause, of this difference is the fact that the white high schools in Edgefield were recently consolidated in spite of an ancient football rivalry. The Negro schools are fully consolidated, a little less well equipped than the Negro schools in Burke County, and more than in Burke Negro schoolmen seemed committed to working within the current framework and to not attempting any serious alteration of the prospects of their students. To repeat, these differences are not large, and are, of course, mainly impressions. The accomplishments of both school systems are similar, whether one is talking about Negro children or white, and we believe that both of these school systems are at least as good as most similar rural systems. We must also emphasize that whatever criticism we might make of these schools—and obviously many are possible—the thing that sets them apart from others in this country is not their physical arrangements, their curricula, their books, or even the professional characteristics of their teachers. What is different is the product.

We suspect many people will find this assertion hard to accept, since it is part of the widely believed American educational mythology that all educational deficiencies can be attributed to poor teaching. This is false.* We are not claiming, of course, that these schools are staffed by the cream of the crop, and we do not deny that better teachers, better books, libraries, and other facilities might, here as everywhere else,

*For a discussion of this point see Green, D. R., *Educational Psychology*, Prentice-Hall, 1964.

improve matters—a little at least, and maybe even a lot. But we do not believe that achievement scores of the sort shown in Table 5 can be explained this way, if for no other reason than that these schools and these teachers are not very different from those to be found elsewhere. Many cities which pay high salaries and which have adequate equipment have whole schools of students who perform no better than these children, probably for many of the same reasons, most of which depend on who the children are. The reason is plain. As we noted earlier, education takes place in a cultural context. All over this country in communities in which children are "disadvantaged"—in city slums, on Indian reservations, among migrant workers—similar achievement scores are found. The currently popular term used to describe this phenomenon in educational circles is "cultural deprivation."

Giving it a name does not solve the problem or even explain its nature. The phenomenon has drawn a great deal of attention in recent years, focusing largely on the slums of large cities. But it is not just a problem of the cities. It is not just a problem of segregation or of poverty, and it can involve a majority of the children in a community. The serious and widespread deficiencies in the educational systems of the rural South cannot be readily solved within a standard framework. The schools of a county like Burke or Edgefield could be rather easily made to be like those of one of our "good" suburban systems in all respects but one, because they are not very different now. But they cannot be made "just like" because the students are different, they belong to a different culture, and the "standard" American school is ill-suited to their needs.

This matter has been the subject of some research, but much remains to be learned in spite of the recent attention it has been getting. Although current knowledge is largely derived from research among children in city slums, it provides some clues as to what kinds of educational procedure might be effective in a rural setting.

CHAPTER III

Cultural Deprivation*

Many children in the rural Black Belt, particularly Negro children, can be classified as "culturally deprived." We assert that it is for this reason that school is so relatively unsuccessful among these children.

What do we mean (and what do we not mean) when we say that some individual is "culturally deprived"? Broadly speaking, we mean that there have been omissions and deficiencies in the background of the individual so that in comparison with the "typical" individual in the culture under consideration he has had little opportunity to acquire the knowledge, skills, and abilities needed for successful functioning in society. In particular, then, we are asserting that the skills and abilities, the knowledge and information, and, to some extent, the values that the children of the very poor rural Southerner learn in their childhood at home, especially if they are Negro, do not provide an adequate foundation for their schooling.

Note that we are not saying that such children do not acquire any knowledge, ability, or values at home. However, there is no doubt that regardless of what these children do learn at home, they do not learn—or do not learn well—those things that the standard school procedures and patterns of organization make it necessary that children know in order to progress successfully in school.

In all groups to which the label "culturally deprived" has been applied, the children start school with marked language

---

*The material of this section is our interpretation of the research on the topic of cultural deprivation. We have not cited this research directly but references to most of it can be found in one or more of the following:

Bloom, B. S., Davis, A., and Hess, R., *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation*. New York, 1965.

Green, D. R., *Educational Psychology*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964.

Passow, H. (ed.), *Education in Depressed Areas*. New York. 1963.

Reissman, F., *The Culturally Deprived Child*. New York, 1962.

For those interested in pursuing the language problem the following two references will be more helpful than the preceding four:

Bernstein, B., "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning," in Halsey, A. H. *et al.* (eds.), *Education, Economy and Society*. Glencoe, Ill., 1961.

Loban, W. A., *The Language of Elementary School Children*. National Council of Teachers of English, 1963.

deficits. These deficiencies usually create difficulties in school work immediately, because language skills are needed for learning to read and most schools make reading the first and foremost order of business. The child who cannot succeed reasonably promptly in learning to read almost always faces continuous failure from that point on and may quite realistically lose hope of ever having any real school success even if he does gradually learn to read a bit.

The seriousness of the consequences of this language deficiency is much clearer than its exact nature. It has traditionally been assumed that lower class children—and, in fact, all those children rating low in language proficiency—have learning problems because they do not know enough words and thus lack the concepts needed. Such views have shaped the programs offered in most schools.

Educators have known for a long time that language facility is an important factor in academic success and programs to increase the vocabularies and language skills of children are part of the curricula of all schools. For example, direct vocabulary instruction, in which children compile lists of new words and look up their meanings, has been a technique used widely for many years. These traditional approaches are not, however, a hopeful line of attack, because, in spite of the effort and ingenuity that has been put into them, they have not done the job.

It now appears that vocabulary deficiencies may not be the root of the problem. In fact, culturally deprived children often use a rather large number of words accurately. To be sure, in comparison with the middle class children, those of the lower class are not nearly so familiar with the words normally used in the school, and it is true also that these children do not know much about many of the objects and paraphernalia of middle class life in America. Television is helping to change this. Because of this they have special problems in understanding many of the things talked about in their textbooks and in relating these things to their own lives. But it should be understood that this particular sort of problem is not so much a deficit as it is a difference. It is to be sure a difference that calls for action. A child can and should read about life in

other places and other cultures; but he ought to read and learn about his own as well, since that is his base of reality and the beginning of all thought. In short, this so-called deficit is in the school material and not in the child's mind.

In any case, the importance of sheer knowledge of words is not entirely clear since recent work in this area suggests that the difficulty is more subtle. It lies in the flexibility and skill children develop in their language usage. Culturally deprived children (or adults for that matter) use a language that at first blush is not very different from that of anybody else. But on closer examination it appears that they use relatively large numbers of standard expressions and cliches that fit the situation generally, but that lack precision and clarity. The symbolism used is descriptive, concrete, visual, and of a low order of generality. Nuances of feeling are expressed by non-verbal means. The language used in a given situation lacks both the variety and specificity to the situation one finds in the language of middle class children and it deals with abstract ideas relatively rarely. Although he often knows the words needed, the culturally deprived child will seldom use alternative ways of saying something even though such variations can be used to make meanings clear, to draw distinction, and to add emphasis. Instead the same standard phrasing is used over and over. In addition, hypotheses and conditional statements are infrequent, as are all indications of tentativeness and uncertainty.

It seems probable that these and related deficits carry over to listening as well as reading skills, thereby creating extra problems for these children everywhere they turn. Perhaps more than any other single thing, they need to learn to play with language meanings, to learn to get variety and nuance of meaning into their speech, to increase their appreciation and awareness of the value in the distinctions and refinements of meaning that shifts in word order and the addition of subordinate and qualifying expressions can bring. We are talking about communication and the expression of ideas, and, therefore, this training must involve speech in use, and it must be functional

*We hope very much that this notion will not be read as necessarily asking for more of the pedestrian "real life" material which seems to plague our school texts. Children find poetry, fantasy, and sheer word play (e.g., nonsense rhymes) intelligible and functional in their lives.

in the children's lives from the start;* for this it follows that practice in communicating and elaborating their own ideas, not those of others, comes first. Furthermore, this practice must be extensive in each of as many kinds and varieties of situations as possible if it is seriously to affect the thinking of children.

Conversations with adults aware of the possibilities of the language and concerned with helping the child learn to use it is, it seems, the most effective way for children to learn these language skills, at least until reading becomes a prominent part of the child's life (if it ever does), and perhaps still even then. Probably this training is most effective in the early pre-school years when basic language patterns are being established.

But use of language is not the only problem. Among others, all of which are very closely related to language, there is the apparently slower perceptual development of the disadvantaged child, i.e., his more restricted awareness of the perceptual discriminations possible among many sensory dimensions, such as size and volume. These children are not likely to be taught, or rewarded, at home for learning the appropriate quantitative discriminations among objects or to attach the proper descriptive labels to objects (e.g., "tall" rather than "big," and so on). Consequently, orderly development of abstract quantitative concepts is hindered.

Relative to middle class children, lower class children tend to be concrete minded; they are oriented toward objects and direct physical action, rather than toward abstractions and conceptual manipulation. They often continue more or less indefinitely to learn through motor or physical actions; that is, they tend to persist in a mode of thinking that depends on the manipulation of objects, whereas middle class children usually begin to shift to symbolic and verbal substitutes for action sometime between the ages of ten and fourteen.

Perhaps related to this is another intellectual difference which through its effect on motivation has far reaching educational consequences. Lower class children seem to have shorter attention spans, memory, and (therefore?) what may be called anticipation span; that is, they function more with reference to immediate than distant goals. For the middle class person, long range goals are usually fairly specific in character. In

contrast, in the lower class the future is regarded in more general and vague notions and for the most part is not considered as something one controls through present action. Hence, present behavior has a kind of rational relation to future goals for the middle class person which it does not have for those in the lower class. The middle class person anticipates within a broader time perspective.

That culturally deprived children do not see as clearly specific long range goals to which present behavior appears to be rationally connected helps cause what has been called the "deferred gratification pattern." They are not inclined to delay or renounce impulse gratification in favor of future gain. Future goals have a degree of reality for middle class children which they do not have for lower class children. Middle class children are exposed to more consistent patterns of rewards and punishments for impulse control and achievement. The adult models to which they are exposed day after day manifest a degree of self-discipline not generally seen in the adults with whom the lower class has close emotional ties.

Anxiety reduction is probably also a factor in the disadvantaged person's failure to manifest the deferred gratification pattern. Grinding poverty and the intense threat under which he, especially if Negro, lives is almost certain to evoke a high level of anxiety, the reduction of which is to some extent effected through impulse gratification.

Passivity in the lower class child, especially the Negro, is another facet of the motivational pattern related to achievement. One important manifestation of this passivity in the school is the child's failure to ask questions and seek clarification where it is needed. That these children should tend to be passive is not surprising. Their first hand experience most certainly does not teach them that the environment can be manipulated, controlled, and changed by anything they do. The Negro boy is likely to come to school having had no direct experience with a successful male model.

This whole pattern—the tendency to be passive, impulse-directed, and to lack motivation for achievement—is related to and perhaps rooted in the child's concepts of self. The most pernicious psychological consequence of a caste system must

surely be the tendency for individuals to accept as accurate for themselves the social definitions of inferiority inherent in the system.

For example, there are a number of studies which indicate (a) that Negroes from young childhood on tend toward low self-acceptance; (b) that Negro children of pre-school age express greater preference for white than Negro children; (c) that they are later than white children in acknowledging their racial identity; and (d) the result is that at an older age level Negro students tend to judge themselves inferior to white students even in the face of objective evidence tending to contradict such judgments.

Finally, we should add that the homes of these children do not help them do well in school for other reasons. The parents don't know how to teach their children how to learn. They tend to be particularly inept as teachers of their own children (again partly a language problem). Also the homes usually lack books and there are rarely places for students to read and study in peace and quiet.

In the face of all these severe problems, an ordinary school as typically constituted at present is fighting a losing battle. These schools are organized and run on the assumption that the child had been growing in the ordinary middle class home, and that he has had the years of direct individual training that this implies. Whenever this assumption is not justified the school tends to fail.

To succeed the school needs to provide substitutes for the experiences these children lack.

1. The children need extended contact with educated adults as early as possible in their lives; the school must provide many additional opportunities for these children to converse with each other, with older children, and with adults about all kinds of things. This experience should have a degree of direction and order and lead the child in the direction of the abstract.

2. The school must also provide the deprived children with more assistance in the important pre-adolescent years. First, they need help in learning to deal with problems using abstractions, both with words and with other sym-

bol systems; thus the school must do more than it now does to help the children shift to adult patterns of thinking. Second, the school must help the child develop long range goals. This means that he must see visible and believable steps along the way to these goals. If he is to remain in contact with his family without conflict, the older members of his family, older brothers and sisters as well as parents, must also come to believe in both the goodness and the real possibility of these goals. Third, the school must provide the child with solid evidence that effort, persistence, and self-discipline in school tasks are expected and rewarded.

3. To inculcate these attitudes and to avoid misunderstanding and conflict means that the adolescents and adults in the community must also be drawn into these efforts sufficiently both to support and at least to some degree understand the school's objectives.

CHAPTER IV

Specific Suggestions For Education

We have tried to make clear that education takes place in a social context. What schools can accomplish is tightly limited by the environment within which those schools operate. Schools of a rural slum are not likely to produce persons able to be constructive members of a community unless the school gets into the children's home and neighborhood life. It follows that an educational program which offers full opportunities for intellectual growth to all children is not possible where economic and other forms of social advancement are racially segregated. This is categorically true, we believe, for the Negro children. It is true as well for the white children, though present arrangements are much less unsatisfactory for their intellectual growth.

Education can be more successful when schools are desegregated. But only partially so, because, again, education occurs in a context, and when life and opportunities outside the school are segregated, the best efforts of schoolmen to develop the talents of students will be handicapped severely.

Even were all segregation removed in Black Belt counties, their educational problems would still be immense, because of the economic and cultural lags burdening them. We have said, therefore, that improvement of the schools along standard lines is not the answer. If the states of Georgia and South Carolina (or the United States) were to pour unstinted resources into Burke and Edgefield schools, the educational results would not be greatly different, if the added resources only helped the counties do what they are now doing better.

We have said that basic transformations of the Black Belt schools are needed, by which we mean new practices aimed at compensating for the cultural handicaps brought by the children to the school-door. Given the economics of the Black Belt, even such basic transformations cannot be expected to overcome the handicaps imposed by the environment on the children —schools cannot do everything—but in time, perhaps, they could reverse the environmental conditions, and they can, in any event, truly educate a larger proportion of the children than they now manage.

What we are going to describe here, then, will be some specific possible ways of proceeding. We do not claim that our suggestions are the prescription, but rather that they are examples of the sorts of things that are needed. In some cases, other alternatives are both possible and practical. As indicative of the kind of changes which we believe could result in more successful education in the rural South, we would suggest:

1. Nursery-kindergarten units for children ages three through five;
2. The use of boarding units for children in the middle grades (four, five, and six);
3. The employment of senior high school students in the system, so that all students from the tenth grade up who want or are interested in work will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program;
4. An intercounty and college (or university) cooperative program involving a coordinated plan of consolidation, joint purchasing, and joint inservice and preservice

teacher training programs in cooperation with the college.

Beyond these steps and out of them we would expect such things as expanded remedial reading and library services (e.g., a set of mobile reading clinics and mobile library-bookstores, selling paperback books at nominal cost, serving the associated counties), expanded guidance services, and various special education services using, in many cases, college personnel and facilities. One simple but essential step would be to insure that no child is inadequately fed (breakfast as well as free lunches should be offered) or clothed. We would also expect that Job Corps, Work Study, and Community Action Programs financed through the "poverty program" (Economic Opportunity Act of 1964) would be inaugurated. Furthermore, the school buildings should be open twelve or more hours a day; libraries and supervised study halls should be available afternoons and evenings; evening adult education programs should be offered; extensive summer programs should be developed; and so on indefinitely. We shall not describe all of these steps. Instead, we shall elaborate only the four steps suggested above.

A. *The Nursery and Kindergarten Program*

There is a tendency in some quarters to hold out nursery schools as a panacea for cultural deprivation; they are not that. Nevertheless, where, as in the Black Belt, the problem is the lack of educational growth in the home, there is a pressing need to get the children as early as possible into organized learning opportunities and to establish school-parent relationships. We think there should be a pre-school program for these five year olds.

This program would be aimed specifically at those coming from the poorest homes. Day-care centers and nursery schools do not necessarily prove very beneficial to children, so the nature of the program is all-important. The kind we are envisaging might be like that described by Gray and Klaus.*

Their program centered first on attitudes toward achievement; trying to increase the child's achievement motivation, his

*Gray, S. W., and Klaus, R. A., *Early Training Project: Interim Report,* 1963.

ability to persist toward a goal and to delay gratification, and to arouse interest in school-type activities such as listening to stories and looking at books. Secondly, they attempted to improve aptitudes for achievement by developing the more simple and basic concepts needed in school work, increasing perceptual discrimination, and improving language usage.

Gray and Klaus worked on number and color concepts and concepts concerning objects of the world in which they live. In addition they stressed position words and action categories, such as walk, run, jump, and hop. They tried to increase the children's abilities to recognize forms, shapes, and patterns and to discriminate among sounds, tastes, odors, and textures. In language development their major efforts consisted of encouraging the children to talk and in placing them in situations where language was necessary. The central operating feature of the program was the procedure of reinforcement. They used both concrete reinforcement, such as candy, and social reinforcement in the form of physical contact with adults: petting, hugging, and so forth. Throughout their work, particularly at the beginning, they made efforts to make sure that reinforcement of the behavior they desired was as immediate and consistent as possible. Gradually they moved away from concrete reinforcement and made efforts to develop verbal rewards as reinforcers.

A program of this sort, to be effective, calls for trained teachers and for careful planning. But if the teachers running each class thoroughly understand what it is they are trying to do they can quite readily and easily make use of assistants who are much less well-trained; high school students—both male and female—provided they receive some training related to the program, could work successfully and helpfully, to both themselves and the pupils, in such a nursery school situation. We would propose that high school students be offered a course in child care, and training as part of this course work, and that for pay—say $10 per week—they spend two three-hour periods a week acting as assistants to the teachers.* These teachers should be part of the staff of the high school course.

---

*Untrained adults might well be employed as aides also, and it should be evident that there are opportunities for tie-ins with adult education programs too.

A course of this sort is part of the curriculum of many high schools, but some preliminary training of all teachers would be desirable and probably easily arranged through the associated college.

Contact with parents is also essential, and one of the activities of the teachers should be to maintain it. Trained social workers should also be involved in this part of the program. Attendance of at least the three and four year olds should be a matter of parental choice. The regular teaching staff and the social workers should be the ones who reach the parents and persuade them to send their children to these schools. Having a pre-school program creates transportation problems both because of added numbers of children to carry and because these very young children should spend only three or four hours a day at school. These problems will be minimized, however, if the school system, instead of having large school buses, has a number of station wagons or smaller buses which carry maybe nine or ten children, and if carefully selected high school students be employed to drive them. For the system as a whole we would propose a large increase in the number of vehicles and a reduction in the size of their load so that the length of trips to and from school for most of the children in the system could be reduced. This would cost more money, but a fair portion of that money would go into the pockets of students in the system, and we believe that tangible economic rewards for staying in school are important for the same reasons that concrete reinforcement should be used initially in the pre-school classes.

We may finally note in passing that Gray and Klaus report gains in the I.Q.'s of the children with whom they dealt. Similar results have been obtained by a number of other researchers. But it is the nature of the program that counts, not the sheer existence of such schools. Nursery schools which are largely custodial institutions, in which the children play without a planned program of learning, do not serve any educational function and merely cost money.

B. *Boarding Units*

Our second suggestion is the establishment of boarding units connected with each of the elementary schools in the

county. Like the preceding suggestion, this is directed primarily to the poorest children, and again its use would be voluntary and it would be necessary to gain agreement from the parents. We are proposing that children in grades four, five, and six spend three months each year in one of these boarding units, whenever the parents will agree to this.

As in the previous suggestion the important element is what is done, not the mere existence of these boarding units. Most important would be the quality of the teachers. The chance of extensive, warm, personal contact with adults who represent middle class patterns of living, thinking, and values represents one of the principal reasons for these units, since realistic models of this sort, for many of the children of the rural South, are not handy. In addition there would be the opportunity to live in an organized, stable environment in which books, music, art, and conversation are standard and valued activities.* They also would have a chance to get some intensive tutoring during this time, and could be helped with their study habits. It would be expected that each group would take a number of trips, especially to cities, since that is where many of them will in due course live.

In fact, it might be well to plan a fourth quarter in grade seven, spent at a residential unit in a city. Perhaps some cities would be willing to develop exchange programs with counties, sending children to the boarding units in the county and accepting an equal number in a unit in the city for a quarter. Three months in a city school accompanied by a careful orientation to the city might add much to the perspective of these children about the need for education. The city children could probably profit at least as much from a period of time in a rural community.

We envisage these units as having about 21 children, seven to eight from each grade, with approximately equal numbers of boys and girls. A unit would be staffed by two regular teachers who carry a partial load in that school (e.g., share classes with an intern), one male and one female, plus

*At this point we would ask the reader to re-read what we have said about the instructional need to relate material to the children's own life. See above, page 3.

two intern teachers in training (one might have had some previous experience, while the other might be a beginner). In addition, from three to five high school students would be allotted to each unit each quarter to act as assistants before and after school. These students would not only be given room and board but also paid something — say $40 a month. The interns would also receive some pay, perhaps half-rate for the half-year that they would be expected to be in residence. In addition to the direct service that student assistants (drawn from the same cultural background) and interns would give, they would also provide the children with a sort of graduated series of models so that being like the — hopefully — admired and loved teacher might not seem so impossible; i.e., the children could see steps along the road and the possibility of variation. The regular school cafeteria could supply food but a dining room in the residence unit to be used for all three meals should be included in the plans. Mealtime is one of the periods of day when the kind of personal contact envisaged could be built.

The children would follow the regular school program by and large, would go home on weekends, and the teachers and interns would be expected to carry regular duties in the school. The teachers should receive a regular salary plus their room and board for these duties.* They should be required to go through a special training program offered by the associated college or university in order to hold these positions. This could lead to a hierarchy of teacher ranks justifying substantial salary differences, related to competence and responsibility rather than pure seniority and course credits. There is reason to believe that the position of teachers in these units would have substantial attraction to good young teachers and interns. Some of these interns could be in preservice training but it should also be possible to include an internship in these schools as a part of the advanced training of teachers with one or two years of experience. Further, it

*It is of interest to note that the notion of having such prerequisites attached to teachers' positions is actually traditional in counties like Burke, many of which used to maintain "teacherages" or teacher residences.

could result in drawing to such rural systems a quality of teacher that they have been having difficulty in finding at the present time.

There is substantial reason to believe that schools of this sort can have marked effects on students; but it is open to question whether or not the period of time suggested — three months for each of three or four years — would be adequate to accomplish these goals. However, it is believed that at the very least these schools would have positive effects on motivation of the youngsters and that they would go into junior high grades sufficiently interested in doing good work so that the school could hold them.

C. *Employment of Senior High School Students in the School*

The third proposal is that all interested students who are doing adequate work in the tenth grade and up have an opportunity to earn at least $10 a week as a part of their school program. By employing these students as assistants in the nursery school program, in the residential units, and as drivers, several hundred could be so employed. Other employment that would be both educational for them and a service to the school system surely could be found. It should be noted that by keeping these young people in school, competition with adults for jobs should be reduced. These activities can be of substantial educational value; in fact, the assistants in both the two programs suggested above could well turn out to be the chief beneficiaries of these programs if the school system and especially the teachers involved devote proper attention to helping these students understand what they are doing. The reason for paying the students, of course, is to provide an incentive for these adolescents to stay in school and to give them concrete representation of the fact that the community and society at large value their attendance in school. It should be noted that the school system should also have a fund to provide direct scholarship assistance to students who need it and, in special cases, without the associated duties. A school board should always remember that it costs parents money to send children to school, even though the schools do not charge tuition.

D. *Intercounty Cooperation*

Some problems of rural systems are simply a function of size: the system cannot justify the variety of specialized personnel and facilities that are practical in a large system where the cost can be spread over thousands of pupils. Segregation and the continued use of small, unconsolidated units obviously accentuate these problems but they will exist even if the schools are consolidated and integrated.

There should be, therefore, intercounty associations for the better coordination of school attendance areas. Once these associations are started, other cooperative ventures could develop, such as consolidated purchasing, intercounty technical service, and materials centers (audio-visual services, programmed materials, curriculum materials, professional publications, etc.). We are *not* talking about the consolidation of counties, but rather cooperative ventures.

Cogent reasons for intercounty consolidation and a statewide plan for it are embodied for Georgia in the recent "Peabody" report. It should be recalled, however, that children already spend more time in travel than is sound practice. Cooperation can solve this and will be needed for some children regardless of district size. School districts should not get so large and far away that the people in the district are not interested in them. The notion of local responsibility has merit because it is, potentially at least, a powerful educational force which can function to create a sense of belonging and identity in the students. This asset should not be discarded lightly.

An additional and possibly necessary feature of this intercounty cooperative association is the inclusion of a nearby teacher training institution, which probably would be necessary if the boarding units are to function in the manner we have described. What we are proposing here does not seem to us to exceed the institutional resources already available: in Georgia, for example, there are 10 public supported and 14 private colleges and universities now offering approved teacher training programs; in South Carolina, there are 4 and 13.

These colleges should establish teacher training programs analogous to the so-called internship master of arts in teaching programs now to be found at various universities around the country (e.g., Chicago, Emory, Harvard, Stanford, etc.), and some of their students should do their internship in the residential units of these counties. The colleges should also provide consultant services for the expanded remedial reading programs, guidance programs, and many other facets of both the regular and new programs. This arrangement would supply the interns and provide the school systems with a first chance at young beginning teachers as well as provide a way of obtaining special services to students and inservice training for teachers otherwise awkward to arrange. Large colleges might well become members of several such associations.

E. *Is It Practical?*

One immediate response to these recommendations will be assertions such as "Dreamwork," "Impractical," "It won't work," "You haven't considered. . . ," "Don't you realize that. . . ," and above all, "Too expensive." We believe these ideas *can* be made to work, and that the many difficulties we haven't discussed here (an endless number) *can* be solved, and that the product would justify the cost. This country could and should spend much more on the education of its children than is now the case. Furthermore, the cost of these proposals is high only relative to what a rural southern county now spends. It is probable that to do these things might cost twice what is now spent. Let us look at what it might cost in a county the size of Burke.

The nursery-kindergarten would add around $300 per pupil per year (early education is cheap, later on it is not) or about $250,000 a year. This figure is based on the assumption of roughly 800 pupils in a class of 20-25 students staffed by a senior teacher, a junior teacher (or a nonprofessional assistant), and two (or three) high school assistants. Each teacher would have two classes, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. This figure also is based on the assumption that present structures could be used with relatively small alterations and additions.

The boarding units might seem expensive at first glance but most of the salaries could be charged to the regular instructional budget. The staff would be carrying teaching loads in the school at about ¾ rate (two teachers and two interns carrying three classes). Consequently, the eight or nine boarding units a county the size of Burke might require would probably cost no more than $300,000 a year.

The student assistance program (beyond that accounted for in the two preceding items) would add another $300,000, assuming that about 800 students in senior high school would be earning about $10 a week. This totals $850,000. The consolidation and intercounty cooperation should at least break even since substantial efficiency would be gained.

To be cautious, and to allow for the additional steps we mentioned but have not detailed, add $250,000 more for a total of $1,100,000, a figure that is a bit under the 1964 school budget in Burke County. Since Burke spent about $265 per child in average daily attendance in 1963-64, and since we are hopefully adding about 25-30% to the average daily attendance count, the per pupil figure comes to around $400, an outrageously modest figure which is under the national median (because we are not proposing here to change the salary scale of the teachers, though probably we should).

"Where does this million plus come from?" First of all, through proper tax equalization measures and by raising assessments to a proper level (e.g., 50% of fair value), the county itself could raise much more. Furthermore, many features could be financed by state and federal funds now available; e.g., Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the National Defense Education Act, and above all, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The colleges' costs would partly be included in their regular budget since they now train teachers; furthermore, summer and in-service institutes (summer schools for children running on shortened days offer very good teacher training possibilities) can often be financed through federal programs. Additional state funds for cooperative undertakings should be forthcoming. It does not seem fanciful to us, therefore, to expect that federal funds would (and should) play a large

role in meeting this budget and that the state would add to the additional local effort. In short, we believe that suggestions as basic as ours could be adapted to most rural counties and could be financed if the community were really interested in its children's education. All of our recommendations are directed toward doing something about the problems of learning that children with certain kinds of backgrounds are likely to have. In the Black Belt South, most of these children are Negro, but that they are has nothing to do with the reasons for our recommendations.

The communities in the rural South must become genuine communities in which every person is a member with a stake in community growth and development. The educational problems of these communities ramify into the problems of the whole social and economic context. We have tried to suggest that the transformation of education in some sense calls for the transformation of a community. We think such a transformation can be brought about in the South only with the help of genuine local effort and concern. Our recommendations are based upon the belief that sound educational decisions must be directed toward bringing about the maximum development of all the children in a community and upon the belief that the maximum growth and enrichment of a community cannot be achieved unless every member of the community has, and can be led to see that he has, a real stake in the outcome of community affairs.

TABLE 1
FARMS AND JOBS IN BURKE AND EDGEFIELD COUNTIES — 1940-1960

	BURKE COUNTY, GEORGIA							EDGEFIELD COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA						
	1940	1945	1950	1954	1960	1950 to 1960 Percent Change	First Date to 1960 Percent Change	1940	1945	1950	1954	1960	1950 to 1960 Percent Change	First Date to 1960 Percent Change
FARMING														
Number of Farms		2362	2159	1654	1176	—45	—50		2311	1966	1688	1076	—45	—53
Average Farm Size (Acres)		156	196	254	287	+46	+84		96	106	105	160	+51	+67
Farm Acreage (in thousands)														
Operated by whites			305	331	276	—10				154	139	152	— 1	
Operated by Negroes			119	69	61	—48				55	38	20	—64	
TOTAL		362	423	420	337	—20	—10		223	209	177	173	—17	—22
LABOR FORCE														
Employed:														
In Agriculture														
White			746		455	—39				632		340	—46	
Negro			4105		1892	—54				1802		1086	—40	
TOTAL	7105		4851		2347	—52	—67	3766		2434		1426	—41	—62
In Manufacturing, Mining and Construction														
White			527		856	+62				1039		1079	+ 4	
Negro			679		444	—35				572		865	+51	
TOTAL	623		1206		1300	+ 8	+108	695		1611		1944	+12	+180
In Other Occupations														
White			1110		1243	+12				936		1291	+40	
Negro			1124		1330	+18				718		938	+31	
TOTAL	2193		2234		2573	+15	+17	1290		1654		2229	+35	+73
Complete Labor Force														
White	2368		2432		2653	+ 9	+12	2411		2649		2744	+ 4	+14
Negro	8161		6031		3878	—36	—52	3792		3133		2964	— 5	—22
GRAND TOTAL	10529		8463		6531	—23	—38	6203		5782		5708	— 1	— 8

TABLE 2

1960 FAMILY INCOME

Percentage With Incomes		*Burke*			*Edgefield*		
		White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
Under	$ 1,000	9	43	29	8	31	19
Between	$1,000 - 2,000	11	33	24	12	34	23
Between	$2,000 - 3,000	16	13	14	9	18	13
Between	$3,000 - 10,000	58	11	31	65	17	41
Over	10,000	6	0	2	5	—	3
Median		$3,900	1,202	1,855	4,250	1,557	2,595

TABLE 3

POPULATION TRENDS IN BURKE AND EDGEFIELD COUNTIES

1930 - 1960

Group	BURKE 1930	BURKE 1940	BURKE 1950	BURKE 1960	BURKE 1950 to 1960 Percent Change	BURKE 1940 to 1950 Percent Change	EDGEFIELD 1930	EDGEFIELD 1940	EDGEFIELD 1950	EDGEFIELD 1960	EDGEFIELD 1950 to 1960 Percent Change	EDGEFIELD 1940 to 1950 Percent Change
WHITE:												
School Aged Children (5-14)	1581	1321	1327	1453	+ 9	+10	1771	1249	1175	1338	+14	+ 7
Adults (21 & up)	3485	3865	4053	4123	+ 2	+ 7	3705	3930	4190	4103	— 2	+ 4
Total Whites (all ages)	6524	6654	6724	6911			7055	6594	6660	6581		
NEGRO:												
School Aged Children	5978	4584	4329	4052	— 7	—12	3739	3025	2752	2764	+ 0	— 9
Adults	10825	10184	8055	5988	—26	—41	4966	5014	4312	3754	—13	—25
Total Negroes (all ages)	22698	19866	16734	13685			12271	11300	9931	9154		

TABLE 4
THE BURKE COUNTY AND EDGEFIELD COUNTY SCHOOLS[1]

	Burke County			Edgefield County		
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment						
Elementary[2]	1150	3316	4466	1078	2085	3163
Secondary	638	1187	1825	391	794	1185
Total	1788	4503	6291	1469	2879	4348
Average Daily Attendance (ADA)						
Elementary[2]	1002	2527	3529	998	1753	2751
Secondary	568	970	1538	358	670	1028
Total	1570	3497	5067	1356	2423	3779
ADA/Enrollment						
Elementary	87	76	79	93	84	87
Secondary	89	82	84	92	92	87
Total	88	78	81	92	84	84
Schools						
Elementary	5	6	11	3	3	6
Secondary	3	1	4	1	1	2
Total	8	7	15	4	4	8
Teachers						
Elementary[2]	48	94	142	39	51	90
Secondary	30	43	73	22	33	55
Total[3]	80	138	218	61	84	145
Pupils in ADA per teacher						
Elementary	21	27	25	26	34	31
Secondary	19	23	21	16	20	19
Total	20	25	23	22	29	26
Finances						
Expenditures for instruction		$ 1,036,854			$ 615,647	
Locally raised funds[4] (in ADA)		159,777			152,030	
Per pupil expenditure for[5] instruction		205			163	

NOTES TO TABLE 4:

[1] Data are for 1963-64 for Burke County, and for 1962-63 for Edgefield County.

[2] Elementary schools in Burke vary in the number of grades in the school, but all figures are for grades 1-7 inclusive for Burke County, and grades 1-8 in Edgefield.

[3] Includes non-teaching principals.

[4] Almost all of the remainder is from the state; federal funds are not important in the budgets of these systems, especially in Burke County.

[5] The difference between the counties largely represents two factors: teacher-pupil ratios and its teacher scales, for the periods considered. It may be noted that Georgia has one scale whereas S. C. has scales that depend on scores on the National Teacher Exam, a test emphasizing verbal facility. Negro teachers tend to score low on this test.

TABLE 5

READING VOCABULARY AND READING COMPREHENSION SCORES OF WHITE AND NEGRO STUDENTS IN GEORGIA[1]

	White		Negro		White-Negro Differences	
Grades	Vocab.	Comp.	Vocab.	Comp.	Vocab.	Comp.
4	+ 3	+ 1	— 8	—12	11	13
6	+ 2	— 3	—22	—23	24	20
9	— 6	— 8	—37	—34	31	26
12	—15	—22	—51	—53	36	31

Adapted from B. Cooper, "An Analysis of the Reading Achievement of White and Negro Pupils in Certain Public Schools of Georgia." **School Review,** 1964, Vol. 78, pp. 452-471.

[1]Mean deviations in grade equivalent scores from national median.

TABLE 6[1]

AGE-GRADE ENROLLMENT BY RACE IN BURKE COUNTY, 1962-1963

Grade	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Over 18	Totals by Grade	Percentage[2] in grade over age for grade	Number Making Regular Progress	Percentage[3] Making Regular Progress
WHITE																			
AGE																			
1	42	108	6													171	4	150	94
2	1	20	102	18	5	1										156	15	123	77
3			38	92	23	2										169	15	130	81
4				36	90	18	4	2								159	15	126	79
5					35	95	18	6	4	2						172	17	130	81
6						33	102	23	9	8						184	22	135	84
7							18	96	25	18	2	1				165	28	114	71
8							1	22	81	16	18	6	2			151	28	104	65
9									30	83	19	4	2			142	18	113	71
10										26	86	24	4	1		144	20	112	70
11											31	45	17	5		100	22	76	48
12												17	38	12	1	68	19	55	34
Total by age	43	128	146	146	153	149	143	149	149	153	156	97	63	18	1	1782		1368	81 Av.
NEGRO																			
1	112	283	131	18	13	4	5									550	31	395	92
2		80	211	93	41	18	4	4								461	35	291	68
3			75	232	89	53	19	11	6	5	1					502	37	307	72
4				53	204	103	49	32	16	13	1					486	44	257	60
5					69	189	97	71	36	19	2	1	1			498	46	258	60
6						53	156	104	58	42	17	2	2			449	50	309	72
7						1	40	150	90	71	38	15	4	1		417	53	191	44
8							1	46	130	84	67	28	14	3	2	376	53	177	41
9									32	107	90	42	27	8	1	315	53	139	32
10									2	25	109	59	30	11	4	342	30	136	32
11											16	48	46	31	17	158	59	64	15
12											1	19	31	27	11	89	43	51	12
Total by age	112	363	417	396	416	422	371	418	370	366	343	274	155	81	35	4593		2575	56 Av.

[1] The figures in the body of the table indicate the number of children of a given age (column heading) in a given grade (row heading). Thus, for example, of 155 white children age 14, 83 and 26 were in grades 9 and 10 respectively. The remaining 44 were over age for grade being in grades 5, 6, 7, and 8.

[2] Includes transfer and others not listed in age-grade roster.

[3] Based on assumption of 160 white and 430 Negro children in each age group.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

ESEA Title I Program Guide #44
DCE/P&P

TO : Chief State School Officers **March 18, 1968**

FROM : Harold Howe II
U.S. Commissioner of Education

SUBJECT: Revised Criteria for the Approval of Title I, ESEA, Applications from Local Educational Agencies (Supersedes Program Guide #36)

State educational agencies may approve grants to local educational agencies under Title I only upon application and after making certain determinations which, "consistent with such basic criteria as the Commissioner may establish," meet the requirements of Section 105(a). Also, Section 803(c) of the ESEA, as amended, states that the Commissioner shall require the adoption by State and local authorities of effective procedures for the coordination of all ESEA programs with other public and private programs, including community action programs, having the same or similar purposes. The revised criteria (attached) reflect the requirements of both Sections 105(a) and 803(c).

The revised criteria are based on the law and are derived from the regulations. They consist, essentially, of two types of statements; (a) those requiring specific determinations with respect to size, scope, and quality of program, participation of private school children, evaluation, dissemination, and the training of education aides; and (b) items requiring a showing by the applicant that in preparing its application it has taken into account certain priorities such as the various needs of educationally deprived children, the need for both regular school year and summer programs, and the relationship of the Title I program to the regular school program.

The criterion (Item VII) in Program Guide #36 on construction and equipment has been superseded by two separate criteria, one on construction and another on equipment. The explanatory sentence referring to a specific percentage of total project costs to be budgeted for equipment and construction has been deleted.

The criteria (numbered and underlined) and the accompanying explanations of factors to be considered in the development of approvable projects, along with this letter of transmittal, have been prepared for distribution by State offices to local educational agencies. Please let us know of your arrangements for such a distribution in your State.

Attachment

cc: State Title I Coordinators, ESEA

Criteria for Applications for
Grants to Local Educational Agencies
under Title I, ESEA

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 requires that the State educational agency make certain determinations "consistent with such basic criteria as the Commissioner may establish. . . ."

These determinations must be made with respect to: selection of project areas; size, scope, and quality of projects and their potential for meeting the needs of educationally deprived children; participation of children enrolled in private schools; coordination of the Title I program with other programs having the same objectives; dissemination of information; methods and procedures for evaluating the results of the program; and the training of education aides.

The following criteria are based on the law and the regulations and were formulated to meet the need for a set of general statements of the essential characteristics of an approvable Title I program. Each criterion (numbered and underlined) is stated as an affirmative "finding" and is followed by an explanation of some of the factors to be considered in developing a program that will meet the criterion.

Each local educational agency should review its Title I program to be sure that none of these criteria has been overlooked before submitting an application to the State educational agency for its approval.

The State educational agency will review the application and advise the applicant which criteria, if any, have not been met. Unless the State educational agency finds that each criterion has been met, the application may not be approved.

1. THE SELECTION OF ATTENDANCE AREAS FOR TITLE I PROJECTS

1.1 The attendance areas selected for Title I projects are those areas which on the basis of the best available information have high concentrations of children from low-income families.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

Section 105(a)(1) of Title I requires that projects be designed to meet the needs of educationally deprived children living in school attendance areas with high concentrations of children from low-income families. By regulation the attendance areas with high concentrations of children from low-income families are those areas where the concentration of such children is as high as or higher than the average concentration for the district as a whole.

An "attendance area" for the purposes of Title I is an area served by a public school. For each such attendance area data must be secured on (a) the total number of children who according to their ages are eligible to attend the public school serving that area and (b) the number of such children who are from low-income families.

In making this determination it is not necessary for the LEA to use a particular income level, although a level of $2,000 or $3,000 would be appropriate, but the same level should be used for all attendance areas. In some cases income data are not available or are out-of-date and the number of children from low-income families will need to be estimated on the basis of the number of such children who are in families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), or who are receiving free lunches. Housing, health, or employment statistics may also be used in estimating the number of children from low-income families in each attendance area. Whatever data are used must be used uniformly throughout an applicant's district.

Normally the attendance units should be ranked according to the percentage of children from low-income families. However, in districts with extremely large variation in the sizes of the populations of its attendance units, such units may be ranked according to the average number of children per attendance unit. If necessary for reasons of equity the attendance units determined to have high concentrations of children from low-income families may include some areas ranked on one basis and some on the other. In such a case, however, the total number of attendance areas accepted as eligible areas for Title I purposes should not exceed the number of such units that would have been eligible if only one basis, i.e., percentage or average number of children from low-income families, had been used.

Elementary and secondary school attendance areas in the same school district may be ranked separately on the basis of the percentage or numerical concentrations of children from low-income families among the children eligible to attend such schools.

In all cases the number of children considered eligible to attend a particular school consists of all children of the appropriate ages including children attending private schools and children who have dropped out of school.

In some cases a whole school district or a group of contiguous school attendance areas may be regarded as a single area of high concentration of children from low-income families. This may be done, however, only if there are no wide variances in the concentrations of children from low-income families.

Some schools have no well-defined attendance area boundaries or receive numbers of children from outside the areas that have been designated for those schools. It may be necessary to base the ranking of the attendance areas for such schools on the percentage or number of children from low-income families actually enrolled in those schools while recognizing that other children, as explained below, will be included in the "target population" if the area is found to have a higher than average concentration of children from low-income families.

The purpose of the attendance area requirement is to identify the "target populations" of children who are to be considered for participation in Title I activities on the basis of educational deficiency and need for special services. Thus, for schools without well-defined boundaries or where children have been transferring in or out on open enrollment or freedom-of-choice plans, the "target population" should include (a) all of the children who are attending the particular public school which on the basis of enrollment has a high concentration of children from low-income families; (b) children who have been attending that school; and (c) children who would be attending that school if they were not attending a private school or another public school under a freedom-of-choice, open enrollment, or another plan designed to bring about desegregation.

2. COMPREHENSIVE ASSESSMENT OF NEEDS

2.1 The priority needs of educationally deprived children in the eligible attendance areas (target populations) were determined in consultation with teachers, parents, private school authorities, and representatives of other agencies which have a genuine and continuing interest in such children. The evidence of need and the bases for the assignment of priorities have been documented.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

The term "educationally deprived children" has been defined in the Title I regulations as:

> ". . . those children who have need for special educational assistance in order that their level of educational attainment may be raised to that appropriate for children of their age. The term includes children who are handicapped or whose needs for such special educational assistance result from poverty, neglect, delinquency, or cultural or linguistic isolation from the community at large." /45 CFR 116.1(i)/

The first step in the development of a compensatory program to meet the needs of such children is to evaluate the evidence concerning the educational deficiencies of children who live in the eligible attendance areas. If necessary, additional evidence should be secured before extensive programming is undertaken. The evaluation of the previous year's Title I program often provides considerable information concerning the educational deficiencies of children in the areas where Title I projects have been conducted. Specific attention should be given to the information available on educational retardation, results of educational tests, linguistic or racial isolation, welfare and nutrition, physical and mental handicaps, and other pertinent information on which the incidence and severity of the needs of children in the project areas can be established.

It is essential that public and private school teachers and other staff members, parents, and representatives of related programs and agencies be involved in the early stages of program planning and in discussions concerning the needs of children in the various eligible attendance areas. They are often able to corroborate or offer insights concerning the evidence of educational deficiencies. They will be much more likely to lend support to a program of special educational services if, as a result of their involvement, they understand the premises on which such a program is based.

Officials of community action, welfare, juvenile protection, and other agencies which have responsibilities for helping people--children or adults--overcome the effects of poverty are among those to be consulted concerning their views on the needs of the children in eligible attendance areas.

The objective of the consultations concerning the educational needs of children in the eligible attendance areas should be the development of a carefully documented list of needs in order of priority for the following groups of children:

Preschool Children

The general need for early diagnosis and for compensatory educational services for preschool children in predominantly low-income areas is widely recognized. Many of these children, while yet without regular school experience, already show a lack of intellectual and social growth. Unless they can be motivated and stimulated they are not likely to experience much success in their first years in the regular school program.

The applicant should definitely consider the needs of preschool children in planning its Title I program. Opportunities for children to participate in Project Head Start should be fully explored with the local community action agency, and full advantage should be taken of the availability of this resource. Where Head Start funds are not available or are insufficient, the applicant should give priority consideration to meeting the needs of preschool children through the use of Title I funds or, if possible, through the coordinated use of Head Start and Title I funds.

Community action groups are often interested in programs for preschool children, particularly if they are involved or have been involved as grantee agencies for Head Start programs funded under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Every effort should be made to assist such groups to secure Head Start grants and thus reduce the demand for similar programs under Title I. In highly impoverished areas a community action agency may be able to provide health and welfare services for preschool children on the basis of financial need while the school-oriented program for all of the children of preschool age living in that area is provided under Title I.

Where Day Care Centers have been established for children in families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the local educational agency in consultation with the Head Start program grantee should explore the possibility of their adding needed educational components to the programs to be conducted in those Centers.

Children in Early Elementary School

The needs of children in the early elementary school grades should be carefully assessed. These children already manifest in their behavior the intellectual and social deprivation that has characterized their lives. There is considerable evidence that special programs can be helpful for educationally deprived children in those grade groups. The development of such a program will require a careful assessment of the particular characteristics, behavioral patterns, and needs of the children who live in the applicant's eligible attendance areas.

Applicants should identify the needs of children in the early elementary school grades to preserve and build on progress they may have made in Head Start and Title I preschool classes. Priority consideration should be given by the applicant to such children in the Title I program in order to avoid interruption of needed enriched services, including health and welfare services which they had been receiving under Head Start or other quality preschool programs. Applicants should be encouraged to consider programs of instruction and services outlined in the criteria for the Follow Through program to assure that sequential learning experiences are made available to children based on preschool and kindergarten preparation for cognitive growth and development.

Children in Later Elementary School and Secondary School Years

It is in the later elementary and secondary school years that educational deficiencies become most apparent and most difficult to treat. By this time many of the children are no longer responding in any positive way to their school environment and are well on their way to becoming dropouts. Their academic and behavioral problems are extremely varied and complex and will require the most careful study in order to establish the needs on which an effective compensatory program can be developed. Remedial programs should be built on a thorough consideration of the potential of individualized instruction, tutoring and personalized guidance services.

Dropouts

The needs of children who have actually dropped out of the regular school program should also receive specific attention. With the help of other agencies these children should be located and identified and every effort should be made to evaluate their educational needs in order to provide a sound basis for the planning of special educational programs to meet those needs.

Children in Institutions

Children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children who have been counted in determining the applicant's allocation, even though they may not be living in an eligible attendance area, are to be considered as eligible for participation in Title I projects. Opportunities should be provided for the participation of such children in services designed to meet their needs.

Handicapped Children

The unmet needs of handicapped children should be considered. It is expected that such children will be included in Title I programs in project areas where the existing level of services for such children is recognized as being inadequate. Diagnostic procedures should be required as a part of all service programs for these children. Coordination with Title VI, ESEA, programs must be demonstrated.

Non-English Speaking Children

Every applicant should be aware of the needs of non-English speaking and bilingual children who live in the eligible attendance areas. Special efforts should be made to meet the needs of these children through Title I or through another program in order that they may learn to participate fully in the life of their community. The strengths of their ethnic backgrounds should be utilized in the development of special programs related to their needs.

The needs of the children in each of the foregoing groups should be stated in behavioral terms and, when appropriate, with reference to objective measures of educational growth or achievement. These needs must be set forth on the Title I application in order of priority.

3. PLANNING

3.1 The Title I program was planned as an integral part of a comprehensive compensatory educational program involving the coordinated use of resources from other programs and agencies.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1) and 883(c)

While the authority of Title I is directed solely toward the special needs of educationally deprived children, there are other programs and agencies which are also authorized to provide services to meet some of those same needs. It is important, therefore, when the priority needs of the children have been determined, that the various other agencies and program representatives be aware of those needs, particularly with respect to needs for improved nutrition, treatment and prevention of diseases and disabilities, and other needs indirectly related to the educational process.

Program representatives in the local educational agency and in the other interested agencies should develop the broad objectives for the comprehensive compensatory educational program. Once these objectives have been agreed upon, consultations should begin on the organization and utilization of all available resources to realize these objectives. This will require careful examination of the authority and responsibility of each of the various agencies. Each agency, however, should explore how it can most effectively, within its authority and responsibility, contribute to the realization of the objectives of the compensatory educational program.

Many of the other agencies involved in assessing the needs of children have been serving children and parents in various ways and may be receptive to new ideas about how their services can be more effective. If these agencies have new funds or are reprogramming the use of existing funds, it is very important that this be made known to the local public school authorities so that Title I funds are not inadvertently programmed for the same purposes.

The local educational agency itself should also examine the possibility of using other Federal grant programs, such as other titles of ESEA, NDEA, and EPDA, to meet the needs of children in the project areas. For some local educational agencies additional State funds or private funds may be available for this purpose. The Title I application should provide information concerning related programs and the specific provisions that will be made for coordination.

Some of the other agencies may have to follow economic criteria with respect to the selection of children and families for services, whereas the local educational agency must use educational criteria in selecting children from among those who live in areas that meet required economic criteria. Many of the same children, however, will be found to be in need of services on grounds of both economic and educational deprivation. Under these circumstances it is important that the agency with the major responsibility and the best resources deliver each of the needed services in coordination with, but without duplication of, the work of the other agencies.

Some program objectives, therefore, will be the primary responsibility of the local Title I program; others will fall to other Federal (direct grant or State plan) programs to be conducted by the local educational agency, to the federally financed programs of other agencies, to various State and local programs and, in some cases, to private agencies. If a Model Cities program or a Neighborhood Services Center is in operation or is being planned, the appropriate program representatives should be consulted concerning the need for the coordination of their programs with the compensatory education program.

The Title I application should present sufficient information to show that the resources available to the local educational agency and to other local agencies have been considered in planning the program and that where appropriate those resources have been committed to certain program objectives. The application should show not only that the resources of other programs were considered in planning but also that there will be appropriate coordination of related services in the actual operation of a comprehensive program.

All proposals to provide health, nutrition, welfare, and recreation services under Title I should be fully justified on the basis that the resources of other agencies are not adequate to meet high priority needs for these services.

4. PROGRAM DESIGN

4.1 Consideration has been given to the relationship of the Title I program to the regular school program and to the possibility of modifying that program so as to provide a better base for the addition of supplementary compensatory educational services.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

Probably the most obvious indication of a child's need for special educational assistance under Title I is his inability to respond constructively to the regular school program. In many cases this program can be modified and integrated with the services to be

provided under Title I so as to provide the child with a total program adapted to his special needs. In this connection, the requirement that applicants maintain regular school programs in the project areas at the same levels as they would have been maintained if Title I funds were not available applies only to expenditures and not to the program itself.

The Title I program, if it is to be truly supplementary, must be designed to extend and reinforce the regular school program. Insofar as possible, the regular school program, the Title I program, and any other special programs should be designed as a total program to meet the needs of the children to be served. This may require revision of the regular school curriculum and will in any event require communication between regular school and Title I staff concerning their respective programs and the ways in which they can be improved to better meet the needs of the educationally deprived children involved in both programs.

4.2 <u>The application shows that the Title I program is based on a consideration of the relative needs of children at all ages and grade levels and is designed to meet a limited number of high priority needs which cannot be met through the regular school program or other programs</u>.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

Title I resources should be concentrated on those children who are most in need of special assistance. Normally this process will involve determinations of both the needs of individual groups of children and of the possibilities for success in working with those groups. Decisions should be made in terms of the effectiveness of providing comprehensive services to a limited number of children in a few groups as opposed to the ineffectiveness of spreading diluted services over all eligible children in all groups. Consideration must also be given to the availability of assistance from other agencies and programs for specific groups of children.

4.3 <u>The Title I program is based on clearly stated objectives and desired outcomes and, if executed as planned, will very likely result in reduction of educational deficiency</u>.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

The compensatory education objectives to be met through Title I should be clearly and realistically stated in terms of the types of changes that are sought and the degree of change that is expected by the end of the year as a result of each major activity. Where appropriate, reference should be made to evaluations of similar activities carried on during preceding years, the program changes that have been made as a result of such evaluations, and

the types of improved performance expected by the end of the new program year. As applicants gain more and more experience they should become more precise concerning what they expect to accomplish through their Title I programs.

4.4 Due consideration has been given to the provisions of Title I services not only during the regular school year but also during the summer.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

Applicants should examine closely the possibility for meeting urgent needs through summer programs. The summer period provides opportunities for new activities which, while designed to overcome educational deficiency, can be more specifically and extensively adapted to the needs of the children to be served. Special efforts should be made, however, to be sure that the children who participate receive assistance designed to continue the gains they have made in the preceding school year or to prepare them for the next school year's activities under the regular school or the Title I program.

4.5 Educationally deprived children enrolled in private schools will have genuine opportunities to participate in the Title I program on the basis of need as determined by the comprehensive assessment of the needs of all children in the eligible low-income areas. The high priority needs of private school children residing in those areas will be met with services that are comparable in scope and quality to those provided to meet the high priority needs of public school children.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(2)

The applicant's assessment of needs of children at various grade and age levels must include the children in the eligible public school attendance areas who are enrolled in private schools. This assessment is to be carried out in consultation with private school authorities and to provide the basis for (a) determining the special services in which private school children will have genuine opportunities to participate, and (b) selecting the private school children for whom such services are to be provided.

The needs of private school children in the eligible areas may not be identical with those of public school children and, hence, may require different services and activities. Those services and activities, however, must be comparable in quality, scope, and opportunity for participation to those provided for public school children with needs of equally high priority. "Comparability" of services should be attained in terms of the numbers of educationally deprived children in the project area in both public and private schools and related to their specific needs, which in turn should produce an equitable sharing of Title I resources by both groups of children.

The application should provide sufficient evidence to assure the State educational agency that the local educational agency will maintain administrative direction and control over Title I activities conducted on private premises. Title I instructional activities and related services, the use of equipment, and all personnel performing services on private premises under the Title I program are to be under the active supervision of the applicant local educational agency.

4.6 The applicant's Title I program will be conducted in a limited number of eligible attendance areas and will provide relatively higher concentrations of services in areas having the highest incidence of poverty.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

The applicant should make sure that the needs of children in eligible areas with the highest incidence of poverty have been met before considering the needs of children in eligible areas in which the incidence is much lower. The program in the areas with the highest incidence should be designed to serve a larger proportion of children and to provide them with a greater variety of services than programs in areas with lesser incidences of poverty.

4.7 Title I services will be programmed so that those services will be concentrated on a limited number of children.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

The Title I program, if it is to have "sufficient size, scope and quality to give reasonable promise of substantial progress," as required by the Act, must be concentrated on a limited number of children. Furthermore, it should be expected that each child will need not a single service but a variety of services which should be provided under Title I and, if possible, through other agencies.

The proposed Title I expenditure per child is an indication of the concentration of effort. The greater the concentration of effort, as indicated by investment per child, the greater the likelihood that the program will have a significant impact on the children in the program. The investment per child on an annual basis for a program of compensatory educational services which supplement the child's regular school activities should be expected to equal about one-half the expenditure per child from State and local funds for the applicant's regular school program. The investment per child per year for a program such as a preschool program which provides all of the services for the child involved should be expected to equal the applicant's full expenditure per pupil from State and local funds.

5. IMPLEMENTATION OF TITLE I PROGRAMS

5.1 The proposed staffing pattern is appropriate for the activities and services to be provided.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

The ratio of project staff to the number of children to be served should be high enough to provide concentrated, individualized services. Use should be made of a variety of personnel other than professional classroom staff. Parents of participating children, volunteers, and persons in the community with special skills should be considered in the selection of the staff needed to provide the specified services.

5.2 Inservice training will be geared specifically to the requirements of the Title I program and the needs of the Title I staff.
Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

The orientation, indoctrination, and development of the personnel who have been selected to conduct the Title I program is probably the most critical phase of the Title I program. The concentration of the Title I program on children who have not been developing satisfactorily under the regular school program indicates the need for new approaches to the development of teaching and other personnel.

The methods of preparing personnel to undertake specific Title I activities and for their continued inservice development should be closely geared to those activities. Furthermore, the inservice training program should be of sufficient size and depth to have an impact on the participant and the Title I program. Case studies of other ongoing programs, "sensitivity" training, and other approaches specifically designed to help teachers do a better job of providing special services for and relating to children with special needs should be tried and evaluated. Institutions of higher education should be involved in conducting training programs for Title I personnel and in following up with the evaluation of those programs. The use of old ready-made courses not related to problems confronting the Title I staff should, of course, be avoided.

5.3 Specific provision has been made for professional staff members and education aides assigned to assist them to participate together in coordinated training programs.
Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(11)

The 1967 amendments to Title I specifically require as a condition for the approval of projects involving the use of education aides the presentation of well-developed plans for training programs in which the aides and the professional staff members they will assist participate together. The program provided for such staff members and their aides should, as stated in item 5.2, Inservice Training, be closely allied to the tasks they will be performing. Each Title I application involving the use of education aides should set forth (a) definite proposals for the joint training of those aides and the professional staff members with whom the aides will work or (b) a detailed description of such a program in which most

of the aides and the professional staff members they will assist have already participated. Special attention should be given to the development of the most effective ways the professional staff members and their aides can work together and of ways in which a long-term training program may assist both professional staff members and aides to take on increasing responsibilities. If appropriate, consideration should be given to providing the aides with training leading toward teacher certification. Such training may begin with Title I funds and continue as long as the aides are employed in Title I activities. After this, other appropriate funding should be sought.

5.4 The Title I program includes appropriate activities or services in which parents will be involved.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

The applicant should demonstrate that adequate provision has been made in the Title I program for the participation of and special services for the parents of children involved in the programs. The employment of parents in the Title I projects is but one way to implement this provision. The primary goal of such activities and services should be to build the capabilities of the parents to work with the school in a way which supports their children's well-being, growth, and development.

5.5 Title I activities or services will be offered at locations where the children can best be served.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

All Title I program activities must be designed for educationally deprived children who live in eligible attendance areas but should be offered at locations where those children can best be served. Any proposed Title I activities (including the construction of school facilities) which, because of location or for other reasons, would in effect prolong the racial, social, or linguistic isolation of the children to be served would be self-defeating and should not be approved. Applicants for Title I funds should design effective compensatory education programs which include, where appropriate, measures for fostering integration in the community.

In some cases, the locations where the children can best be served will be outside the project area. The application should indicate clearly the locations both inside and outside the project areas where Title I services will be offered and the number of children from inside and outside the project areas who will participate at each such location.

No child who lives in a project area and who would otherwise receive Title I services is to be denied such services because of his exercise of a right to enroll in another school. Children residing outside the project areas who can benefit from the services may participate on a space-available basis.

5.6 Expenditures for equipment will be limited to the minimum required to implement approved Title I activities or services.
Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

All requests for the approval of funds for the purchase of initial or replacement equipment must be fully justified. This means that the applicant must show that (a) equipment has been selected and designated for specific purposes in connection with proposed project activities, (b) the proposed equipment is essential to the effective implementation of the project, (c) such equipment is not available in the applicant's regular or Title I inventories for use in the project, and (d) the applicant has the trained staff to utilize the proposed new equipment effectively or that arrangements will be made to prepare staff for such use. The State educational agency will review existing Title I inventories and insure that equipment already purchased with Title I funds is being effectively used for Title I purposes. Equipment that is no longer appropriate for use in Title I projects should be sold or transferred to the applicant's regular inventory and the appropriate amounts refunded to the Federal Government.

5.7 Title I funds will be used for construction only when necessary to implement projects designed to meet the highest priority needs of educationally deprived children in the applicant's district.
Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(1)

Whenever possible Title I activities and services should be organized and scheduled for operation in existing facilities. If existing facilities cannot be used, consideration should first be given to the rental of space in ready-made permanent or portable facilities. Rental or construction of school facilities (including portable units) not specifically related to a Title I project activity should not be allowed except in unusual situations where (a) such construction is necessary in order to bring children together at locations where they can be served effectively under Title I and (b) the local educational agency is unable to provide such facilities with its own funds. The construction of permanent new facilities should be regarded as a local responsibility except in extreme cases of financial need.

5.8 The Title I program includes provisions for the dissemination of information to teachers and administrators for their use in planning and conducting projects.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(9)

In addition to the dissemination that takes place through inservice training programs for the Title I staff, relevant information concerning compensatory education from such sources as research and demonstration reports should be made available through appropriate forms of communication to Title I and other school personnel servicing participating children. Emphasis should be placed on the dissemination of information which will contribute to improved program planning and operation both in the applicant's district and in other districts. Conversely, applicants should be able to demonstrate that their Title I staff members in planning program activities have considered the information that has been made available to them. Applicants should develop information dissemination programs to include involvement of the community and parents of children served by the project. Dissemination procedures should include such things as annual reports, newsletters, news releases and other material for newspapers, magazines, radio, and television for the purpose of informing the public and other educators about program objectives and procedures and gain support of the project.

6. EVALUATION

6.1 The Title I program includes specific evaluation procedures that are appropriate for the services to be provided and consistent with approved program objectives. Adequate staff and other resources will be provided to implement the procedures.

Authority: 20 USC 241e(a)(6)

The Title I application must include a description of the methods and procedures to be used to evaluate each major activity. No application can be approved unless these procedures are described in sufficient detail to enable the State educational agency to appraise their potential effectiveness.

The application should also contain sufficient information for the State educational agency to determine the adequacy of the resources the local educational agency expects to use in carrying out the evaluation of its major program activities. Private school officials should be involved in the formulation of evaluation procedures for any activity in which private school children are expected to participate.

The adequacy of the applicant's plans and resources for evaluation must be assessed in terms of the objectives that have been approved for the program and the nature of the major activities.

7. TITLE I FUNDS SUPPLEMENTARY TO STATE AND LOCAL FUNDS

7.1 The Title I program and the regular school program have been planned and budgeted to **assure** that Federal funds will supplement and not supplant State or local funds and that State and local funds will be used to provide services in the project areas that are comparable to the services provided in non-project areas.

Authority: 20 USC 240e(a)(1)

It is expected that services provided within the district with State and local funds will be made available to all attendance areas and to all children without discrimination. The instructional and ancillary services provided with State and local funds for children in the project areas should be comparable to those provided for children in the non-project areas, particularly with respect to class size, special services, and the number and variety of personnel. Title I funds, therefore, are not to be used to supplant State and local funds which are already being expended in the project areas or which would be expended in those areas if the services in those areas were comparable to those for non-project areas. This means that services that are already available or will be made available for children in the non-project areas should be provided on an equal basis in the project areas with State and local funds rather than with Title I funds. It is intended also, in the application of this policy, that as services initiated in the project areas under Title I are extended to children residing in non-project areas the applicant will assume full support of those services under its regular school budget. This will release Title I funds to provide new activities for eligible children.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE
TO MEET THE SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS
OF EDUCATIONALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN

REGULATIONS

TITLE I OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965 PUBLIC LAW 89-10

TITLE 45, PART 116 of the CODE OF FEDERAL REGULATIONS Revised and Amended as of November 28, 1968

Compiled from
Federal Register (February 9, 1967) 32 F.R. 2742-2752
and (November 28, 1968) 33 F.R. 17788-17790

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education

Discrimination Prohibited – Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states: "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Therefore, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title I program, like every program or activity receiving financial assistance from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, must be operated in compliance with this law.

For further information
write to
U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
Division of Compensatory Education
Washington, D.C., 20202

United States Government Printing Office
Washington: 1969

Title 45—PUBLIC WELFARE

Chapter I—Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

PART 116—FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO MEET THE SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF EDUCATIONALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN

Federal financial assistance made pursuant to the regulations set forth below is subject to the regulation in 45 CFR Part 80, issued by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and approved by the President to effectuate the provisions of section 601 (42 U.S.C. 2000d) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-352).

Subpart A—Definitions

Sec.
116.1 Definitions.

Subpart B—Eligibility for and Amount of Grants and Payments

116.2 Eligibility of local educational agencies.
116.3 Determination of maximum grants and payments.
116.4 Allocation of county aggregate maximum grants by State educational agencies.
116.5 Local educational agencies in more than one county.
116.6 Local educational agencies with overlapping jurisdictions or serving children from another school district.
116.7 Changes in local educational agencies.
116.8 Special incentive grants.
116.9 Ratable reductions and reallotments.
116.10–116.15 [Reserved]

Subpart C—Project Applications

116.16 Project applications.
116.17 Project covered by an application.
116.18 Size, scope, and quality of projects.
116.19 Participation by children enrolled in private schools.
116.20 Title to property and control over funds.
116.21 Requirements with respect to construction.
116.22 Provision for measurement of educational achievement and evaluation of programs.
116.23 Reports by local educational agencies.
116.24 Relation to other programs.
116.25 Dissemination and utilization of results of educational research and demonstrations.
116.26–116.30 [Reserved]

Subpart D—Duties and Functions of State Education Agencies

116.31 Participation by States.
116.32 Certificate of State attorney general.
116.33 Allocation to local educational agencies.
116.34 Approval of applications from local educational agencies.
116.35–116.40 [Reserved]

Subpart E—Payments

Sec.
116.41 Payments to States.
116.42 Obligation of Federal appropriations.
116.43 Distributions to State or local educational agencies.
116.44 Limitation on payments to a State.
116.45 Limitations on payments to a local educational agency.
116.46 Use of Federal funds and liquidation of obligations by State or local educational agencies.
116.47 Expenditures by State and local educational agencies.
116.48 State fiscal control and audit.
116.49–116.50 [Reserved]

Subpart F—General Provisions

116.51 Approval of State applications.
116.52 Withholding by the Commissioner.
116.53 Allowable expenditures.
116.54 Retention of records.
116.55 Inventories of equipment.
116.56 Financial interest of officials.
116.57 Copyrights and patents.

AUTHORITY: The provisions of this Part 116 issued under sec. 7, 64 Stat. 1107, as renumbered sec. 301, 79 Stat. 35; 20 U.S.C. 242. Interpret or apply secs. 201–212, 301–303, as added or renumbered by 79 Stat. 27–36, and 111(f), 80 Stat. 1196, 20 U.S.C. 241a–241l, 242–244 and 883(c).

Subpart A—Definitions

§ 116.1 Definitions.

As used in this part—

(a) "Act" means the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-10). Title II of Public Law 874, 81st Congress, which was added by Title I of said Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, is hereinafter in this part referred to as Title I of the Act.

(b) "Attendance area" means, in relation to a particular public school, the geographical area in which the children who are normally served by that school reside. An attendance area for an elementary school may not necessarily be coterminous with an attendance area for a secondary school.

(c) "Average daily attendance" means (1) average daily attendance in elementary and secondary schools, not beyond grade 12, as determined in accordance with State law and (2) in the case of schools for handicapped children operated or supported by a State agency, the average number of children under 21 years of age participating per day for the length of a normal school year in an organized program in such schools of instruction which is recognized under State law as furnishing elementary or

secondary education, but not beyond grade 12. Daily attendance shall be measured by the number of daily hours of participation in such instruction as the State agency determines to be appropriate for children with the particular handicap involved, except that any such instruction for more than 1 hour, but less than 3 hours, a day shall be deemed to constitute a maximum of one-half day of attendance. Time spent primarily in custodial care or in medical treatment or therapy cannot be counted in determining school attendance.

(d) "Average per pupil expenditure" in a State or in the United States means the aggregate of current expenditures (as defined in paragraph (h) of this section but otherwise without regard to the sources of funds from which such expenditures are made) of all those local educational agencies in the State, or in the United States, as the case may be, which are boards of education or other legally constituted local school authorities having administrative control and direction of free public education in a county, township, independent or other school district, including those State agencies which operate and maintain facilities for the providing of free public education in a county, township, or other school district, plus any such current expenditures made directly by the State for operation of those local educational agencies, and the sum thereof divided by the aggregate number of children in average daily attendance to whom those local educational agencies provided free public education. As used in this paragraph, "the United States" means the States of the Union and the District of Columbia.

(e) "Commissioner" means the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

(f) "Construction" means the erecting, building, acquiring, altering, remodeling, improving, or extending of school facilities, and includes the preparation of drawings and specifications for school facilities and the inspection and supervision of the construction of school facilities.

(g) "County" means a division of a State of the Union which is treated as a county by the Secretary of Commerce in compiling and reporting data regarding counties.

(h) "Current expenditures" means expenditures for free public education, including expenditures for administration, instruction, attendance and health services, pupil transportation services, operation and maintenance of plants, and fixed charges, and net expenditures to cover deficits for food services and student body activities, but not including expenditures for community services, capital outlay and debt service, or any expenditures made from funds granted under Titles I, II, or III of the Act.

(i) "Educationally deprived children" means those children who have need for special educational assistance in order that their level of educational attainment may be raised to that appropriate for children of their age. The term includes children who are handicapped or whose needs for such special educational assistance result from poverty, neglect, delinquency, or cultural or linguistic isolation from the community at large.

(j) "Elementary school" means a day or residential school which provides elementary education, as determined under State law.

(k) "Equipment" includes machinery, utilities, and built-in equipment and any necessary enclosures or structures to house them, and includes all other items necessary for the functioning of a particular facility as a facility for providing educational services, including such items as instructional equipment and necessary furniture, printed, published, and audiovisual instructional materials, and books, periodicals, documents, and other related materials. Equipment does not include supplies which are consumed in use or which may not reasonably be expected to last longer than 1 year.

(l) "Federal percentage" means 50 percent of the average per pupil expenditure in a State, or, where applicable, in the United States, for a prior fiscal year, which is used as a factor in computing maximum grants under Title I of the Act.

(m) "Fiscal year" means a period beginning on July 1 and ending on the following June 30. (A fiscal year is designated in accordance with the calendar year in which the ending date of the fiscal year occurs.)

(n) "Free public education" means education which is provided at public expense, under public supervision and direction, and without tuition charge, and which is provided as elementary or secondary education, not above grade 12 in a State. Elementary education may, if so determined under State law, include education below grade 1 meeting the above criteria.

(o) "Handicapped children" means mentally retarded, hard of hearing, deaf, speech impaired, visually handicapped, seriously emotionally disturbed, crippled, or other health impaired children who by reason thereof require special education.

(p) "An institution for delinquent children" means a public or private nonprofit residential facility which is oper-

ated primarily for the care of, for an indefinite period of time or for a definite period of time other than one of short duration, children who have been adjudicated to be delinquent children.

(q) "An institution for neglected children" means a public or private nonprofit residential facility (other than a foster home) which is operated primarily for the care of, for an indefinite period of time, at least ten children who have been committed to the institution, or voluntarily placed in the institution, and for whom the institution has assumed or been granted custodial responsibility pursuant to applicable State law, because of the abandonment or neglect by, or death of, parents or persons acting in the place of parents.

(r) "Local educational agency" means a public board of education or other public authority legally constituted within a State for either administrative control or direction of, or to perform a service function for, public elementary or secondary schools in a city, county, township, school district, or other political subdivision of a State, or such combination of school districts or counties as are recognized in a State as an administrative agency for its public elementary or secondary schools. The term includes any State agency which is directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children. It also includes any other public institution or agency having administrative control and direction of a public elementary or secondary school.

(PARAGRAPH (s) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33 F.R. 17788)

(s) "Low-income factor" means the limit of family annual income which is used in determining families with low annual incomes for the purpose of Title I of the Act. For fiscal years 1968, 1969, and 1970, the low-income factor is $2,000, except that when the appropriations under Title I of the Act are sufficient to satisfy all maximum grants to local educational agencies computed by using that factor, the low-income factor is $3,000.

(t) "Program" means an overall plan with respect to funds made available under Title I of the Act during a fiscal year which is intended to be put into effect by a State or local educational agency or the Department of the Interior through one or more projects.

(u) "Project" means an activity, or a set of activities, proposed by a State or local educational agency or the Department of the Interior and designed to meet certain of the special educational needs of certain educationally deprived children.

(v) "Project area" means the attendance area, or combination of attendance areas, having a high concentration of children from low-income families which, without regard to the location of the project itself, is designated as the area whose children are to be served by the project. The term does not apply to a project to be carried out by a State agency at a school operated or supported by that agency for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children.

(w) "School facilities" means classrooms and related facilities (including initial equipment) for free public education and interests in land (including site grading and improvements) on which such facilities are constructed, but does not mean gymnasiums or similar facilities intended primarily for use for exhibitions for which admission is to be charged to the general public.

(x) "Secondary school" means a day or residential school which provides secondary education, as determined under State law, but not beyond grade 12.

(y) "Service function" means an educational service which is performed by a legal entity, such as an intermediate agency, whose jurisdiction does not extend to the whole of the State and which is authorized to provide consultative, advisory, or educational program services to public elementary or secondary schools, or which has regulatory functions over agencies having administrative control or direction of public elementary or secondary schools, rather than a service which is performed by a cultural or educational resource.

(z) "State" means a State of the Union, the District of Columbia, Wake Island, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(aa) "State educational agency" means the officer or agency primarily responsible for the State supervision of public elementary and secondary schools.

(bb) "Works of art" means those items, which may be in the nature of fixtures, that are incorporated in school facilities primarily because of their esthetic value. The cost of a work of art that is in the nature of a fixture shall be the estimated additional cost of incorporating those special esthetic features which exceed the general requirement of excellence of architecture and design.

(PARAGRAPHS (cc), (dd), AND (ee) ADDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33 F.R. 17788

(cc) "Migratory child of a migratory

agricultural worker," includes, for purpose of planning and administering programs and projects, a child who has migrated with his parents but who, with the concurrence of his parents, resides in the area served by a State educational agency which carries out a program or project for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers, but a child shall not be considered migratory under this inclusion for a period of more than 5 years.

(dd) "National effort index" means the percentage expressing the ratio of expenditures from all non-Federal sources in all States of the Union and the District of Columbia for public elementary and secondary education to the total personal income in all the States of the Union and the District of Columbia.

(ee) "State effort index" means the percentage expressing the ratio of expenditures from all non-Federal sources in a State of the Union or the District of Columbia for public elementary and secondary education to the total personal income in that State or the District of Columbia.

Subpart B—Eligibility for and Amount of Grants and Payments

§ 116.2 Eligibility of local educational agencies.

(PARAGRAPH (a) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968 33 F.R. 17788)

(a) A local educational agency in the State of the Union or the District of Columbia is eligible for a grant under Title I of the Act for a fiscal year if the Commissioner determines on the basis of satisfactory data available to him that the number of children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, in families residing in the school district of that local educational agency and having an annual income of less than the low-income factor, in families residing in that school district and receiving an annual income in excess of the low-income factor from payments under a State plan approved under Title IV of the Social Security Act, living in that school district in institutions for neglected or delinquent children (other than children for whom a State agency is directly responsible for providing free public education), and living in foster homes in that school district and being supported with public funds, amounts to at least 10.

(b) If the Commissioner does not have available satisfactory data on a school district basis, a local educational agency is eligible for such a grant if the school district served by it is located in whole or in part in a county in which the Commissioner determines that there are 10 or more of such children.

(c) The foregoing provisions of this section are not applicable to a State agency directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children.

§ 116.3 Determination of maximum grants and payments.

(PARAGRAPH (a) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33 F.R. 17738)

(a) The maximum grant for which a local educational agency in a State of the Union or the District of Columbia (other than a State agency directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) is eligible to receive under Title I of the Act will be determined by the Commissioner, if satisfactory data are available for that purpose, by multiplying the sum of (1) the number of children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, in families residing in the school district of the local educational agency and having an annual income of less than the low-income factor prescribed in § 116.1(s), (2) the number of children of those ages in families residing in the school district and receiving, from payments under the program of aid to families with dependent children under a State plan approved under Title IV of the Social Security Act, an annual income in excess of the low-income factor prescribed in § 116.1(s), (3) the number of children of those ages living in the school district in institutions (other than institutions operated by the United States) for neglected or delinquent children (other than children for whom a State agency is directly responsible for providing free public education) and (4) the number of children of those ages living in foster homes in the school district and being supported with public funds, by the Federal percentage prescribed in § 116.1(1) of the average per pupil expenditure in that State or, if greater, in the United States.

(b) Unless the Commissioner determines that satisfactory data are available to enable him to determine the maximum grant for which a local educational agency is eligible, he shall determine the aggregate of the maximum grants for which all local educational agencies (other than State agencies directly responsible for providing free pub-

lic education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) in each county of each State of the Union are eligible. Such an aggregate is hereinafter in this part referred to as a county aggregate maximum grant. Such county aggregate maximum grants will be allocated by State educational agencies among the several local educational agencies in each county in accordance with the provisions of §§ 116.4, 116.5, and 116.6.

(c) A county aggregate maximum grant will be determined in the same manner as a maximum grant is computed under paragraph (a) of this section except that the numbers of such children residing in the county, instead of the numbers of such children residing in an individual school district, are to be used in the computation.

(d) The amount of the grants to Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the amount of the payments to the Department of the Interior to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children on reservations serviced by elementary and secondary schools operated for Indian children by that Department, are the amounts allotted to them by the Commissioner according to their respective needs from the sums appropriated for the purposes of Title I of the Act.

(PARAGRAPH (e) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33 F.R. 17798)

(e) The maximum grant for which a State agency directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children, or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children is eligible will be determined by multiplying the number of children in average daily attendance, and receiving free education at schools for such children which are operated or supported by that State agency by the Federal percentage prescribed in § 116.1(l) of the average per pupil expenditure in that State or, beginning with fiscal year 1968 in the case of handicapped children and beginning with fiscal year 1969 in the case of children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children, in the United States, if higher. The provisions of this paragraph (e) do not apply to Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(PARAGRAPH (f) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33 F.R. 17788)

(f) The maximum grant for which a State educational agency in a State of the Union or the District of Columbia is eligible for establishing or improving programs for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers is the sum of the estimated number of such migratory children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, who reside in the State full time and the full time equivalent of the estimated number of such migratory children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, who reside in the State part time, multiplied by the Federal percentage of the average per pupil expenditure in the States of the Union and the District of Columbia or, beginning with fiscal year 1969, in that State, if greater. The estimate of the number of such migratory children will be derived by the Commissioner from the best data available to him of the number of intrastate migratory workers, and of the average number of interstate migratory workers, in the several States of the Union and the District of Columbia.

§ 116.4 Allocation of county aggregate maximum grants by State educational agencies.

(a) To the extent that a county aggregate maximum grant is based on children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, living in institutions for neglected or delinquent children, the county aggregate maximum grant shall be allocated among those local educational agencies in whose districts those institutions are located on the basis of the number of such children living in those institutions.

(b) The remainder of the county aggregate maximum grant shall be allocated by the State educational agency among the several local educational agencies whose school districts lie within the county as provided in paragraphs (c) and (d) on the basis of those available data which it deems best to reflect the current distribution in the county of children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, from low-income families, including families receiving payments under the program of aid to families with dependent children under a State plan approved under Title IV of the Social Security Act, without regard to the amount of such payments, and children in foster homes.

(c) If the State educational agency has available data showing the distribution among the several school districts in the county of the children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, from families receiving any aid for dependent children and if it deems that such data reflect the current distribution in the county of all children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, from low-income families and in foster homes, then the allocation among local educational agencies of such remainder of the county

aggregate maximum grant shall be made solely on the basis of such data.

(d) If the available data referred to in paragraph (c) of this section are not deemed to reflect the current distribution in a county of all children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, from low-income families and in foster homes, then the State educational agency may combine those data with other available data on such weighted basis as it deems appropriate and best to reflect the current distribution in the county of such children or use such other method as it deems appropriate for that purpose.

(e) If the total allocation to a local educational agency as otherwise computed pursuant to this section would be less than an entitlement to a grant computed on the basis of 10 children, that local educational agency may be disregarded in the allocation of a county aggregate maximum grant among the local educational agencies in that county.

(f) If the allocation of entitlement to a maximum grant to a local educational agency as otherwise computed pursuant to this section would, without regard to any pro rata reduction, reduce the entitlement of that agency to an amount which is less than its maximum grant for the previous year, the State educational agency may modify that allocation of entitlement to a maximum grant to the extent necessary to make an orderly adjustment in the program of the local educational agency.

§ 116.5 Local educational agencies in more than one county.

The allocation to a local educational agency pursuant to § 116.4 shall be made separately for each county in which a part of the school district served by that local educational agency is located. The maximum grant for such a local educational agency shall be the sum of its allocations from county aggregate maximum grants.

§ 116.6 Local educational agencies with overlapping jurisdictions or serving children from another school district.

In any case in which two or more local educational agencies (other than State agencies directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) have responsibility for different groups of children in a district, or serve school districts which overlap, or in any case in which a local educational agency provides free public education for a substantial number of children residing in the school district of another local educational agency, the State educational agency may allocate the amount of the maximum grants among such local educational agencies in such manner as it determines will best carry out the purposes for which the grants under Title I of the Act are respectively made available.

§ 116.7 Changes in local educational agencies.

(a) In any case in which there is a merger or consolidation of local educational agencies during the school year, the maximum grant which each was eligible to receive shall become available to the surviving or consolidated agency. The surviving or consolidated agency shall be responsible for projects previously approved for each of the agencies participating in the merger or consolidation.

(b) In any case in which the geographical area of a school district served by a local educational agency is diminished, or divided with another local educational agency, during the school year, the State educational agency shall redetermine the maximum grants by using the same method used in making the original determination. However, nothing herein shall preclude the completion, where appropriate, of previously approved projects by the agency originally submitting the projects by itself or through a cooperative undertaking.

(SECTION 116.8 AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33 F.R. 17788)

§ 116.8 Special incentive grants.

(a) A State educational agency of a State of the Union or the District of Columbia is eligible for a special incentive grant for fiscal year 1969 and fiscal years thereafter if that State's effort index for the preceding fiscal year exceeds the national effort index for that year.

(b) The amount of the special incentive grant to which an eligible State educational agency is entitled will be determined by multiplying the amount of $1 for each 0.01 percent by which that State's effort index for the preceding fiscal year exceeds the national effort index for that preceding fiscal year by the aggregate number of children counted for purposes of entitling local educational agencies within that State to grants in accordance with paragraphs (a), (e), and (f) of § 116.3. If the sum of the amounts for all eligible States exceed the amount appropriated for special incentive grants for any fiscal year, such amounts shall be ratably reduced. No State educational agency

shall receive in any year more than 15 percent of the total amount appropriated for special incentive grants for that year.

(c) Special incentive grants may be made available to local educational agencies upon application to the State educational agency. Grants shall be distributed to local educational agencies which have the greatest need for additional funds for approvable Title I projects. All other sections of this part, except those applying to the distribution of funds, shall apply to the use of special incentive grants.

(d) The availability of special incentive grants to a State shall not affect the eligibility of the State educational agency for funds for administration and for technical assistance to local educational agencies with respect to the measurement of educational achievement and evaluation of programs called for by § 116.22.

§ 116.9 Ratable reductions and reallotments.

(PARAGRAPH (a) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17788

(a) If the sums appropriated for any fiscal year are not sufficient to pay in full the amounts which all local and State educational agencies and the Department of the Interior are eligible to receive under Title I of the Act for that year, the amounts available to State and local educational agencies (other than those in Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands) will, subject to such limitations as may be applied by statute to funds appropriated under Title I of the Act, be ratably reduced, except that the amounts made available to State educational agencies for administration and technical assistance with respect to the measurement of educational. achievement and evaluation of projects will not be reduced below $150,000. Inasmuch as the amounts available for allotment among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Department of the Interior for grants and payments are, in the first instance, based on the sums appropriated, such amounts are not subject to pro-rata reduction under this paragraph.

(PARAGRAPH (b) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17788

(b) The Commissioner may set dates by which State educational agencies (other than those in Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands) must certify to him the amounts for which applications of State and local educational agencies (including State agencies directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) have been or will, during that fiscal year, be approved by such agencies and by which such State educational agencies must file applications with the Commissioner for establishing or improving programs for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers. Subject to such limitations as may be applied by statute to funds appropriated under Title I of the Act, the excess of the amounts made available to such State and local educational agencies in accordance with paragraph (a) of this section over the amounts which the State educational agency determines such agencies will use (including amounts necessary to fund such special arrangements as may be made by the Commissioner for education of migratory children of migratory agricultural workers) shall be made available, first by State educational agencies to other educational agencies in the particular State but not to make available to an agency more than the maximum basic grant to which that agency is entitled. The amounts made available under this paragraph for distribution within a State shall be distributed among the State and local educational agencies which apply for additional funds and which have the greatest needs to redress inequities inherent in, or mitigating hardships caused by, the application of the provisions of §§ 116.3 and 116.4. The needs of the State and local educational agencies, and the amounts to which they shall be eligible, shall be determined on the basis of the extent to which the State educational agency determines the application of those provisions fail, as a result of population shifts, changing economic conditions, or other reasons, to reflect actual needs. In the event excess amounts are still available after applying the foregoing provisions of this paragraph, those excess amounts will be distributed by the Commissioner among other States of the Union or the District of Columbia in accordance with their needs as determined by the Commissioner for use by local educational agencies having the greatest need therefor. In no event, however, will the total amount made available to an agency exceed the maximum basic grant to which that agency is entitled.

(c) The Commissioner may set dates

by which State educational agencies in Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands must certify to him the amounts for which applications have been or will, during that fiscal year, be approved by such agencies, and by which the Department of the Interior will report to the Commissioner the amount needed by that Department for Title I projects. The excess of the amounts made available to any of such agencies or the Department of the Interior over the amounts which the Commissioner determines are needed by them will be redistributed among other such agencies and the Department of the Interior according to their respective needs for such amounts as redetermined by the Commissioner at that time.

(PARAGRAPH (d) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33 F.R. 17788)

(d) In the event that additional funds are made available for making payments under Title I of the Act for that year, such additional funds will be applied to increase ratably the amounts available under paragraphs (a) and (b) of this section to State and local educational agencies in States other than Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and, to the extent called for by the Act appropriating such additional funds, the amounts available for allotment for grants and payments among the Department of the Interior and, together with appropriate additional amounts for administration and technical assistance, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The amounts available to State educational agencies for administration and technical assistance will be ratably increased pursuant to this paragraph only to the extent that the amounts made available for grants, in the case of Puerto Rico, Guam, Wake Island, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, are increased above $2,500,000 or in the case of any other State, above $15 million. In no event, however, will the total amount made available to an agency exceed the maximum grant to which that agency is entitled.

§§ 116.10–116.15 [Reserved]

Subpart C—Project Applications

§ 116.16 Project applications.

(a) Grants under Title I of the Act to a local educational agency (including a State agency directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) will be made on the basis of applications therefor which are submitted to the State educational agency and approved by it in an aggregate amount not in excess of the amount of the funds made available for that local educational agency.

(b) Grants under Title I of the Act to a State educational agency for establishing or improving programs for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers will be made on the basis of applications therefor which are submitted to the Commissioner and approved by him. Such a grant will not exceed the amount of the funds made available by the Commissioner for that State educational agency after setting aside such amounts as are necessary for carrying out special arrangements with other public or nonprofit private agencies for conducting educational programs for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers when the Commissioner determines that a State is unable or unwilling to conduct such educational programs or that such special arrangements will result in more efficient and economic administration of educational programs for such children or that they will add to the welfare or educational achievement of such children.

(c) Payments under Title I of the Act to the Department of the Interior for a program to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children on reservations serviced by elementary and secondary schools operated for Indian children by that Department will be made on the basis of an application submitted by that Department to the Commissioner and approved by him.

(d) Subject to the reallotment authority in § 116.9, no State or local educational agency may assign any part of its eligibility to another agency. This does not, however, prevent a State educational agency from exercising its authority under § 116.6 nor prevent two or more applicants in one or more States from conducting a joint program or project (including a planning project) through a combined use of funds made available to them.

§ 116.17 Project covered by an application.

(a) An application for a grant under Title I of the Act by a local educational agency (other than a State agency directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for ne-

glected or delinquent children) shall set forth a project for educationally deprived children residing in a project area composed of school attendance areas having high concentrations of children from low-income families or a project for serving children living in institutions for neglected or delinquent children, which project shall have been designed specifically to meet special educational needs of those educationally deprived children. The project itself shall be carried out at locations where the needs of the educationally deprived children can best be served. It may involve the participation of educationally deprived children residing outside the project area if such a participation will not dilute the effectiveness of the project with respect to children residing in the project area.

(b) A State or local educational agency (including a State agency directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) may apply for a grant in an amount not exceeding one percent of the maximum grant it is eligible to receive or $2,000, whichever is greater, for planning during the current fiscal year which was, or will be, directly related to programs or projects to be carried out under Title I of the Act and has resulted, or is reasonably likely to result, in a program which will be carried out, if funds are necessary for that purpose because of the innovative nature of the program or project or because the local educational agency lacks the resources necessary for adequate planning.

(c) Each application for a grant under Title I of the Act by such a local educational agency, other than an application for a grant for planning, shall designate the project area or the institution or special school for which the project is designed. A project area may include one or more attendance areas having high concentrations of children from low-income families, but the project area must be sufficiently restricted in size in relation to the nature of the project as to avoid jeopardizing its effectiveness in meeting the aims and objectives of the project. Each such application shall describe the special educational needs identified with educationally deprived children residing in the project area at which the project is directed. Each local educational agency shall design its projects in such a manner, and apply them to such school attendance areas having high concentrations of children from low-income families, as will best meet the special educational needs of the educationally deprived children.

(d) A school attendance area for either a public elementary or a public secondary school may be designated as a project area if the estimated percentage of children from low-income families residing in that attendance area is as high as the percentage of such children residing in the whole of the school district, or if the estimated number of children from low-income families residing in that attendance area is as large as the average number of such children residing in the several school attendance areas in the school district. In certain cases, the whole of a school district may be regarded as an area having a high concentration of such children and be approved as a project area, but only if there are no wide variances in the concentrations of such children among the several school attendance areas in the school district.

(e) In the case of such a project undertaken jointly by two or more such local educational agencies, the project area with respect to each school district must be one that qualifies as a project area under paragraph (d) of this section. However, the whole of the project area must be considered in determining whether it is sufficiently restricted in size in relation to the nature of the project as to maintain its effectiveness in meeting the aims and objectives of the project.

(f) The project for which an application for a grant is made by a local educational agency should be designed to meet the special educational needs of those educationally deprived children who have the greatest need for assistance. However, none of the educationally deprived children who are in need of the special educational services to be provided shall be denied the opportunity to participate in the project on the ground that they are not children from low-income families or on the ground that they are not attending school at the time.

(g) Each such project must be tailored to contribute particularly toward meeting one or more of the special educational needs of educationally deprived children and should not be designed merely to meet the needs of schools or of the student body at large in a school or in a specified grade in a school.

(PARAGRAPH (h) REVISED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17789)

(h) Each application for a grant under Title I of the Act for educationally deprived children residing in a project

area shall contain an assurance that the use of the grant funds will not result in a decrease in the use for educationally deprived children residing in that project area of State or local funds which, in the absence of funds under Title I of the Act, would be made available for that project area and that neither the project area nor the educationally deprived children residing therein will otherwise be penalized in the application of State and local funds because of such a use of funds under Title I of the Act. For the purposes of this paragraph, the failure to use State or local funds to provide to a project area or to children residing therein services comparable to those services which have been, or are to be, generally provided to other areas or children will be deemed to constitute a penalization of that project area or of those children. No project under Title I of the Act will be deemed to have been designed to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children unless the funds made available for that project are to be used to supplement, and not supplant, State or local funds.

(i) No application for a project grant under Title I of the Act may cover the construction of school facilities unless such construction is demonstrated as being essential in order to assure the success of a program or project under Title I of the Act. If the construction of school facilities is so demonstrated as being essential for a program or project, the application must nevertheless comply with other requirements of Title I of the Act and the regulations in this part, such as the requirements in § 116.21 in regard to labor standards and overall State construction planning and, in relation to the overall program, the requirements in § 116.19 in regard to participation by children enrolled in private schools.

(j) A project by a State agency directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children may include the acquisition of equipment and, in the case of schools owned by that State or a public agency of that State, the construction of school facilities. Each project of such a State agency shall be designed to meet the special educational needs of children attending schools operated or supported by that State agency.

(PARAGRAPH (k) REVISED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17789)

(k) An application by a State educational agency to the Commissioner for a grant under Title I of the Act for the education of migratory children of migratory agricultural workers shall describe a program designed to meet the special educational needs of such migratory children. The application shall describe the individual projects that are contemplated and identify the local educational agencies, if any, through which the projects will be carried out, which application shall be in sufficient detail to enable the Commissioner to determine whether he will exercise his authority to make special arrangements pursuant to section 105(c)(2) in Title I of the Act. Within the total of the grants made available for the program, the program covered by an approved application may, without altering the essential nature of the program, be modified from time to time to reflect changing conditions. The State educational agency shall notify the Commissioner of any such modifications.

(l) An application by the Department of the Interior to the Commissioner for payments to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children on reservations serviced by elementary and secondary schools operated for Indian children by that Department shall describe a program or individual projects designed to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children who attend such schools or who are eligible to attend such schools or to participate in preschool programs of that Department. The program shall include a provision for grants to local educational agencies with respect to out-of-State Indian children in the elementary or secondary schools of such agencies under special contracts with the Department of the Interior, which grants shall not exceed, for each such child one-half the average per pupil expenditure in the State in which the agency is located. The application shall describe the overall program under Title I of the Act of the Department of the Interior which will administer the program to Indian children on the basis of its determination of their special educational needs. An application by the Department of the Interior will be approved by the Commissioner upon his determination that the program in that application complies with the applicable requirements of Title I of the Act and the regulations in this part. Individual projects to carry out the approved program of the Department of the Interior will be implemented by that Department in a manner consistent with such requirements. The Department of the Interior will advise the Commissioner

as to the manner the Department's program is being implemented, including a description of each individual project.

(PARAGRAPH (m) ADDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17789)

(m) An application for a project which involves the use of education aides shall include evidence that the local educational agency has provided, or will provide, a coordinated program for the joint training of the aides and the professional staff whom they will assist.

§ 116.18 Size, scope, and quality of projects.

(a) Each application by a State or local educational agency for a grant (other than one for a planning project) must propose projects of sufficient size, scope and quality as to give reasonable promise of substantial progress toward meeting the needs of educationally deprived children for whom the projects are intended. The program of a local educational agency must involve the expenditure of at least $2,500 or such lesser amount as may be set by the State educational agency upon its determination that it would be impossible, for such reasons such as distance or difficulty of travel, for the applicant to join effectively with other local educational agencies for the purpose of meeting that dollar requirement. The budget for a project shall avoid imprudent, extravagant or wasteful expenditures which would tend to defeat the intent of the Act to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children. The project application must justify any proposed expenditures above the level of expenditures by the applicant for other comparable activities.

(b) Each application for a grant (other than one for a planning project) or for payments to the Department of the Interior shall provide an assessment of the special educational needs of the educationally deprived children who would be eligible to receive benefits under Title I of the Act or incorporate by reference the assessment contained in a prior application. Each such application for a grant shall describe the objectives of the project in relation to those special educational needs. It must demonstrate that the project has been sufficiently well planned to meet those objectives and that the project makes adequate provision for its implementation in an effective manner.

(c) A joint application may be made by two or more eligible educational agencies for grants to each for a single project (including a planning project) to be carried out jointly or through other arrangements between or among such educational agencies.

(d) The program of a local educational agency entitled to funds under Title I of the Act on the basis of children living in institutions for neglected or delinquent children shall provide for the special educational needs of such children.

(e) Applications for grants (other than those for planning projects) or payments are to be concentrated on a limited number of projects and applied to a limited number of educationally deprived children so as to give reasonable promise of promoting to a marked degree improvement in the educational attainment, motivation, behavior or attitudes of children.

(PARAGRAPH (f) ADDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17789)

(f) Each local educational agency shall provide for the maximum practical involvement of parents of educationally deprived children in the area to be served in the planning, development, operation, and appraisal of projects, including their representation on advisory committees which may be established for the local Title I program.

§ 116.19 Participation by children enrolled in private schools.

(a) Each local education agency shall provide special educational services designed to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children residing in its district who are enrolled in private schools. Such educationally deprived children shall be provided genuine opportunities to participate therein consistent with the number of such educationally deprived children and the nature and extent of their educational deprivation. The special educational services shall be provided through such arrangements as dual enrollment, educational radio and television, and mobile educational services and equipment. Such opportunities shall be made available to those educationally deprived children who reside in the public school attendance area designated as the project area or in a geographical area reasonably coterminous with the project area. If it is not practicable to apply a project to children enrolled in private schools because they are enrolled in a private school located in another school district, the applicant may make arrangements for such children with the local educational agency serving such other school district, including where appropriate the making of a joint project application.

(b) The needs of educationally deprived children enrolled in private

schools, the number of such children who will participate in the program and the types of special educational services to be provided for them, shall be determined, after consultation with persons knowledgeable of the needs of these private school children, on a basis comparable to that used in providing for the participation in the program by educationally deprived children enrolled in public schools.

(c) The opportunities for participation by educationally deprived children in private schools in the program of a local educational agency under Title I of the Act shall be provided through projects of the local educational agency which furnish special educational services that meet the special educational needs of such educationally deprived children rather than the needs of the student body at large or of children in a specified grade. The application for each project shall show the number of educationally deprived children enrolled in private schools who are expected to participate therein and the degree and manner of their expected participation.

(d) Any project to be carried out in public facilities and involving a joint participation of children enrolled in private schools and children enrolled in public schools shall include such provisions as are necessary to avoid classes which are separated by school enrollment or religious affiliation of the children.

(e) Public school personnel may be made available on other than public school facilities only to the extent necessary to provide special services (such as therapeutic, remedial, or welfare services, broadened health services, school breakfasts for poor children, and guidance and counseling services) for those educationally deprived children for whose needs such special services were designed and only when such services are not normally provided by the private school. The application for a project including such special services shall provide assurance that the applicant will maintain administrative direction and control over those services. Subject to the provisions of § 116.20, mobile or portable equipment may be used on private school premises for such period of time within the life of the current project for which the equipment is intended to be used as is necessary for the successful participation in that project by educationally deprived children enrolled in private schools. Provisions for special educational services for educationally deprived children enrolled in private schools shall not include the paying of salaries for teachers or other employees of private schools, except for services performed outside their regular hours of duty and under public supervision and control, nor shall they include the using of equipment other than mobile or portable equipment, on private school premises or the constructing of private school facilities.

(f) In the event that the special educational needs of the educationally deprived Indian children attending private schools on a reservation cannot be met by the appropriate local educational agency because of the remote location of those schools, the Department of the Interior shall design its program to meet the special educational needs of such educationally deprived Indian children through appropriate arrangements that provide genuine opportunities for participation by such educationally deprived Indian children which are consistent with the number of such children and the nature and extent of their educational deprivation.

(g) The foregoing provisions of this section, other than those relating to the construction of private school facilities, do not apply to the use of funds granted to a State agency because of its direct responsibility for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children.

§ 116.20 Title to property and control over funds.

(a) Control over the use of funds provided under Title I of the Act, and title to and administrative control over property acquired with such funds, shall be in a public agency, which will exercise such control. Such funds and property shall be used for the purposes provided in Title I of the Act, but such a use shall not inure to the benefit of any private school. The incidental use of such property for other purposes is permitted only for related educational purposes on public premises and only so long as such a use does not interfere with the carrying out of a Title I project.

(b) Equipment acquired with funds provided under Title I of the Act may, in certain cases, be placed on private school premises for a limited period of time, but the title to and administrative control over such equipment must be retained and exercised by a public agency. In exercising that administrative control, the public agency shall not only keep records of, and account for, the equipment but shall also assure itself that the equipment is being used solely for the purposes of the project, and remove the equipment from the private school premises when necessary to avoid its being

used for other purposes or when it is no longer needed for the purposes of the project.

(c) The application by a local educational agency must contain a satisfactory assurance that the funds provided under Title I of the Act, and property derived therefrom, will at all times be under the control of, and be administered by, a public agency in accordance with the provisions of the Act and the regulations in this part.

§ 116.21 Requirements with respect to construction.

(a) In a case of a project involving the construction of school facilities, the application for a grant shall provide assurances that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors on such construction will be paid wages at rates not less than those determined by the Secretary of Labor to be prevailing on similar construction in the locality in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a-5); that such contractors and subcontractors will comply with the regulations in 29 CFR Part 3 (see 29 F.R. 97), and include all clauses required by 29 CFR 5.5 (a) and (c) (see 29 F.R. 100, 101, 13463, and 29 CFR Part 3, Subpart B—Interpretation of the fringe benefits provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act—published at 29 F.R. 13465); and that the nondiscrimination clause prescribed by Executive Order No. 11246 of September 24, 1965 (30 F.R. 12319), will be incorporated in any contract for construction work, or modification thereof, as defined in said Executive Order.

(b) In developing plans for the construction of school facilities, the applicant agency shall give due consideration to excellence of architecture and design and to the inclusion of works of art, for which funds under Title I of the Act will be available in an amount not in excess of 1 percent of the cost of such construction including the providing of works of art. In any event, the construction must be functional, must be undertaken in an economical manner, and must not be elaborate in design or extravagant in the use of materials.

(c) The State educational agency shall not approve a project involving the construction of school facilities unless it determines that the construction is consistent with overall State plans for construction. It shall not approve such a project involving construction, other than minor remodeling, altering or improving of school facilities, unless the approval is conditioned upon approval of the construction plans and specifications by the State educational agency, and further conditioned upon the award of a construction contract on or before a date specified in the project application as providing a reasonable period of time taking into consideration the nature of the program or project to be served by the construction of the school facilities and the magnitude of the construction to be undertaken, which date shall in no event be later than June 30 of the following fiscal year. Such plans and specifications shall be approved only after due consideration has been given, to the extent appropriate in view of the uses to be made of the facilities, of the accessibility of the facilities to, and the usability of them by, handicapped persons, and of their compliance with the minimum standards contained in "American Standard Specifications for Making Buildings and Facilities Accessible to, and Usable by the Physically Handicapped" approved by the American Standard Association, Inc., with appropriate usable segments of "Building Standards of the University of Illinois Rehabilitation Center" and "Occupancy Guide-Department of Veterans Benefits, Regional Offices, Veterans Administration," and with such other standards in that regard as the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may prescribe or approve.

(d) In the planning of the construction of school facilities involving the use of funds under Title I of the Act, each State and local educational agency shall, in accordance with the provisions of Executive Order No. 11296 of August 10, 1966 (31 F.R. 10663), and such rules and regulations as may be issued by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to carry out those provisions, evaluate flood hazards in connection with such school facilities, and as far as practicable, avoid the uneconomic, hazardous, or unnecessary use of flood plains in connection with such construction.

(e) All contracts for construction (as defined in § 116.1(f)) shall be awarded to the lowest qualified bidder on the basis of open competitive bidding except that, if one or more items of construction are covered by an established alternative procedure, consistent with State and local laws and regulations, which is approved by the State agency as designed to assure construction in an economical manner consistent with sound business practice, such alternative procedure may be followed.

(PARAGRAPH (f) ADDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17739)

(f) The State educational agency shall

not approve a project involving construction of school facilities if it finds that such construction would lead to, or would tend to maintain, the cultural or linguistic isolation of children.

§ 116.22 Provision for measurement of educational achievement and evaluation of programs.

(a) Each application by a State or local educational agency or by the Department of the Interior shall describe the procedures and techniques to be utilized in making at least annually an evaluation of the effectiveness of its program under Title I of the Act in meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children, including appropriate objective measurements of educational achievement.

(b) The measurement of educational achievement under such a program shall include the measuring or estimating of educational deprivation of those children who will participate in the program and the comparing, at least annually, of the educational achievement of participating children with some objective standard or norm. The type of measurement used by a local educational agency should give particular regard to the requirement that the State educational agency report to the Commissioner on the effectiveness of the programs in that State in improving the educational achievement of educationally deprived children.

(c) The evaluation of programs and projects should, consistent with the nature and extent of participation by children enrolled in private schools, be extended to such participation.

§ 116.23 Reports by local educational agencies.

Each application by a local educational agency (including a State agency directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) shall provide assurance that it will render to the State educational agency an annual report and such other reports, in such form, and containing such information, as may be reasonably necessary to enable the State educational agency to perform its duties under Title I of the Act, including the measurements of educational achievement and program effectiveness required by § 116.22. The local educational agency shall keep such program and fiscal records, and afford such access thereto, as the State educational agency may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports and the expenditure of funds granted under Title I of the Act.

§ 116.24 Relation to other programs.

(a) Each application for a grant under Title I of the Act shall demonstrate that, in the development of the program or project, the applicant has taken into consideration those benefits that are or may be made available for the affected children through various agencies of the Federal Government, as well as through State and local agencies and private nonprofit organizations, and has coordinated the program or project with programs available through such agencies or organizations, including community action programs under Title II (42 U.S.C. 2781–2831) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and shall further demonstrate that there will be similar coordination in the operation of the program or project. The purpose of the foregoing is to avoid a duplication of benefits and to assure the most effective use of funds under Title I of the Act toward meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.

(b) Each application by a State educational agency for a grant to establish or improve programs of education for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers shall demonstrate that in planning the program and the projects comprising that program there has been, and in carrying out such program and projects there will be, appropriate coordination with programs administered under Part B of Title III (42 U.S.C. 2861) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Each such application shall also describe the manner in which the program and projects are coordinated with similar programs and projects in other States, including the transmittal of pertinent information with respect to school records of such migratory children.

(c) In the coordination with other programs the commingling of funds under Title I of the Act with funds under such other programs is not authorized, but the simultaneous use of funds under each of those programs to finance identifiable portions of a single project is permitted.

(d) The application by the Department of the Interior for payment to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children on reservations serviced by elementary and secondary schools operated for Indian children shall contain an assurance that the program and projects have been developed in cooperation with appropriate Indian representatives and community action agencies and that the program and projects will be coordinated

with appropriate Federal, State, and local authorities and private nonprofit organizations.

§ 116.25 Dissemination and utilization of results of educational research and demonstrations.

(a) Each application by a State or local educational agency for a grant, or by the Department of the Interior for a payment, shall describe the methods to be used by the applicant for reviewing, selecting, and disseminating to teachers and educational administrators significant information on the latest developments and most recent experiments in education so that such information will be available for use in program planning and operation. The provisions in that regard may include, among other things, in-service education, the use of professional librarians on library informational systems, professional workshops and seminar consultations and visitations, and reports on the organization, operation and outcome of projects under Title I of the Act.

(b) Promising educational practices developed through projects of the applicant, or through information disseminated to it by other applicants, shall be considered for, and to the extent deemed appropriate and not in violation of the assurance called for by paragraph (h) of § 116.17, may be adopted in, all of the schools of the applicant through the use of available funds other than those under Title I of the Act.

§§ 116.26–116.30 [Reserved]

Subpart D—Duties and Functions of State Educational Agencies

§ 116.31 Participation by States.

(a) Any State desiring to participate in the grant programs under Title I of the Act shall, through its State educational agency, submit to the Commissioner an application for such a participation. Each State educational agency seeking a grant for establishing or improving programs of education for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers shall submit a separate application for such a grant to the Commissioner pursuant to § 116.17(k).

(b) Each application by a State educational agency shall provide the official name of the agency responsible for carrying out the functions of a State educational agency under Title I of the Act.

(c) The application for participation by the State in the grant program shall contain an assurance of the State educational agency that each application by a local educational agency (including a State agency directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) approved by the State educational agency will comply with the requirements of Title I of the Act and the regulations in subpart C of this part, that the State educational agency will require each such local educational agency to carry out all assurances given by it in, and to perform all obligations imposed on it in connection with, its approved applications for grants, and that the State educational agency will in all other respects comply with the requirements imposed on it by Title I of the Act and the regulations in this part.

(d) The application for participation by the State in the grant program shall contain an assurance that fiscal control and fund accounting procedures will be adopted to assure the proper disbursement of, and accounting for, Title I funds paid to the State, including such sums as may be paid to State and local educational agencies with respect to approved projects.

(e) The State educational agency shall designate the officer who will receive and have custody of funds granted to the State under Title I of the Act, who will pay to State and local educational agencies the amounts distributed to them, who will receive the repayments by State and local educational agencies of such portion of the funds paid to them as remain unexpended at the close of the period for which they were made available for expenditure, and who will pay out the amounts expended by the State educational agency for the performance of those duties which are imposed on it pursuant to Title I of the Act and the regulations in this part.

(f) Each application by a State educational agency shall contain an assurance that it will make periodic reports to the Commissioner evaluating the effectiveness of the programs and projects of State and local educational agencies, and the use by such educational agencies of grants under Title I of the Act, in improving the educational attainment of educationally deprived children. Such reports shall include the results of objective measurements of educational achievement under the programs of the several participating educational agencies with particular reference to progress made toward meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.

(g) Each application by a State educational agency shall contain an assurance that it will make such other reports to the Commissioner as he may reason-

ably require from time to time to enable him to perform his duties under Title I of the Act. Such reports shall include a disclosure of any allegations of substance which may be made by local educational agencies or private individuals or organizations of actions by State or local educational agencies contrary to the provisions of Title I of the Act or the regulations in this part, a summary of the result of any investigations made or hearings held with respect to those allegations, and a statement of the disposition by the State educational agency of those allegations. It is recognized that the responsibility with respect to the resolution of such matters rests, in the first instance, in the State educational agency.

(h) Each application by a State educational agency shall contain an assurance that it will keep such records, and afford the Commissioner such access thereto, as he may find necessary to assure the correctness of the reports required to be made and the adequacy of the fiscal control over and the accounting for Title I funds paid to the States.

§ 116.32 Certificate of State attorney general.

The application for participation by a State in the grant program under Title I of the Act, and each application for a grant to establish or improve programs of education for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers, shall include a certificate by the State attorney general or other appropriate State legal officer to the effect that the agency submitting the application has the authority under State law to perform the duties and functions of a State educational agency under Title I of the Act and the regulations in this part, including those arising from the assurances given in the application.

§ 116.33 Allocation to local educational agencies.

(a) In those instances in which the determination of the Commissioner with respect to the maximum amount of grants relates only to county aggregate maximum grants, the State educational agency shall allocate such county aggregate maximum grants among the local educational agencies within the counties on the basis of such criteria as the State educational agency may apply in accordance with § 116.4 and § 116.6.

(b) The State educational agency shall promptly advise the Commissioner of its allocations of county aggregate maximum grants among the several local educational agencies in each county and the criteria on which such allocations were based.

(PARAGRAPH (c) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17790)

(c) The State educational agency shall advise the Commissioner of the amounts needed to fund those applications by local educational agencies for grants which are approved by the State educational agency, together with appropriate information concerning each of the projects covered by such applications, and of the additional amount not in excess of (1) one percent of the maximum grants to State and local educational agencies of the State as adjusted pursuant to § 116.9 or (2) $150,000 (or $25,000 in the case of Puerto Rico, Wake Island, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands), whichever is greater, which is required by the State educational agency for administration and for technical assistance to local educational agencies with respect to the measurement of educational achievement and evaluation of programs called for by § 116.22.

§ 116.34 Approval of applications from local educational agencies.

(a) The State educational agency shall review all applications by local educational agencies (including State agencies directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) in the State for grants under Title I of the Act to determine whether such applications meet the requirements of the Act and the regulations in subpart C of this part. The State educational agency shall not approve such an application unless it determines that the application does effectively meet the requirements of the Act and the regulations in subpart C of this part and that the State educational agency is able to give the Commissioner the assurances with respect to that application which are required by the regulations in this subpart. The State educational agency shall not approve an application by a local educational agency which, together with other approved applications by that agency, exceeds the amount available for grants to that agency.

(b) The State educational agency may approve an application in part or for less funds than is called for by the application only if such an approval does not have the effect of altering the proj-

ect to such an extent that it no longer provides reasonable promise of substantial progress toward meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.

(c) The State educational agency shall not finally disapprove any application in whole or in part without first affording the local educational agency submitting the application reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing with respect to such action.

(d) The terms and provisions of each approved project shall be made available, by the State educational agency, and by the affected local educational agency or agencies, for public inspection.

§§ 116.35–116.40 [Reserved]

Subpart E—Payments

§ 116.41 Payments to States.

(a) The maximum amount of all payments which may be made to a State for grants under Title I of the Act is the aggregate of the maximum eligibilities of all State and local educational agencies of the State for grants and the maximum eligibility of the State educational agency for administration and technical assistance with respect to the measurement of educational achievement and evaluation of projects, as that aggregate is adjusted pursuant to § 116.9.

(b) The Commissioner will, during the fiscal year, pay to each State an amount which is equal to the aggregate amount for which projects of State and local educational agencies are approved by the State educational agency or by the Commissioner, plus such amount as the State educational agency is entitled to and expends for such administration and technical assistance. The Commissioner may make advances to each State submitting an application for participation in the program under Title I of the Act and requesting such an advance.

(c) Until such time as the Commissioner has finally determined the maximum eligibilities for grants of all State and local educational agencies in all the States, he will make a tentative ratable reduction in the amounts payable to States and will further limit such amounts in order for him to be in a position to make such final ratable reductions as may be necessitated by the amount of the available appropriations.

(d) Each local educational agency receiving a distribution of grants for approved programs and projects shall, at the end of the period for which expenditures of such grants are authorized, release to the State educational agency any unexpended balances of such grants. The State educational agency shall report to the Commissioner the amount of such unexpended balances as well as the unexpended balances of grants to the State educational agency for such administration and technical assistance, and all such unexpended balances shall be taken into account by the Commissioner in making payments to the State thereafter.

§ 116.42 Obligation of Federal appropriations.

(PARAGRAPHS (a) AND (b) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17790)

(a) The notification by the Commissioner to State educational agencies and the Department of the Interior of the amounts made available for approval by those agencies and the Department of the Interior will be regarded as obligating the Government of the United States in the amounts specified. Federal appropriations so obligated will remain available for use as prescribed in § 116.46.

(b) The notification by the Commissioner to State educational agencies of the amounts available to those agencies for administration and technical assistance with respect to the measurement of educational achievement and evaluation of programs in accordance with the provisions of section 107(b) in Title I of the Act will be regarded as obligating the Government of the United States. Federal appropriations so obligated will remain available for use as prescribed in § 116.46.

(c) The approval by the Commissioner of applications by State educational agencies for establishing or improving programs of education for children of migratory agricultural workers will be regarded as obligating the Government of the United States for the amounts approved for such projects. Federal appropriations so obligated will remain available for use by such State educational agencies as prescribed in § 116.46.

§ 116.43 Distributions to State or local educational agencies.

(a) Subject to the provisions of § 116.45, the State educational agency in each State participating in the program under Title I of the Act shall distribute to eligible State and local educational agencies the sums made available to the State educational agency by the Commissioner for the programs or projects of such State and local educational agencies approved by the State educational agency or the Commissioner during the fiscal year for which the Federal appropriations are made available.

(b) Federal funds so made available to a State educational agency shall be drawn down by the State educational agency or transferred to local educational agencies in installments substantially coinciding with the need for such funds based upon the estimated rates of expenditure by such State or local educational agencies.

§ 116.44 Limitation on payments to a State.

No payments by the Commissioner under Title I of the Act will be made to a State for any fiscal year in which the State has taken such payments into consideration in determining the eligibility of a local educational agency for State aid, or in determining the amount of that aid, with respect to the free public education of children in such a way as to penalize the local educational agency in relation to the availability of State or local funds.

§ 116.45 Limitations on payments to a local educational agency.

(a) No payments to a State under Title I of the Act for any fiscal year may be paid by the State educational agency to a local educational agency unless the State educational agency finds that the combined fiscal effort of that local educational agency and the State with respect to the provision of free public education by that local educational agency for the preceding fiscal year was not less than such a combined fiscal effort for that purpose for the second preceding fiscal year.

(b) For purposes of this section, fiscal effort by a local educational agency shall be measured by the amount of the current expenditures per pupil by the local educational agency other than expenditures from funds derived from Federal sources for which the local educational agency is required to account to the Federal Government directly or through the State educational agency, such as funds under Titles I, II, and III of the Act, Titles III and V of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Expenditures by a State with respect to a local educational agency rather than by such a local educational agency itself shall be deemed to have been maintained at the same level in the preceding fiscal year as in the second preceding fiscal year unless the basis for making such expenditures has been altered or if such expenditures are assumed by such a local educational agency. In such an event, the actual expenditures of that nature shall be taken into account in both years in determining combined fiscal effort. A combined fiscal effort in the preceding fiscal year shall not be deemed to be a reduction from that in the second preceding fiscal year unless the per pupil expenditure in the preceding fiscal year is less than that in the second preceding fiscal year by more than 5 percent. Any such reduction in fiscal effort by a local educational agency for any fiscal year by more than 5 percent will disqualify a local educational agency unless the local educational agency is able to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the State educational agency that such a reduction was occasioned by an unusual event, such as the removal of a large segment of property from the tax rolls, that could not have been fully anticipated or reasonably compensated for by the local educational agency and that fiscal effort of the local educational agency does not otherwise indicate a diminished fiscal effort.

§ 116.46 Use of Federal funds and liquidation of obligations by State or local educational agencies.

(a) Federal funds granted under Title I of the Act to State and local educational agencies shall remain available until August 31 following the fiscal year in which such amounts were made available for use by such State and local educational agencies for projects approved during that fiscal year. Grants for construction of school facilities shall remain available for use for that purpose for a reasonable period of time as determined pursuant to § 116.21(c).

(b) Federal funds made available under Title I of the Act to State educational agencies for administration and technical assistance will remain available for such use until the close of the current fiscal year.

(c) For the purposes of this section a use of funds under Title I of the Act by a State or local educational agency will be determined on the basis of documentary evidence of binding commitments for the acquisition of goods or property, for the construction of school facilities, or for the performance of work, or on the basis of a reservation of funds for administrative activities in connection with the completion of project activities such as evaluation and auditing activities, except that the use of funds for personal services other than those for administrative activities for which such a reservation of funds has been made, for services performed by public utilities, for travel, and for rental of equipment and facilities shall be determined respectively on the basis of the time such services were rendered, such travel was performed, and such rented equipment and facilities were used.

(d) Federal funds under Title I of the Act shall not be available for use with respect to binding commitments (other than those relating to personal services, utility services, travel, or the rental of equipment or facilities) entered into, or with respect to personal services, utility services, travel or the rental of equipment or facilities rendered or performed by or for a State educational agency with respect to administration or technical assistance prior to the effective date of the approval by the Commissioner of the State application for participation, which in no event will be earlier than the date on which it was received by the Commissioner in substantially approvable form and appropriations are made for that purpose.

(e) Federal funds granted to State educational agencies for establishing or improving programs of education under Title I of the Act for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers, and Federal funds distributed to local educational agencies (including State agencies directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) for programs under Title I of the Act, shall not be available with respect to binding commitments (other than those relating to personal services, utility services, travel, or the rental of equipment or facilities) entered into prior to, or with respect to personal services, utility services, travel, or the rental of equipment or facilities rendered or performed prior to, the effective date of the approval by the Commissioner of the State application for participation or (except for commitments or services related to planning projects) prior to the date on which the applicant was notified that the application of the State or local educational agency for a grant with respect to that project was submitted for approval to the State educational agency or the Commissioner in substantially approvable form. Federal funds from two separate fiscal year appropriations are not available for payment with respect to a single such commitment.

(PARAGRAPH (f) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17790)

(f) Obligations entered into by State and local educational agencies and payable out of funds under Title I of the Act shall be liquidated prior to the end of the fiscal year following the fiscal year in which such funds are made available for use by such agencies unless prior to the end of that following fiscal year the State educational agency determines that the time for so liquidating specific obligations should be extended, extends such time, and notifies the Commissioner of the extension.

§ 116.47 Expenditures by State and local educational agencies.

(a) Amounts granted or distributed to State or local educational agencies for approved projects may be expended by such agencies for such projects in the amounts for which they were approved by the Commissioner or the State educational agency. Amounts for approved projects may, within the limit of the amounts made available to the State or local educational agency for programs or projects, be varied upward or downward by 10 percent of such respective amounts upon the determination by the State or local educational agency that such projects and the program of that agency will continue to meet the requirements of Title I of the Act and the regulations in this part. A variation in excess of 10 percent may be made only with the approval of the Commissioner or the State educational agency which approved the original project.

(PARAGRAPH (b) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17790)

(b) All proceeds from the sale of property being inventoried pursuant to the provisions of § 116.55 but not less than the fair market value of such property, the net proceeds from the rental of such property, and any income received as the result of the conduct of an approved project shall be credited to the Federal Government.

§ 116.48 State fiscal control and audit.

(a) The State educational agency shall, for that agency and local educational agencies, provide for such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary for the proper disbursement of funds paid to the State and to local educational agencies under Title I of the Act.

(b) All expenditures by local educational agencies or by State educational agencies of Federal funds granted under Title I of the Act shall be audited either by State auditors or by other appropriate auditors. The State educational agencies shall, with due regard for Federal auditing requirements, provide for appropriate audit standards for that purpose. The results of such audits shall be used to substantiate State agency records and shall be made available to Federal auditors. Federal auditors shall be given access to such records or other

documents as may be necessary to substantiate the results of such audits.

§§ 116.49–116.50 [Reserved]

Subpart F—General Provisions

(SECTION 116.51 AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17790)

§ 116.51 Approval of State applications.

The Commissioner will approve each application by a State, through its State educational agency, to participate in the grant program under Title I of the Act if he determines that the application meets the requirements of section 106(a) in Title I of the Act and the regulations in Subpart D of this part. He will not finally disapprove any State application, or any application by a State educational agency for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers, except after reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing to the State educational agency with respect to the disapproval of that application.

§ 116.52 Withholding by the Commissioner.

(a) Whenever the Commissioner, after reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing to any State educational agency, finds that there has been a failure to comply substantially with any assurance set forth in the application of that State, or in the application of that State educational agency, approved by the Commissioner, for a grant to establish or improve programs of education for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers, he will notify the agency that further payments will not be made to the State under Title I of the Act (or, in his discretion, that the State educational agency will not make further payments under Title I of the Act to specified local educational agencies affected by the failure) until he is satisfied that there is no longer any such failure to comply. Until the Commissioner is so satisfied, further payments under Title I of the Act will not be made to that State or payments by the State educational agency will be limited to payments to local educational agencies not affected by the failure, as the case may be.

(b) Prior to initiating a hearing under this section, the Commissioner will attempt to resolve any apparent differences between him and the State educational agency regarding the interpretation or application of the provisions of Title I of the Act and the regulations in this part, including any apparent differences with respect to the disposition of matters reported by the State educational agency pursuant to § 116.31(g). Nothing herein shall be deemed to prevent any State educational agency from seeking the advice of the Commissioner prior to disposing of such matters.

§ 116.53 Allowable expenditures.

(a) Federal funds made available to State and local educational agencies may be used by those agencies for such expenditures as are reasonably necessary for carrying out approved projects.

(b) Federal funds granted to State educational agencies for administration and for technical assistance to local educational agencies with respect to the measurements of educational achievement and evaluation of the effectiveness of projects in meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children may be used by those agencies for such expenditures as are reasonably necessary for carrying out those activities.

(c) Federal funds made available under Title I of the Act to local educational agencies and to State educational agencies may be used only for those expenses which are incurred as a result of the grant program under that title. They include expenses such as those for:

(1) Salaries, wages, and other personal service costs of permanent and temporary staff employees and consultants for the performance of services reasonably necessary for the grant program under Title I of the Act, including the costs of regular contributions of employers to retirement, workmen's compensation, and welfare funds, and payments for leave earned with respect to such services;

(2) Communications;

(3) Utilities;

(4) The purchase of consumable supplies, including stationery;

(5) Printing and acquisition of printed and published materials;

(6) Travel and transportation expenses;

(7) Acquisition (by purchase or lease) and maintenance and repair of necessary equipment;

(8) Minor alterations in previously completed building space for use in the program under Title I of the Act;

(9) The rental of office space in privately and publicly owned buildings for use in the administration of the program under Title I of the Act, subject to the following provisions:

(i) The expenditures for the space are necessary for and properly related to the efficient administration of the program;

(ii) The State will receive the benefits of the expenditures during the period

of occupancy commensurate with such expenditures;

(iii) The amounts paid are not in excess of comparable rental in the particular locality;

(iv) In the case of a publicly owned building, like charges are made to other State or local agencies occupying similar space for similar purposes;

(10) The acquisition of leasehold and other interests in land necessary for educational agencies to carry out approved projects successfully; and

(11) In exceptional cases, the construction of buildings, and the structural alteration of existing buildings.

(d) The expenditure of funds under Title I of the Act shall not be included in the determination of average per pupil expenditure pursuant to § 116.1(d) or in the determination of fiscal effort pursuant to § 116.45.

(PARAGRAPH (e) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17790)

(e) None of the funds under Title I of the Act may be used for religious worship or instruction.

§ 116.54 Retention of records.

(PARAGRAPH (a) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17790)

(a) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (c) of § 116.55, each State educational agency and local educational agency receiving a grant under Title I of the Act shall keep intact and accessible all records relating to such Federal grants or the accountability of the grantee for the expenditure of such grants (1) for 5 years after the close of the fiscal year in which the expenditure was made, or (2) until the State educational agency is notified that such records are not needed for administrative review, whichever is the earlier.

(b) The records involved in any claim or expenditure which has been questioned shall be further maintained until necessary adjustments have been made and such adjustments have been reviewed and approved by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

§ 116.55 Inventories of equipment.

(a) Each State and local educational agency shall maintain an inventory of all equipment it has acquired with funds under Title I of the Act and placed in the temporary custody of persons in a private school. Such inventories shall be maintained until the equipment is discharged from such custody and, if costing $100 or more per unit, for the expected useful life of the equipment or until its disposition.

(b) Each State educational agency and each local educational agency shall maintain inventories of all other equipment it has acquired with funds under Title I of the Act and costing $100 or more per unit for the expected useful life of the equipment or until its disposition.

(PARAGRAPH (c) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17790)

(c) The records of such inventories of equipment shall be retained for a period of one year following the period for which the inventories are required under this section to be maintained.

§ 116.56 Financial interest of officials.

No board or staff member of a State or local educational agency may participate in an administrative decision with respect to a grant program under Title I of the Act if such a decision appears likely to result in any benefit or remuneration, such as a royalty, commission, contingent fee, or brokerage fee, or other benefit to him or any member of his immediate family.

§ 116.57 Copyrights and patents.

(SECTION 116.57 AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17790)

(a) If a copyright is obtained on materials produced through a project with financial assistance under Title I of the Act, the Federal Government shall be granted a nonexclusive, irrevocable, royalty-free license to reproduce and publish the material so copyrighted, including the power to sublicense for all governmental purposes.

(b) Any materials of a patentable nature produced through a project with financial assistance under Title I of the Act shall be subject to the provisions of Parts 6 and 8 of this title.

WASHINGTON RESEARCH PROJECT
1823 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
(202) 659-4240

MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN
HARRY HUGE
RUBY G. MARTIN

THE SOUTHERN CENTER FOR STUDIES IN PUBLIC POLICY
CLARK COLLEGE
240 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314
524-0446
GEORGE BOOKER

May 22, 1969

Dear Friend:

We understand that you are concerned about the programs in your local school system that are being funded by Federal money appropriated under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. We, too, are concerned about what is happening as a result of Title I in your school system and school systems throughout the country.

It is appropriate that local community groups and National organizations take a look at the extent to which educationally disadvantaged children are benefiting, or not benefiting, from the Federal, Title I investment.

The enclosed series of interviews with local school officials and parents should help assist you in your local effort and us in our National effort to learn the facts about Title I programs.

We appreciate your assistance and stand ready to do whatever we can to help you deal with local issues that may arise regarding Title I. Please return the filled out interviews to the address indicated above.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Ruby G. Martin

(Mrs.) Ruby G. Martin
Washington Research Project

Phyllis McClure

(Mrs.) Phyllis McClure
NAACP Legal Defense Fund

C O N T E N T S

1. Things To Know About The Law, Regulations And Policies Of Title I Of The Elementary And Secondary Education Act of 1965 (P.L. 89-10) . . Blue

2. School Visits . . . . . White

3. Interview With Local Title I Coordinator . . . . . Yellow

4. Interview With Principal Or Teacher . . . . . Orange

5. Interview With Parents And Individuals In The Community . . . . . Green

Also included for your information and use are copies of:

1. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (P.L. 89-10);

2. The Title I Regulations issued by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and

3. ESEA Title I Program Guide # 44 (Commissioner's Criteria for State Approval of Title I ESEA Applications from Local School Systems).

SCHOOL VISITS

1. Look for similarities and differences between what is going on and what is available in the Title I and non-Title I schools.

2. Look for signs that Title I money is being spent in the school: is there new, shiny equipment; are the classrooms small (some school systems use Title I money to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio); and are there new textbooks and reading materials?

3. If there are new materials and equipment, are the teachers using it; do the children know how to use it?

4. Are there teachers' aids in the school? If so, what are they doing? Find out if they know anything about Title I and Title I programs.

5. Are any Title I people in evidence, such as reading coordinators, audiovisual coordinators?

6. If you have the opportunity, talk to a classroom teacher or an aide and ask them about new programs, materials, and techniques.

7. If there is a lunch room, library, special reading facilities, look at them. Are they adequate? Are they new? Are they being used?

LOCAL TITLE I COORDINATOR

NAME: _____

TITLE: _____

SCHOOL SYSTEM: Wheeler County

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: GA. ZIP: _____

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____ TEL. NO: _____

NAME OF INTERVIEWER: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

OTHER LOCAL TITLE I DIRECTOR OR SUPERVISOR

NAME: _____

TITLE: _____

SCHOOL SYSTEM: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____ TEL. NO: _____

NAME OF INTERVIEWER: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

LOCAL TITLE I COORDINATOR

1. How much money under Title I (P.L. 89-10) has been allocated to your school district per fiscal year and how much has been spent per fiscal year since the program began?

2. What is the total enrollment of the district? What is the racial composition of the enrollment? Black? White? Mexican-American? Other?

3. How many schools in the district? How many Title I schools? How many non-Title I schools are participating in Title I programs because they enroll eligible children?

4. How many total eligible children are there, by race or national origin in your district?

5. How was eligibility determined?

6. How many children participated in Title I programs in each year of the programs operation.

7. What schools had Title I assistance of any kind in each of the years of the program? List the schools? What is the racial composition (in percentage) of each of these schools?

8. How was Title I money spent in each of the years of the program? Is money allocated on a per school basis or on a program basis? (Get a detailed account of number of persons hired, in what capacity, amount of money expended on equipment, instructional materials, and construction.)

9. What are the indices of poverty in the entire school system and in the area served by Title I? How was the Title I target population identified?

10. How were the needs of educationally disadvantaged children determined?

11. On what basis did you determine to establish the various Title I programs now operating?

12. In general, how were (are) decisions made for the Title I program?

13. Why were certain programs dropped after the first year and others added? Who made these decisions and on what basis?

14. Were principals and teachers involved in the Title I program? In planning? Program design? Execution? Did principals and teachers exercise any decision-making authority with respect to the kinds of programs to be established?

15. Were community groups, neighborhood groups, parenty groups, civic groups, or civil rights groups involved at any stage in the program planning? If so, which groups and specifically how were they involved.

16. Has there been any public discussion of your Title I program? At school board meetings? PTA or neighborhood meetings? Community action agency meetings? Public forums? Newspapers, radio, television?

17. What has the impact been on the target children? How was the impact determined? What kind of evaluation has been done of Title I programs? Do you have any indication that there has been any perceptable change in children or their school performance as a result of having been included in a Title I project?

18. What other resources (federal, state, or local) were brought to bear on the education problems of poor children besides the Title I effort? (e.g. Title III ESEA, Headstart, School Lunch Program).

19. What special programs for poor children and in general did the school district operate before Title I became available?

20. What other programs have been funded in this district by Title I? Handicapped children? Migrants? Indians?

21. What non-public school children have been involved in the Title I program?

a) How was their eligibility determined?

b) How many children are served?

c) Were their needs determined separately from the public school children or were non-public school children simply admitted to the program established by the public schools?

d) How do non-public school children participate in the program?

22. What has been the impact of Title I programs in non-target ineligible schools?

a) What has been the attitude of teachers and other staff members toward Title I schools?

b) Have teachers or children had any opportunity to observe Title I programs firsthand?

c) Have programs in non-target schools been affected in any measurable way by the increased resources going into poverty-area schools?

d) What equipment or other resources are now available to the entire school district as a result of Title I?

23. What kinds of working relationships has the local district had with the state Title I coordinator?

24. Has the state set special policies or requirements beyond the criteria established by Congress in P.L. 89-10?

25. How many visits have state officials made to local districts since the program began? In the last (1968-9) school year?

26. To your knowledge, have any parents complimented or filed complaints about the Title I program?

27.	Audit Reviews	Since Title I began	1968-9 School Year
	Program Review prior to granting Title I application		
	Program Review or evaluation after project has been in operation		
	Site visits to schools or centers		
	Inventory of equipment		
	Other		

28. From your experience, what are the greatest benefits and most serious disadvantages of the Title I program as it now operates?

29. Impression of Interview.

INTERVIEW WITH PRINCIPAL OR TEACHER

When you visit a local district, you should make every effort to interview at least one principal of a Title I school and at least one teacher in a Title I school. During the summer months, principals are likely to be available even if the Title I regular program is not in operation.

Some assistance from community contacts should be sought in identifying which principal might be the best one to interview. Choose carefully because not all principals will talk. Many will be tight-lipped. However, you should be able to locate one who is eager to tell you about the "bugs" in the Title I program.

Assure the interviewee that his name will not be used in connection with anything he says and that you will not report your conversation to anyone in the central office or to the principal.

These problems settled, your interview should proceed smoothly.

LOCAL PRINCIPAL OR TEACHER

NAME: _____

TITLE: _____

SCHOOL SYSTEM: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____ TEL. NO: _____

NAME OF INTERVIEWER: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

LOCAL PRINCIPAL OR TEACHER

1. Please describe the Title I program in your school this past year. Has it changed in any way since the program began?

2. What is your function with regard to the Title I program?

3. About how many children in this school participate in any way in a Title I program? What proportion is the number of the total school enrollment?

4. What is the racial compostion of the student body in this school? Of the faculty?

5. How are parents and the community involved in the Title I program? To what extent were they involved in the planning for the project?

6. Are teachers and principals involved in decision-making regarding any phase of the Title I program?

7. What is your impression as to how decisions are made about expenditure of Title I money?

8. Were any teachers or teachers' aides hired with Title I money?

9. Were the teachers or aides new to the school or new to the school system the year they were hired?

10. Were there in-service training programs carried out with Title I money for teachers or teachers' aides?

11. Has the total number of teachers and other staff members at your school increased or stayed just about the same since Title I was brought into your school?

12. Are Title I children kept separate from non eligible children in your school? In what way? What effect do you think this has on both the target and non-target children? On the faculty?

13. Is there a community relations component in the Title I program? If so, how does it operate?

14. Was any equipment purchase with Title I funds? Is any of this equipment in your school? Do you have sufficient equipment?

15. If so, do your find it useful? Has it been used? Do the teachers know how to use it?

16. Was any construction, remodeling or renovating or purchase of mobile units done with Title I funds?

17. Was the equipment purchased for the Title I schools comparable to the equipment or facilities already available at non-Title I schools?

18. Was a food, health, medical, or clothing program carried out in this school with Title I funds? If so, how did it operate? Did all children participate: If not, how were participating children selected?

19. Does the school receive Federal funds from other sources for school lunch purposes, e.g., the National School Lunch Program? If so, how are the children who participate in this program selected?

20. To your knowledge, how were the needs of the eligible children determined?

21. Do you believe that there are some serious needs of the eligible children in your school that are not being met presently by the Title I program?

22. Can you point to any differences between the Title I schools and the non-Title I schools in your district or area? Do non-Title I schools have special teachers, lower pupil-teacher ratio, other facilities that your schools does not have?

23. Have there been any desegregation plans put into effect in your district? At your school? Please describe.

24. How was Title I used in conjunction with the desegregation plan?

25. Is there a Title I summer program in your school or school district? Please describe.

26. Can you make any assessment of the impact of Title I programs on the participating children?

27. Was any kind of evaluation of the Title I program performed? If so, do you know its results?

28. What do you think are the positive and negative aspects of the Title I program as it operates in your school or school district?

29. Impressions of interview.

Interview with Parents and Individuals in the Community

As many parents and individuals in the community should be interviewed as possible. They may not be familiar with Title I and programs under Title I, as such; however, they will know if there are new teachers, teacher aides, and new equipment in their children's school.

They will especially know if there are food programs in the school; and, will be happy to talk about any program which is visible to them.

You will probably be able to figure out whether the programs they discuss are Title I programs.

Parents and Individuals in the Community

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Date of Interview: _____ Telephone Number: _____

Name of Interviewer: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

PLEASE ASSURE PARENTS AND CITIZENS THAT THEIR NAMES WILL NOT BE USED IN A REPORT OR IN DISCUSSING THE INFORMATION THEY GIVE WITH TITLE I STATE, FEDERAL, OR LOCAL OFFICIALS.

1. How many children do you have?

2. How many of them are in public school?

3. What school do they go to?
   Is this school a Title I school to your knowledge?

4. If it is a Title I school, what new programs have you noticed in the school?

5. Are there facilities in your child's school to serve a hot lunch?
If so, when were they installed or otherwise made available?

6. Is there a school lunch program in the school?
If so, when did it begin?

7. Does your child/or children get lunch at the school?

8. If they do, do you pay the regular price for it, or do they get it at a reduced price, or do they get it free?

9. Have your children received any medical, dental or clothing benefits from the school?

10. Was there a school board or a community meeting to discuss Title I funds and how the money should be spent, in your community?

13. Is there a parent-student-school program in your school?

14. Do you know what kind of school programs are being paid for with Title I money in your community?

PAGE (s) MISSING

15. What kind of educational programs do you feel would be most helpful to your children?

16. To your knowledge, have any complaints been raised about the use of Title I funds?

17. Impression of the interview.

TITLE I FUNDS MANUAL

FOR PARENTS OF

EDUCATIONALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN

July 8, 1969

Prepared by:

Roger Mills
National Office for the
Rights of the Indigent [NORI]
538½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202
948-7301

TABLE OF CONTENTS

§1. What Title I funds are 1

§2. How it works in general. 1

§3. How a proposal is made 2

§4. Which schools get Title I money. 3

§5. What Title I money may be used for 4

§6. What Title I money may not be used for , ... 6

§7. How to find out how Title I money is spent in your school district 9

§8. Local Advisory Committees. 12

§9. Complaints. 13

§10. Enforcement Procedures. 14

Appendix:

A. Sample Complaint

B. Public inspection regulation

C. Office of Education Letter on Xeroxing information

D. Supplant regulation

E. Parent participation program guide

F. General Form

NOTE:

The Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 expires June 30, 1970. Congress is now debating a new law which may make some changes in the current law. This manual only covers the current law.

§1. WHAT TITLE I FUNDS ARE

Title I funds are federal funds for a special category of children who are educationally deprived. The funds are authorized under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 19~5. It is a 100% federally financed program which administered by the state Department of Education. The money is to be used to raise the educational level of limited numbers of educationally deprived children living in low-income areas. In Mississippi the money is usually used in local school districts for reading programs, food services, teacher load reduction, guidance counseling, and summer sessions. The amount of the grant for a school district has varied in Mississippi between $10,000 and $1,000,000 a year deprnding upon the number of low-income children in the area.

§2. HOW IT WORKS IN GENERAL

The federal government through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) gives Title I funds each year to the state Department of Education in Jackson. The state Title I unit in turn gives money to the school district superintendent monthly.

The school district superinttndent and his Title I coordinator are the persons who decide where the money is to go. Every year they write an application which lists what the money is to be spent on and how much these things will cost. The proposal is sent to the State Title I office in Jackson where it is approved. It does not go to Washington.

§3. HOW A PROPOSAL IS MADE

The superintendent is told the maximum amount of money his school district can get. The amount is determined by the number of children from low-income families in the district.*

Next the superintendent must determine where the money is to to. The money by law must go where the need is the greatest. The Local Advisory Committee (See §) tells him the views of parents and establishes priotities among these needs. They recommend a general plan for the concentration of this money in certain schools. They, together with the superintendent and Title I coordinator, pound out the proposal. The Title I coordinator does the technical work of determining exactly how much money each propram will cost, what equipment will be needed, and how many people will be hired. But the Local Advisory Committee will set the goals and then propose the specific ways they want to reach these goals.

---

*Low income means under $2000 a year. This figure is given by HEW in Washington and is based on the 1960 census. The superintendent updates it by making a survey and also adding the number of foster home children. The state Title I office then takes this total number of low-income children and multiplies it by half the per pupil expenditure in the United States (½ of $) to get the maximum amount a school district is able to receive.

In setting these goals, the Local Advisory Committee is to keep in mind that the money by law must go to help "educationally deprived children." Educationally deprived children are those children

> "who are handicapped or whose needs for such special educational assistance result from poverty, neglect, delinquence, or cultural or linguistic isolation from the community at large."

Since almost all black schools in Mississippi are on lower educational levels than their companion white schools, the money should almost entirely be going to black children. These children are called target children.

§4. WHICH SCHOOLS GET TITLE I MONEY

It is important to know that the money is directed at target populations (target children) not to target schools. That means the money goes where the greatest concentrations of these children go. The money goes to only those schools (1) where there is a higher percentage of low-income children than the percentage for the entire district of (2) where the school has a larger number of low-income children than the average number of such children in all the schools in the district. Not all the children in these target schools are to be served; only those who are "educationally deprived."

Be on the lookout for the common practice of denying black children in tutoring, free eye glasses, medical examinations, or

free school lunches when they transfer to white schools.

Also be on the lookout for NON-eligible white children getting Title I benefits solely because eligible black children have enrolled in that particular white school. Extension of Title I benefits beyond eligible transfer students is illegal.

Finally, you should make certain that equipment bought with Title I money is not placed in non-target schools or used for mainly non-target children.

Many superintendents wrongly believe that Title I money can be spread out thinly and be used for general purposes. The project area must be restricted in size so that the project can be effective. It should not be tailored to meet the needs of an entire school system, an entire student body, or an entire grade. The whole idea of Title I is to concentrate federal money on a limited number of children whose needs are greatest and bring them up to the level of other children their age.

§5. WHAT TITLE I MONEY MAY BE USED FOR

There are two basic activities that Title I money may be used for--instructional projects and service projects. In order to have a service project, the school district must also have an instructional project. Title I funds, for example, cannot be used exclusively for guidance counseling and free lunches (service projects) when there is not also an instructional project. Instructional projects for educationally deprived children include the following categories:

Reading
Physical Education/Recreation
Business Education/Office Occupations
Cultural Enrichment--General
English Language Arts
Foreign Languages
Home Economics
Art
Industrial Arts
Kindergarten
Mathematics
Music
Pre-Kindergarten
Science

Work Study
Speech Therapy
Special Education for the Handicapped
Vocational
Reduction of Class size/ Additional Teaching Staff
Teacher Aides and Other Subprofessional help

Service projects for educationally deprived children include the following categories:

Food-Breakfast
Food-Lunch
Food-Other
Clothing
Waiver of Fees for Books, Supplies and Materials
Health
Psychiatric Services
School Social Work (Including Home-School Visiting)
Attendance Services

Guidance and Counseling
Library ervices
Curriculum Materials Center
Tutoring/After School Study Center
Guidance and Counseling
Related Services for Parents
In-Service Training for Staff Personnel
Pre-Service Training for Staff Personnel

The basic problem is that there are no guidelines to determine just what Title I funds may be used for. The school superintendent has almost unlimited discretion. His only limitations are (1) that the money go to "educationally deprived" children and (2) that it go where the need is the greatest.

§6. WHAT TITLE I MONEY MAY NOT BE USED FOR

A. Title I funds may not be used for direct salary increases. A regular full-time employee of the school system may receive additional money under Title I only by devoting extra hours such as nighttime or Saturday teaching. These extra hours must be documented. Title I money cannot be used to pay superintendents or principals so they can work on a twelve-month contract instead of only during the school year. (Anyone hired as a full-time Title I teacher or administrator, of course, would have all of his salary paid by Title I funds. But anyone hired as a Title I employee must work full-time in Title I and not work in the general school program). Title I money cannot pay salaries of administrative staff who would have been paid by the State anyway if there were not a Title I program.

B. Title I funds may not go to overhead costs such as heating, janitor supplies, and building maintenance unless this can be directly traced to projects benefiting the most urgent needs of educationally deprived children.

C. Title I money may not be used to supplant state and local money. It is supplementary only. It may not be used to pay for costs which should be borne by the local school budget. (See Appendix D). The best way to detect this misuse of funds is by looking in the narrative section of the project application form and by questioning individual school principals. Title I money, for example, should not be used to paint the rooms, repair the buildings, or buy bathroom supplies since these items should be

taken care of by the regular school budget as they are in the white schools.

D. Title I money may not be used to supplant other Federal programs money such as the school lunch programs under the Department of Agriculture. A superintendent may not take away money from a school lunch program and replace it with Title I money to support the program. Neither can he discriminate and give school lunch program money only to certain schools and then use Title I money to give the other schools a comparable school lunch program.

E. Title I money is not to be used for construction of school buildings unless this construction is demonstrated as being essential in order to assure the success of a program or project. The reason for this is that the money is supposed to benefit educationally deprived children now. When a building is built or a mobile caassroom is bought, there is no way of knowing how it will be used in the future. It could very well be used for a purpose not contemplated by Title I. In addition, construction costs are great and would take up a sizable portion of the grant. This diminishes the effectiveness of other programs for educationally deprived children by draining money out of them. Since the money is first to go where the need is greatest, construction should be questioned as the best use of the Title I money. Title I funds, if used for construction, cannot be used to maintain segregation. For example, where there is adequate space for black pupils to be assigned to white schools, Title I funds cannot be used to build additions or mobile classrooms for the black schools to overcome crowded conditions there.

F. Title I money is not to go to imprudent, extravagant, or wasteful expenditures such as landscaping, paving, air conditioners, or elaborate audio-visual which is not used.

G. Title I funds are not to be used to equalize the schools, (See Appendix D.) Black school facilities, food services, and transportation must be brought up to the same level as that of their companion, white schools with state and county money. Title I funds are supplementary and are only to be used to boost the levels of education and services in schools attended by high concentrations of low-income children after such equalization by state and county funds has occurred. The way to detect this improper use of Title I funds is to ask the school superintendent, visit each black school and each white school in the district and to examine the school buildings themselves.

H. Title I money cannot be used in any way to support private segregationist schools and homes for the neglected that are located in the school district.

I. Title I money is not to go for general or district-wide purposes. For example, Title I cannot be used to hire a remedial reading teacher who serves all schools or to buy lawn-mowing equipment to be used at all schools.

J. Title I money cannot be used to maintain segregation, Money cannot be used in black schools to build additions, add mobile classrooms, or otherwise increase their capacity when black children could be assigned to less crowded nearby white schools. It cannot be used to have all-black pre-school remedial, or summer school programs especially if others are offered to whites by state funds or on a tuition basis.

K. Title I funds cannot be spent to transfer black teachers from the regular state payroll to a temporary Title I payroll unless the teachers signigicantly change their job and do

different daily functions than they did before. Title I should not be used in such a way as to demote black teachers.

L. There are many other improper uses of Title I funds which you can detect by common sense.

(1) Title I funds may not be used for discrimination in hiring Title I employees. Title I secretaries, clerks and coordinators should not be all-white where blacks could be hired.

(2) Title I funds may not be used to pu curriculum supply centers nearby white schools when the black schools are the ones that are to be benefited.

(3) Title I funds cannot be used for things unrelated to project purposes such as a sewage disposal system financed under the guise of improving health and recreation.

(4) Title I funds cannot be used to buy biases textbooks, films, or library books for black pupils.

J7 HOW TO FIND OUT HOW TITLE I MONEY IS SPENT IN YOUR SCHOOL DISTRICT

The school superintendent and his Title I coordinator, if there is one, have all the information in their files. You should approach the local Title I coordinator first since he is more likely to be helpful. In some instances he may even be eager to tell you about the program. You approach him by saying that you have contacted to participate in a nationwide survey for your comments on the effectiveness of Title I projects. (Attached are questioms you will want to ask him). A little praise may go a long way. Ask to go on a tour of the schools for comparison. After you have done all this, then ask to see the files. It is improtant that you look through the files because you cannot otherwise find out in detail how the money was spent and whether

the information by hand. The Office of Education in Washington has interpreted that to mean school officials must "provide reasonable access to those materials for purposes of copying, including total reproduction, such as xeroxing, at the citizen's expense." (See Appendix C). You will need to spemd a lot of time examining the files because the way the information is listed will require you to refer back and forth through several documents for each project.

§8. WHAT YOU WILL FIND IN THE FILES

You will want to examine the files systematically and start from the most recent year and work backward. There are certain documents in the files which are most revealing:

Project Application Form

This is the key document in the files. Although the application form varies from year to year, the forms for 1967-68, and 1969-70 school years are similar.

The best parts to turn to are the budget analysis (which lists exactly how much money is to be spent on what) and the planning attachment which describes the project in narrative form and justifies its need. For earlier years the form was divided into basic data part and a project part. The basic data part is most useful to get comparative data on waht things were like before Title I came along. It provides a fertile source for documenting how Title I funds were used to equalize the schools when thes should have been done with state and local funds instead. The project part identifies the individual project and breaks down the expenditures.

Budget Amendment Applications

Later on in the year each year more money is available and sometimes superintendents are unable to do with the original money what they wanted to do. These things call for budget amend-

PAGE (s) MISSING

ments. This is where you are more likely to find fringe items and extravagant expenditure requests.

Other Documents

There are also in the file Quarterly Reports, Project Completion Reports, Profile Evaluations, Statistical Reports, Local Advisory Committee Reports, letters of transfer, monthly Requests for Dispursement of Funds, and a few more things. They may prove helpful, depending on how deeply you intend to probe.

See Appendix F for two forms which you can put important Title I information on.

§9. LOCAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES

There must be maximum practical involvement of parents in Title I programs. Federal Program Guide #46 requires each school district to have a Local Advisory Committee as of July, 1968. (See Appendix E for a copy of this document). There is no requirement concerning the number of people on the committee, but at least 50% of the committee must be parents of disadvantaged children and representatives of the poor from local anti-poverty agencies. The functions of Local Advisory Committees are to:

(1) present the views of the parents
(2) recommend a general plan of where the money should go
(3) participate in developing the actual proposals
(4) write comments---pro and con---which are to be forwarded with the application
(5) hear complaints and suggestions
(6) participate in appraising the programs

That means the Local Advisory Committee is not to be a group of hand-picked by the superintendent to take a back seat

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

in policymaking and to rubber-stamp his proposals. This committee is to show promise of bringing about a high degree of parent participation. If the Local Advisory Committee fails to meet these standards, then you should ask that new people be placed on it or in the alternative, form your own Local Advisory Committee and seek recognition with the state Title I office by sending in your own recommendations and appraisals.

§10. COMPLAINTS

After you inspect the files, interview the Title I coordinator, and tour the schools, your group may be dissatisfied because Title I funds are in some cases not going to the children, or are going to the wrong children. You should draft a formal complaint in the form of a letter. All complaints should be thouroughly documented, if at all possible.

Complaints should be addressed to:

Dr. G.H. Johnston
Superintendent
State Department of Education
P.O. Box 771
Jackson, Mississippi

For complaints to be effective, courtesy copies must be sent to two federal officials in Washington,

Dr. James Allen
Commissioner of Education
U.S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Dr. Regina Goff
Assistant Commissioner
Office of the Programs
for the Disadvantaged
U.S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Please also send a courtesy copy to us at 538½ North Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi 39202.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Most complaints will concern (1) your not being able to inspect or copy the files, (2) the use of Title I money to take the place of state and local money in black schools and (3) the lack of parents being able to participate in planning proposals.

You should not just send your complaints directly to Washington because they will send it right back to the state. But you should also not just send your complaint to the state either. Unless the state knows you are also sending it to Washington, they may not do anything about it. So send it to both places.

When a complaint is received by the state, the state superintendent should direct your superintendent to hold a public hearing and answer the complaint. Your superintendent's answer and a report of the hearing will then be sent back to the state and then to Washington and eventually forwarded to you. If the answer is unsatisfactory or the hearing is a whitewawh, you should write to Washington directly and also notify us. (A sample complaint is included in Appendix A).

Your group will also want to attend a monthly school board meeting. Ask the Board of Trustees to justify things which you do not believe are right. Be prepared to offer better ways the money could be spent. This will cause them to stop taking you for granted.

§11. ENFORCEMENT PROCEDURES

There are many enforcement procedures but they have not been used because few people know about them and because of politics. The state Title I office is not supposed to approve a project unless it meets the requirements of the law. R. 116.34(a). The state Title I office is supposed to require the local superintendent to carry out the project in a way which will not preserve racial segregation. R. 116.34(c).

The state Title I office is supposed to send to Washington any complaints, a summary of hearings held, and a statement of how the problem was finally settled. R. 116.32(g). It is the responsibility of the state Title I office to settle all complaints. R. 116.32(g). Washington cannot do much other than hold a hearing and cut off Title I funds for the entire state. Cutting off funds for the entire state is drastic and probably would never be done. They have been able to send federal review teams of two to some 20 counties im Mississippi to conduct an investigation. If, after your superintendent conducts the hearings you requested, things have not changed and your group cannot cause things to be corrected, you will want to ask for a federal review team to visit your school district. You should make this request to Dr. James Allen, Commissioner of Education, 400 Maryland Avenue, S.W., Washington, D. C. 20202.

§12. TITLE I AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The 1964 Civil Rights Act (Title VI) outlaws racial discrimination in any program getting money from the federal government. HEW has issued "Guidelines" to enforce this and tp make sure that federal money (like Title I money) will not go to segregated school systems.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS UNDER A COURT ORDER TO DESEGREGATE are automatically eligible to receive Title I money.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS UNDER H.E.W. PLANS OF DESEGREGATION may be cut off from title I funds if they don't desegregate enough according to the "Guidelines." First, they are put on "deferred status" which means the HEW held a hearing and decided that the school district was not complying with the "Guidelines." That puts the school district on notice that

its Title I money can be cut off. No new Title I projects can be started or old ones expanded. Old projects can only continue at the same level. If the school district does not desegregate more, then Title I funds will eventually (1-3 years) be cut off.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS UNDER NO PLAN OF DESEGREGATION are not able to get Title I money. These school districts are ones who decided they would rather deny their children of thousands of federal dollars than desegregate their school system. Parent groups in these school districts are urged to consult civil rights lawyers or the Justice Department for help.

SAMPLE COMPLAINT

Dr. G.H. Johnston
Superintendent
State Department of Education
P.O. Box 771
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

Dear Superintendent Johnston:

I am a member of the black community of Jonesville, Mississippi. I write this letter as secretary of the Committee for Better Education, a group of poverty-level parents who are concerned about the education of our children. We believe thousands of dollars of Title I money are being misused in our school district.

The Jonesville School District consists of three black schools and two white schools serving 2300 pupils, the majority of whom are black. Although we have a Title I coordinator, the project is run by Superintendent Joe Blow.

On May 10, 1969, we visited Superintendent Blow to see the terms and provisions of the Title I projects in our schools. He let us look at the application form for 1968-69 but would not let us get a copy. He refused to let us look in the files

or examine past applications. He was tight-lipped about projects for this fall. When we asked to see the list of Local Advisory Committee members and the minutes of their meetings, he told us they were not available and were confidential.

The Local Advisory Committee was hand-picked and does not represent the parents of the target children. We were told it only met once and no parents, even the ones on the committee, were there.

No CAP agencies or anti-poverty groups were contacted for suggestions and coordination of efforts, even though they were supposed to have been. No one bothered to talk with MAP or Delta Opportunities Center.

Title I money is not being spent where the need is greatest. Last year it was used to buy $12,000 worth of band uniforms and $3,647 of language laboratory equipment at Lincoln High School. That same money should go to provide more free lunches for hungry children at Carver Elementary.

Under freedom of choice, many black children transferred to the white school. They received free school lunches in the black school under Title I but not in the white school. This practice discourages desegregation.

Also $68,000 of Title I money was used in 1967 to pay for six mobile classrooms at Carver Elementary when there was space at Jefferson Davis Elementary, the white school for the children.

In addition, $1,742 was spent in 1966 to buy supplies for non-eligible white children at Jefferson Davis Elementary solely because some black children transferred there.

All thur of the administrative people hired under Title I are white. Black people could have been hired. The guidance counselor that was hired under Title I for our black schools has her office in the white Jefferson Davis High School and spends most of her time there.

Title I funds are being used to bring the black schools

up to the same level as the white schools when state money should be doing this. Over $2,300 was used in the summer of 1968 to pay for repairs at Linclon High School such as painting and light fixtures. The white school has a janitor of its own paid under state funds. All the janitors at the black schools are paid out of Title I money.

Under these circumstances, we want you to direct Superintendent Blow to immediately hold a public hearing on these issues. A hearing will do no good unless all the parents of target children are invited, too. Please advise us of what corrective measures you, as State Superintendent, also plan to take. The seriousness of this matter requires your immediate response.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Lula Mae Springer
Secretary
Committee for Better Education
1754 Freedom Lane
Jonestown, Mississippi

cc: Dr. Regina Goff
Assistant Commissioner
Office of the Programs
for the Disadvantaged
U.S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Dr. James Allen
Commissioner of Educsaion
U.S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D. C. 20202

APPENDIX A

·e to time to enable
uties under Title I
ports shall include
llegations of sub-
nade by local edu-
rivate individuals
tions by State or
ncies contrary to
I of the Act or the
rt, a summary of
stigations made or
spect to those al-
nent of the disposi-
cational agency of
is recognized that
th respect to the
tters rests, in the
State educational

n by a State ed-
contain an assur-
such records, and
ner such access
ind necessary to
of the reports re-
the adequacy of
d the accounting
o the States.

State attorney

rticipation by a
m under Title I
pplication for a
prove programs
ory children of
orkers, shall in-
State attorney
late State legal
he agency sub-
as the authority
orm the duties
te educational
he Act and the
including those
es given in the

local educational

s in which the
mmissioner with
um amount of
ounty aggregate
tate educational
h county aggre-
mong the local
in the counties
ria as the State
pply in accord-
6.6.
ational agency
Commissioner
unty aggregate
the several local

educational agencies in each county and the criteria on which such allocations were based.

(PARAGRAPH (c) AMENDED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17790)

(c) The State educational agency shall advise the Commissioner of the amounts needed to fund those applications by local educational agencies for grants which are approved by the State educational agency, together with appropriate information concerning each of the projects covered by such applications, and of the additional amount not in excess of (1) one percent of the maximum grants to State and local educational agencies of the State as adjusted pursuant to § 116.9 or (2) $150,000 (or $25,000 in the case of Puerto Rico, Wake Island, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands), whichever is greater, which is required by the State educational agency for administration and for technical assistance to local educational agencies with respect to the measurement of educational achievement and evaluation of programs called for by § 116.22.

§ 116.34 Approval of applications from local educational agencies.

(a) The State educational agency shall review all applications by local educational agencies (including State agencies directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children) in the State for grants under Title I of the Act to determine whether such applications meet the requirements of the Act and the regulations in subpart C of this part. The State educational agency shall not approve such an application unless it determines that the application does effectively meet the requirements of the Act and the regulations in subpart C of this part and that the State educational agency is able to give the Commissioner the assurances with respect to that application which are required by the regulations in this subpart. The State educational agency shall not approve an application by a local educational agency which, together with other approved applications by that agency, exceeds the amount available for grants to that agency.

(b) The State educational agency may approve an application in part or for less funds than is called for by the application only if such an approval does not have the effect of altering the project to such an extent that it no longer provides reasonable promise of substantial progress toward meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.

(c) The State educational agency shall not finally disapprove any application in whole or in part without first affording the local educational agency submitting the application reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing with respect to such action.

(d) The terms and provisions of each approved project shall be made available, by the State educational agency, and by the affected local educational agency or agencies, for public inspection.

§§ 116.35–116.40 [Reserved]

Subpart E—Payments

§ 116.41 Payments to States.

(a) The maximum amount of all payments which may be made to a State for grants under Title I of the Act is the aggregate of the maximum eligibilities of all State and local educational agencies of the State for grants and the maximum eligibility of the State educational agency for administration and technical assistance with respect to the measurement of educational achievement and evaluation of projects, as that aggregate is adjusted pursuant to § 116.9.

(b) The Commissioner will, during the fiscal year, pay to each State an amount which is equal to the aggregate amount for which projects of State and local educational agencies are approved by the State educational agency or by the Commissioner, plus such amount as the State educational agency is entitled to and expends for such administration and technical assistance. The Commissioner may make advances to each State submitting an application for participation in the program under Title I of the Act and requesting such an advance.

(c) Until such time as the Commissioner has finally determined the maximum eligibilities for grants of all State and local educational agencies in all the States, he will make a tentative ratable reduction in the amounts payable to States and will further limit such amounts in order for him to be in a position to make such final ratable reductions as may be necessitated by the amount of the available appropriations.

(d) Each local educational agency receiving a distribution of grants for approved programs and projects shall, at the end of the period for which expenditures of such grants are authorized, release to the State educational agency any unexpended balances of such grants. The State educational agency shall re-

port to the Com
such unexpend
unexpended b
State educatio
ministration
and all such u
be taken into
sioner in maki
thereafter.

**§ 116.42 Obli
priations.**

(PARAGRAPHS (
NOVEMBER 28,

(a) The not
sioner to State
the Departmen
amounts made
those agencies
the Interior wi
ing the Govern
in the amoun
propriations
available for
§ 116.46.

(b) The not
sioner to Stat
the amounts a
for administra
ance with res
of educational
tion of progra
provisions of
of the Act will
the Governme
Federal appro
remain availa
in § 116.46.

(c) The a
sioner of ap
tional agenci
proving progr
dren of migr
will be regar
ernment of t
amounts app
Federal appr
remain avail
educational
§ 116.46.

**§ 116.43 Di
educatio**

(a) Subjec
§ 116.45, the
each State p
under Title I
to eligible S
agencies the
State educat
missioner for
such State an
approved by t
or the Comm
year for wh
tions are ma

APPENDIX B

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

Bureau of Elementary and
Secondary Education

RECEIVED JUN 25 1969

Mrs. Ruby Martin
Washington Research Project
1823 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mrs. Martin:

This is in response to your telegram of June 23, 1969, requesting clarification of the rights of access to Title I project information at the State and local level, with particular reference to the citizen's right to reproduce copies of Title I documents at his own expense.

A State and local educational agency in making the terms and provisions of each approved project available for public inspection is also expected to provide reasonable access to those materials for purposes of copying, including total reproduction, such as xeroxing, at the citizen's expense.

A copy of this letter is being sent to Mr. Darnelly Brabham, Coordinator of Title I, ESEA, State Department of Education, Rutledge Building, Room 201, Columbia, South Carolina 29201, for his reference in connection with your request for information on local Title I projects on file in the South Carolina State Department of Education.

Sincerely yours,

John F. Hughes, Director
Division of Compensatory Education

cc: Mr. Brabham

APPENDIX C

(PARAGRAPH (h) REVISED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17789)

(h) Each application for a grant under Title I of the Act for educationally deprived children residing in a project area shall contain an assurance that the use of the grant funds will not result in a decrease in the use for educationally deprived children residing in that project area of State or local funds which, in the absence of funds under Title I of the Act, would be made available for that project area and that neither the project area nor the educationally deprived children residing therein will otherwise be penalized in the application of State and local funds because of such a use of funds under Title I of the Act. For the purposes of this paragraph, the failure to use State or local funds to provide to a project area or to children residing therein services comparable to those services which have been, or are to be, generally provided to other areas or children will be deemed to constitute a penalization of that project area or of those children. No project under Title I of the Act will be deemed to have been designed to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children unless the funds made available for that project are to be used to supplement, and not supplant, State or local funds.

(i) No application for a project grant under Title I of the Act may cover the construction of school facilities unless such construction is demonstrated as being essential in order to assure the success of a program or project under Title I of the Act. If the construction of school facilities is so demonstrated as being essential for a program or project, the application must nevertheless comply with other requirements of Title I of the Act and the regulations in this part, such as the requirements in § 116.21 in regard to labor standards and overall State construction planning and, in relation to the overall program, the requirements in § 116.19 in regard to participation by children enrolled in private schools.

(j) A project by a State agency directly responsible for providing free public education for handicapped children or for children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children may include the acquisition of equipment and, in the case of schools owned by that State or a public agency of that State, the construction of school facilities. Each project of such a State agency shall be designed to meet the special educational needs of children attending schools operated or supported by that State agency.

(PARAGRAPH (k) REVISED NOVEMBER 28, 1968, 33, F.R. 17789)

(k) An application by a State educational agency to the Commissioner for a grant under Title I of the Act for the education of migratory children of migratory agricultural workers shall describe a program designed to meet the special educational needs of such migratory children. The application shall describe the individual projects that are contemplated and identify the local educational agencies, if any, through which the projects will be carried out, which application shall be in sufficient detail to enable the Commissioner to determine whether he will exercise his authority to make special arrangements pursuant to section 105(c)(2) in Title I of the Act. Within the total of the grants made available for the program, the program covered by an approved application may, without altering the essential nature of the program, be modified from time to time to reflect changing conditions. The State educational agency shall notify the Commissioner of any such modifications.

(l) An application by the Department of the Interior to the Commissioner for payments to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children on reservations serviced by elementary and secondary schools operated for Indian children by that Department shall describe a program or individual projects designed to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children who attend such schools or who are eligible to attend such schools or to participate in preschool programs of that Department. The program shall include a provision for grants to local educational agencies with respect to out-of-State Indian children in the elementary or secondary schools of such agencies under special contracts with the Department of the Interior, which grants shall not exceed, for each such child one-half the average per pupil expenditure in the State in which the agency is located. The application shall describe the overall program under Title I of the Act of the Department of the Interior which will administer the program to Indian children on the basis of its determination of their special educational needs. An application by the Department of the Interior will be approved by the Commissioner upon his determination that the program in that application complies with the applicable requirements of Title I of the Act and the regulations in this part. Individual projects to carry out the approved program of the Department of the Interior will be implemented by that Department in a manner consistent with such requirements. The Department of the Interior will advise the Commissioner

as to the mar
gram is beinr
description of

(PARAGRAPH
1968, 33,

(m) An ap
involves the
include evid
tional agenc
vide, a coord
training of th
staff whom t

§ 116.18 S
projects

(a) Each
cal educatio
than one fo
propose pro
and quality
of substant
the needs
children for
tended. Th
tional agen
ture of at
amount as r
tional ager
that it woul
sons such
travel, for
tively with
cies for the
lar requiren
ect shall a
or wasteful
tend to def
meet the s
educational
project app
posed expe
expenditure
comparable

(b) Each
(other than
or for paym
Interior sh
the special
cationally
be eligible
I of the Ac
the assessm
plication.
grant shall
project in
cational r
that the pr
planned to
the project
its imple
manner.

(c) A jo
by two o
agencies fo
project (in
to be carrie

APPENDIX D

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

ESEA Title I Program Guide #46
DCE/P&P

July 2, 1968

TO : Chief State School Officers

FROM : Harold Howe II HH
U.S. Commissioner of Education

SUBJECT: Community and Parent Involvement in Title I, ESEA, Programs

Item 2.1 of the revised criteria for the approval of Title I, ESEA, applications requires a finding that:

2.1 The priority needs of educationally deprived children in the eligible attendance areas (target populations) were determined in consultation with teachers, parents, private school authorities and representatives of other agencies which have a genuine and continuing interest in such children. The evidence of need and the bases for the assignment of priorities have been documented.
Authority: 20 USC 241e (a)(1)

The criteria also require, as indicated in item 3.1 and the discussion following that item, that the same groups, agencies, parents and others be involved in a comprehensive analysis of the resources available to meet those needs and in the development of a comprehensive compensatory educational program for the coordinated use of Title I funds and of the resources from other programs and agencies.

To carry out effectively the intent of these criteria, each Title I applicant must have an appropriate organizational arrangement. This means, in effect, that local advisory committees will need to be established for the planning, operation, and appraisal of a comprehensive compensatory educational program.

I. Composition of the Local Advisory Committee

A. It is suggested that at least 50 percent of the membership of the committee consist of parents of disadvantaged children attending schools serving the area where projects will be conducted, representatives of the poor from the Community Action Agency and parent members of the Head Start advisory committee, if there is a Head Start project in the community, and representatives of other neighborhood-based organizations which have a particular interest in the compensatory educational program.

APPENDIX E

B. The committee should also include school staff members representing the regular and special programs to be offered in the project areas, representatives of private schools, and leaders of other agencies and organizations. Where model cities or neighborhood service center projects are being planned, representatives from those projects should also be included on the advisory committee for the comprehensive compensatory educational program.

II. Principal Functions

The local advisory committee should have specific functions, such as:

A. Supply information concerning the views of parents and children about unmet educational needs in the Title I project areas and establish priorities among these needs.

B. Recommend a general plan for the concentration of funds in specific schools and grade levels.

C. Participate in the development of proposals which are particularly adapted to bridging the gap between the needs of the pupils and the curriculum of the school.

D. Make written concurring or dissenting comments to be forwarded with the application.

E. Act as a hearing committee for suggestions to improve the compensatory educational program.

F. Hear complaints about the program and make recommendations for its improvement.

G. Participate in appraisals of the program.

Each State educational agency should be prepared to assist local educational agencies in achieving full community involvement in the development and implementation of the local compensatory educational program. In this connection, please note that the new application form in Section II-A provides opportunities for LEA's to outline their comprehensive planning activities, including the involvement of other programs and agencies. Applicants should also outline the activities that they carried on through their local advisory committees and describe the membership of those committees.

Some States have already established requirements or developed guidelines or handbooks for community involvement. We would be interested in receiving copies of any such materials you may have circulated and also

descriptions of specific local activities designed to bring about community involvement in the development of compensatory educational programs in your State.

Advisory committees, of course, present only limited opportunities for parental participation. Careful attention in the appraisal of a Title I program should also be given to item 5.4 of the criteria:

> The Title I program includes appropriate activities or services in which parents will be involved.
>
> Authority: 20 USC 241e (a)(1)

The proposed activities or services for parents to be provided at the school or neighborhood level should show promise of bringing about a high degree of participation and cooperation in support of the specific compensatory educational activities being provided for their children.

cc: State Title I Coordinators, ESEA

GENERAL FORM

SCHOOL YEAR_____ AMOUNT OF GRANT_____

SCHOOL DISTRICT_____

TITLE I COORDINATOR_____

SUPERINTENDENT_____

_____

District-wide % of low-income children_____

Average number of low-income children per school_____

No. of children in district black_____ white_____

No. of children participating
in Title I activities _____ _____

_____

Project budget comments:

Administration_____

_____

Health services_____

_____

Pupil transportation_____

_____

Operation of Plant_____

_____

Food Services_____

_____

Remodeling_____

_____

Equipment (other than that to individual schools)_____

_____

_____

Construction_____

_____

_____

Comment on Local Advisory Committee and extent of community participation_____

Comment on priorities (is the money going where the need is greatest?)

APPENDIX F

SCHOOL FORM (One for each target school)

SCHOOL YEAR_____ AMOUNT GIVEN TO SCHOOL_____
SCHOOL NAME_____
PRINCIPAL_____
SCHOOL DISTRICT_____

% of low-income children_____
Enrollment of low-income children_____
No. of children actually participating in Title I_____

List Below things that should have been bought with state and local money. Compare this with how they pay for things in non-target white schools. State instances where Title I money is being used (instead of state and local money) to equalize the schools.

List below instances where Title I money has been used to maintain segregation.

List below equipment bought with Title I money and used in non-target schools. List Title I employees who provide services for all schools including non-target schools.

Searching for Hyphenated Americans

W-S-J 4/13/72

By CHRISTOPHER G. TRUMP

All of us can agree that it is wrong to deny a person a job on account of his or her racial or ethnic background. The question is: How can this concept, which is also a matter of law, be made to work?

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare believes it has found the answer. In a massive assault on American institutions of higher learning, HEW is demanding an "affirmative action" program, without specifying exactly what that means, under pain of excommunication from all federal funds.

Universities are in effect being asked to prove their innocence, which is, of course, infinitely more difficult to prove than guilt. An absence of overt or suspected discrimination claims is not an acceptable affirmative action, nor is a solemn oath of good faith on the part of the university administration.

According to J. Stanley Pottinger, director of HEW's Office for Civil Rights, federal funds will be withheld if a university fails to develop goals "to increase the number of minority members and women in faculty and staff positions."

Lest there be any confusion as to what is meant by goals, Mr. Pottinger helpfully adds: "Goals are not quotas. . . . Goals are targets to aim for." So much for the basic philosophy. In fact, the goals appear to be dependent on an exercise in quantification that boggles the imagination.

A Freezing of Funds

Three times within the past 30 months Columbia University's affirmative action program has been rejected by HEW, with a resulting freeze of some $13 million in federal grants. The problem was less in an enunciation of goals than in a gathering of data from which HEW could deduce whether Columbia discriminated against, among others, minority groups—the "protected classes," in the latest HEW jargon.

The first problem in seeking out such data is quite basic to the operation: Which Americans belong to a protected class? Columbia, for example, lists four protected classes: Black-Negro, Oriental, American Indian, Spanish-surnamed American.

On the other hand, Brooklyn College listed five classes in the fall of 1971; American Indian, Black, Indian (Asian), Oriental, Puerto Rican. Three months later Indian (Asian) was removed from the list, to be replaced by Italian American.

In an article, "Quotas by Any Other Name," (Commentary, January 1972), Earl Raab cited seven classes in the San Francisco area schools: Negro/Black, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, American Indian, Filipino, Spanish-speaking/Spanish-surname.

All three listings have one further category: white and other.

In short, one's annointment as a hyphenated American in a protected class appears to depend upon institutional whim and geographical location.

The second problem is mainly tactical: How can a candid and accurate survey be taken, when most states have made it a matter of law that a person's race or ethnic background is his or her own business? New York law, for example, prohibits any oral or written inquiry into a person's racial, ethnic or religious background.

William Miles, a spokesman for the state's Division of Human Rights, stated that his office would take a dim view of any direct survey or printed questionnaire to meet the data requirements of HEW.

Columbia University conducted a shadowy census of its 10,000 employes last November by appointing "census reporters" in each of its divisions. These reporters were to make ethnic identifications "based upon the reporter's general knowledge and observation of the employe." In the case of applicants for a job—and HEW demands all applicants also be classified, whether subsequently employed or not—the reporter is asked to "conduct a *visual survey* of the new personnel."

Since such an attempt at armchair anthropology is subject to mistaken identity, the directive helpfully suggests that the "employe may be included in the minority group to which he or she appears to belong or is regarded in the community as belonging." Under no circumstance, however, is the individual to know that he or she is being so assayed.

The ethnic guessing game adds a new dimension to review of applications and employment interviews. In the case of blacks, skin color would probably be the principal consideration. What about Orientals? Is it skin color, facial features, possibly the spelling of the name—perhaps a combination of all three? The American Indian class is a bit more difficult—we might mistakenly categorize an individual as an Oriental on the basis of facial features. The Spanish-surnamed American places the entire emphasis on a name, although an explanatory note in Columbia's directive states the person should be from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Spain or Latin America. But a name can be tricky: The national hero of Chile is a man named O'Higgins. Jim Plunkett, the professional football player, is Mexican-American. What about country of origin? Haitians are likely to have French surnames, while West Indians and Guyanans claim English heritage.

The mistaken identities are likely to be the exception, but ethnic identification ought to be beyond error.

Further, the whole process is fraught with peril. In a recent speech, Columbia's President William J. McGill said, "If we take one more step into the centralization of the hiring process, and we tell the faculty they must consider race and sex as criteria, this place will blow sky high."

'No Choice'

Brooklyn College, despite New York State law, has taken a more direct route in amassing its data. Its faculty and staff twice were asked to fill out detailed questionnaires, dealing in part with the individual's race and ethnic background. In a covering letter of Dec. 27, 1971, President John W. Kneller urged his colleagues to submit the data since "considerable sums which the university receives from the federal government are in jeopardy." He concluded, "At this stage of the game, we have no choice but to perform this task as quickly and expeditiously as possible."

Not so, wrote Belle Zeller, chairman of the Legislative Conference of the City University of New York, the collective-bargaining agent for more than 8,000 full-time faculty members: "I feel we have no recourse other than to disregard requests to complete this questionnaire. It should remain exactly as it was received—blank."

Prof. Zeller states she is unalterably opposed to discriminatory practices and that the conference "is vigorously pursuing all cases of discrimination that come to its attention. However, I am firmly convinced that the use of questionnaires . . . is a serious danger to the entire college community and most of all to those very individuals, already suffering from discrimination, whom the survey purports to serve."

Brave words. But the blunt truth is that HEW's contract compliance division is simply not interested in whether universities vigorously pursue "all cases of discrimination." Remember, innocence must be proved. This means data, data and still more statistics. Simply put, a government bureaucracy seems constitutionally unable to rationalize its mission except by quantification.

Racism and ethnic classification are risky enterprises, particularly when institutionalized by government. The objective is always lofty. But for more than a century American Indians were a "protected class" as wards of a federal bureaucracy. The abysmal record of that exercise speaks for itself.

The chief peril in seeking to end discrimination by the numbers is that it is unlikely to achieve the basic objective: a change in attitude on the part of those doing the hiring in academia. There can be no question that the clubby, "old boy" method of selecting faculty and administrators from the same, traditional social and ethnic stratum is beyond redemp-

The chief peril in seeking to end discrimination by the numbers is that it is unlikely to achieve the basic objective: a change in attitude on the part of those doing the hiring in academia. There can be no question that the clubby, "old boy" method of selecting faculty and administrators from the same, traditional social and ethnic stratum is beyond redemption. Yet, as Harvard University's Nathan Glazer wrote, can the implied stigma of minority group membership be overcome if it "is deemed a permanent disability, requiring a lower level of job achievement?"

Supine Administrators

At this juncture university administrators have assumed a supine posture vis a vis HEW. For one thing no one wants to appear to be against wiping out discrimination. For another, federal funds are crucial to their survival (almost half Columbia's budget is comprised of government funds).

But look at it another way. *Dispensing* these funds is also vital to the federal bureaucracies that grant them. Might not HEW, in a concerted action by all universities, be persuaded to stop the weaseling?

If the search for the hyphenated American in academia is an overriding national concern let HEW draw up a uniform compilation of all the ethnic groups it seeks to protect. Then let it formulate a standard application form for all jobs in institutions of higher education—one that spells out exactly what the government is after, be it race, national origin, sex, religion or physical appearance.

Granted that in the past such an overt inquiry would have been viewed as an invitation to discrimination. Granted, again, that there may be those—both among the unprotected as well as the protected—who will object because for more than a generation we have come to eschew such nosiness in employment applications.

But no matter. If affirmative action is that important then it should be clearly defined. The goals or quotas should be promulgated to all faculty, staff and prospective employes, not on an institutional basis, but on a national scale ordained by HEW. Then, if that is still possible, universities might hope to get on with an employment policy that has always made sense: Hiring and advancement based on skill, preparation and potential for the position in question.

Mr. Trump is assistant dean of Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism.

Managing

Judge Denies Move To Delay Integration In Detroit Schools

5/10/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

DETROIT—A federal judge here denied a Justice Department request to delay deciding the city's school desegregation case until Congress acts on President Nixon's plan for a moratorium on court-ordered busing.

Judge Stephen J. Roth, who has ruled that the city's school system is unlawfully segregated, rejected the government request on the ground the Detroit case doesn't match the conditions for governmetn intervention specified in the civil rights law.

He also denied a motion that would have allowed Justice Department intervention, though he did rule that the government may file a "friend of the court" brief stating its views.

The Justice Department's Detroit request, filed in late March, was the first of a number of such motions filed in school integration cases after Mr. Nixon announced his moratorium plan.

Judge Roth initially refused to grant the motions immediately, scheduling a hearing on the government request and proceeding with hearings to consider possible integration plans, some involving massive cross-district busing. Those hearings have ended and the judge is expected to order a Detroit integration plan soon.

Dixie School Integration Gains Imperiled By Laxity, Official Bias, Rights Bloc Says

5/24/72

By NEIL MAXWELL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ATLANTA—A coalition of civil rights organizations charged that many gains made in integrating Dixie schools in the 18 years since the Supreme Court outlawed segregation are in danger of being lost.

Their report blames several factors, such as the "negative" leadership of the President of the U.S., "inactivity and even opposition" of federal agencies and lack of diligence by civil rights organizations, including one that helped write the report.

It contends that at least a dozen major Southern districts—Birmingham, Ala., Beaumont, Texas, and New Orleans among them—are operating under desegregation plans that are "shockingly inadequate." Other urban districts, it charges, are eroding desegregation gains by such tactics as building new schools in segregated neighborhoods, allowing whites to transfer from heavily black schools, and by discouraging black leadership by heavy suspensions for offenses that were treated more lightly in the days of segregation.

But it also congratulates some Southern cities, some of them the scenes of racial atrocities in years past, for deciding to end dual schools and taking purposeful strides toward that goal. Among them: Jackson, Miss., Orangeburg, S.C., Greensboro, N.C., and Tampa.

In citing those cities, the report says that the striking difference between them and others where meaningful integration is an obvious failure is leadership. And the difference is that leaders in those communities "are trying with imagination and effort to make equality of educational opportunity a reality."

Atlanta and Birmingham

Atlanta is noted as a city where integration moves have halted but desegregation still has a long way to go. Eleven years after schools were first integrated and nearly a year after the courts ruled the system officially and fully integrated, investigators found that 47 of the 162 schools are all black, while one remains all white. Another 29 are more than 98.5% black and another 26 are more than 90% white.

In Birmingham, Ala., an investigator found that of 89 schools, 18 are all black, 13 are all white, 14 others are more than 90% black and six others more than 90% white. He also found two new schools opening this year, both all white, and a new high school under construction, which he reported will be all black.

The report was sharply critical of a lack of court actions in recent years to change desegregation plans that clearly aren't working. It notes that freedom of choice is still practiced in Beaumont.

Seven years of freedom of choice have "produced a system of quasi-desegregation within which 68% of the black students in the district are still attending segregated, all-black schools," it says. (The problems with freedom of choice are that blacks who choose to attend white schools expose themselves and their families to harassment, and that hardly any, if any, whites choose to go to the black schools.)

In New Orleans, where efforts to desegregate the system date back to 1951, "the lack of legal initiatives over the past five years has lulled it into the comfortable acceptance of schools which are still highly segregated," the report says. It implies criticism of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, which helped with the case and also helped compile the report. In New York, the defense fund declined to comment.

There are other factors mentioned, such as a white flight to nearby school systems that are nearly all white and an easy transfer system that allows many students to switch from schools they don't want to attend.

The report says such situations, plus a south-wide rash of private schools, are responsible for the fact that "resegregation is an alarming fact of life in many school systems of the urban South." Further, it adds, "this trend has been aided by federal and local state action" because of housing programs that are forming newly segregated schools as they establish "new ghettoes."

Once inside of formerly segregated schools, many black students are running into some overwhelming problems that are a threat to the integration process, the report says. For example, it says, "because most school systems are using some means of grouping students according to 'ability,' a large number of black students are congregated in the lower academic groups of Southern urban schools. Our monitors found a large number of classes that are all black or all white or which are disproportionately of one race."

Intimidation of Blacks

One thing that would help, it says, would be for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to stop regarding a class as integrated if it has a single child of the opposite race in it. The system allows large numbers of blacks to be grouped together with only token white representation.

Another problem for blacks in white schools is intimidation by white security officers and the threat of expulsion, the report says. It says guards or police carrying truncheons or other weapons are frequently used to patrol halls in places such as Savannah and Macon, Ga., St. Petersburg, Fla., Baton Rouge and New Orleans. The recommendation: "Police should be removed from schools."

A sharp increase in suspensions also is seen as a problem. In St. Petersburg, they jumped from 5,500 in the 1969-70 school year to 8,200 the next, which was the first year of significant desegregation. This year, the estimate is 9,000 to 9,500.

At one integrated high school in Norfolk, Va., the report says, 96% of the students expelled are black, and in Columbia, S.C., 741 blacks and 267 whites were suspended in a recent three-month period.

"Suspensions and expulsions of students have become so widespread as to raise serious questions concerning the effectiveness of these methods to enforce discipline," the report says, adding that "a disproportionate percentage are black."

Information for the 130-page report was gathered by workers representing the American Friends Service committee, the Washington Research Project, the Southern Regional Council, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational fund, the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches and the Alabama Council on Human Relations. They visited 43 Southern urban school districts.

Showdown in Denver

School-Integration Case Could Decide How Far North's Cities Must Go

High Court May Tell Future Of Busing and Finally Rule On De Facto Segregation

6/15/72

Ironic Site for Confrontation

By RICHARD A. SHAFFER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DENVER—This mile-high city, proud of its racial harmony, promises to be the scene of the next major showdown in the civil rights movement, and one of its most ironic landmarks.

The Supreme Court later this year will focus on Denver in its first full-scale inquiry into segregated schooling outside the South. Many observers believe it will use the occasion finally to decide the important issue of how far the country must go in school desegregation.

"The time is ripe to look squarely at the major unanswered questions in school integration," says Alexander M. Bickel, professor of law at Yale University. "Denver is the best opportunity the court has to do that."

The case may also radiate other effects, including direction of how desegregation is to be achieved. Observers say that if anything short of a constitutional amendment can halt the expanding use of school buses for racial mixing, the Denver case is probably it. On the other hand, they add, if the Supreme Court demands more school integration here, increased busing to achieve racial balance probably would soon be ordered in most other major cities, North as well as South.

Impact Either Way

"No matter which way it goes, the Denver decision will have a national impact," says James Nabrit, an attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, which is participating in the case.

The big questions before the court are whether school segregation, regardless of its cause, is unconstitutional because of its harmful effects, and, if so, what must be done to uproot it.

The Supreme Court held in 1954 that Southern-style de jure segregation, imposed by Jim Crow laws, violates the 14th Amendment guarantee of "equal protection of the laws." It hasn't ruled on the legality of Northern-style de facto segregation, which, in its pure form, is accidental, the result of housing patterns. Of late, however, federal courts outside the old Confederacy have begun to doubt that there is really a difference between de facto and de jure segregation. Denver's is the first such case the Supreme Court has agreed to review, and some interested observers, such as Prof. Bickel, contend that "the mere fact that the court has accepted it probably means it is finally ready to rule on the de facto question."

An equally remarkable aspect of this case, however, is the irony of the site: Blacks, the main force behind the case, fare comparatively well in Denver. A case in point is education. Even in the city's poorest sectors, the average Negro has a high school education, or two years more than the nationwide average for

well in Denver. As city-wide points is cited. Even in the city's poorest sectors, the average Negro has a high school education, or two years more than the nationwide average for blacks and the highest level for poverty-area blacks in any of the nation's 25 largest cities. In addition, government figures show black schools here are less segregated than those in two-thirds of the nation's other largest school districts.

Many Federal Offices

The economic picture is similar. In 1969, for instance, the average Negro family income in Denver was about $7,300, compared with a national average for Negroes of about $6,000. According to a government survey of poverty areas, unemployment among poor blacks here is lower than in many (although not all) metropolitan areas. Denver's 11% rate compares favorably with 14% in Pittsburgh, 16% in Los Angeles and 13% in Detroit, although it's well above New York's 8.6% and Washington's rate of 4.4%.

One reason is that the federal government —a traditional path out of the ghetto—has more offices in Denver than in any city outside Washington, providing 24,488 jobs, an estimated 10% of them held by blacks.

The comfort of the Denver black, at least when compared to the plight of those of his race in most major cities, is evident to a visitor driving along Welton and 26th Streets in Five Points, one of the two major black communities here. Along well-paved streets, backdropped by the snow-capped Rocky Mountains, residents mow their lawns, prune flowering shrubs or paint the trim on their houses.

Home-ownership is high among Denver blacks, partly because open housing laws are more strongly enforced here than anywhere else in the country, according to a Ford Foundation report.

Not Heaven, Not Harlem

Denver has no skyscraping urban renewal projects, and its low-cost housing is spread throughout the city. As a result, its low-income areas bear scant resemblance to the decaying, rat-infested ghettoes of New York, Newark, Chicago and Cleveland. Even in Five Points, most people live in neat and clean single-family homes.

"Denver may not be heaven, but it's not Harlem either," comments Linwood Evans, a black attorney for the Legal Aid Society of Metropolitan Denver.

In fact, Denver blacks are neither the city's biggest minority, nor its most deprived. Negroes total 47,011, about 9% of the population, while Mexican-Americans, at 68,790, account for 13%. Although the average Spanish-surnamed family is more affluent than the average Negro family, the proportion of Mexican-Americans living in the slums has been rapidly increasing as the proportion of Negroes decreases. In 1967, the latest year for which figures are available, three of every four Mexican-Americans here lived in the ghetto, up from two of every three in 1960. Over the same period, the fraction of the Negro population living in the ghetto declined to 37% from 71%.

Education underscores this difference. By nearly every measure—achievement test scores, percentage of parents on welfare, neighborhood property values and rental—the

Please Turn to Page 31, Column 1

Showdown in Denver: Integration Case May Set Rules for the North

Continued From First Page

city's worst schools tend to be Mexican-American, not Negro. The dropout rate for Hispano students, 80%, is twice the rate for black students.

Clearly, however, most Mexican-Americans don't want integrated schooling. Less than one percent of the city's Hispano children are bused to white schools under the city's voluntary integration plan, one-seventh of the proportion of blacks participating. Apparently through their own efforts, the proportion of Mexican-American children attending predominately Mexican-American elementary schools climbed to 59% in 1971, from 53% five years earlier. And in recent local elections, the traditionally Democratic Spanish-speaking bloc has voted 4-to-1 for antibusing candidates supported by Republicans.

"Sending our children to Anglo (white) schools isn't the answer," explains Betty Salazar, a mother and consultant in the Denver Community Relations Commission. "We want them in classes where Spanish is spoken, so they can understand the teacher, and where our cultural heritage is respected and preserved."

Even some black leaders here who once regarded school integration as the most promising route to improved education for their children have changed their minds. "We no longer feel it's the solution to our problems," says James F. Reynolds, a black who is executive director of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission. Observes another Negro, state Sen. George Brown: "A whole lot of people who were pushing for it got tired of beating their heads against a wall."

Paradox or not, however, Denver's case seems destined to determine the future course of school desegregation, for although minorities may be better off here than many other places, they're disadvantaged by comparison to Denver whites, especially in the field of education.

Specifically, the Supreme Court case focuses on Five Points, the inner-city area just northeast of downtown. After a lengthy series of hearings, climaxed in May 1970, Federal District Judge William Doyle found no evidence that the neighborhood had been intentionally segregated and found nothing akin to a law separating the races.

But he did find that in the core-city schools, students were reading as much as two grade levels below the citywide average and that a primary factor was segregation. Thus, the de facto segregation was unconstitutional because it resulted in unequal educational opportunity, Judge Doyle said, and he ordered busing to achieve integration in the classrooms. The 10th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals subsequently overturned this ruling, holding in effect that de facto segregation doesn't violate the Constitution, regardless of its impact, thus setting the scene for appraisal by the nation's highest court.

While the Denver situation is steeped with ironies, the biggest of them all may be the changes the recent focus of judicial inquiry has wrought in this city, which long regarded its racial situation casually and with hardly a sour note.

For instance, until the widely publicized court wrangle here, which began in 1969, the city's school population held relatively steady at 96,000. Then suddenly, the year Judge Doyle ordered racial busing, 3,000 students left the system. Nearly all of them were white students in elementary school who transferred to suburban schools, school officials say.

"We've tried not to say much about it, but the truth is this case has created a serious 'white flight' problem," says Denver School Board President Stephen Knight. "If this trend continues, our elementary schools will be less than 50% white within five years."

School Lines to Block Integration Ruled Out

6/23/72

Atl. Const.

WASHINGTON (U P I) — With the Nixon-appointed bloc in solid opposition, the Supreme Court Thursday barred state and local governments from setting up new school zone if such redistricting impedes desegregation.

The vote in an Emporia, Va., case was 5 to 4 with all four of the justices named by President Nixon dissenting. In a companion case from Scotland Neck, N.C., the decision was unanimous with the dissenting four filing a concurring opinion.

Justice Potter Stewart who wrote both majority opinions declared: "A new school district may not be created where its effect would be to impede the process of dismantling a dual system."

The rulings reversed the findings of the 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals and upheld decisions made by federal district judges that the new districts were impermissible. The appeals court held it must be shown that the "primary purpose" of the redistricting is to retain as much segregation as possible.

Stewart stressed that the effect of redistricting, not its motivation, was the controlling factor.

"We have focused on the effect — not the purpose or motivation of a school board's action in determining whether it is a permissible method of dismantling a dual system," he wrote. "The existence of a permissible purpose cannot sustain an action that has an impermissible effect."

The Emporia, Va., dispute arose when Greenville County schools were ordered to integrate in 1969. Emporia however became a second-class city in 1967 — a status which allows a community to operate its own schools separately.

This would have changed the racial make-up in city schools from 66 per cent black and 34 per cent white to 52 per cent black and 48 per cent white. The county would have been left with a ratio of 72.2 black and 27.9 white.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger in a dissenting opinion shared by Justices Harry A. Blackmun, Lewis F. Powell, Jr., and William H. Rehnquist argued that there was no basis for concluding that the city had a "discriminatory purpose."

He said the district judge who blocked the move "was reaching for some hypothetical perfection in racial balance rather than the elimination of a dual school system."

Burger and the other dissenters agreed the Scotland Neck, N.C., case presented a different problem. The schools in the community of approximately 3,000 had been operated as part of the Halifax County system since 1936.

When pnder prodding by the Justice Department, a desegregation program was set up in 1969, the North Carolina General Assembly enacted a law providing for a new school district entirely within the town's limits and retaining a white majority.

In agreeing with Stewart's majority opinion, Burger commented it was undisputed that the Scotland Neck creation was "substantially motivated by the desire to create a predominantly white system . . ."

The court also:

—Ruled 6 to 2 that unions may legally make political contributions in federal elections if the funds come from voluntary donations. The decision reversing the conviction of two St. Louis union local leaders may have a bearing on the recent conviction of United Mine Workers President W. A. "Tony" Boyle and Secretary-Treasurer John Owens on charges of violating the same federal law.

Miss Your Paper?

We hope not, but if your carrier should err please call early . . .

522-4141

Our service center is open from 6:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. to contact your independent carrier or to help you reach him direct.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Established June 16, 1868

Issued daily except New Year's, July 4, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas. Second-class postage paid in Atlanta, Georgia.

The Atlanta Constitution (morning) and The Atlanta Journal and The Atlanta Constitution (Sunday), published by Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., 72 Marietta St., NW, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Home delivered subscription rates: Fulton and DeKalb Counties: Morning or Evening and Sunday, 1 week, 75c + 4c tax. Morning or Evening daily only, 1 week, 50c + 3c tax. Sunday only, 1 week, 25c + 1c tax. Other counties in Georgia: Morning or Evening and Sunday, 1 week, 75c + 3c tax. Morning or Evening, daily only, 1 week, 50c + 2c tax. Sunday only, 1 week, 25c + 1c tax. Subscription prices by mail on request. Single copies: Daily 10c, Sunday 25c.

Your newspaper carrier is an independent contractor and payments by subscribers to carriers are not subject to control by Atlanta Newspapers, Inc. Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., recommends to subscribers that prepayments made directly to carriers be limited to a maximum of thirty (30) days.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INFORMATION, PUBLICATIONS, AND REPORTS
311 - 1371 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309
TELEPHONE: 404- 526-5495

OFFICE OF REGIONAL DIRECTOR

ED

GS
Please see
Thursday
I am in
FV

Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, Director of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, will be in Atlanta November 18-19 to confer with regional federal officials.

At 4:30 PM on the 18th, Mrs. Koontz will be in the English Suite of the Regency Hyatt House to discuss and answer your questions on the changing status of the American woman.

A biography of Mrs. Koontz is enclosed for your background information.

Bill Allgood

Should you have special needs relative to your coverage, call us at 526-5495 prior to noon, Wednesday, November 18th. We will be happy to assist you in any way possible.

ELIZABETH DUNCAN KOONTZ
Director, Women's Bureau

Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, who was appointed Director of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, February 7, 1969, comes to her new post from the National Education Association, which she has served as president since July 1968. She is the first Negro to head the Women's Bureau and was the first of her race to serve as President of NEA. On January 30, 1969, she was appointed U. S. Delegate to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

Mrs. Koontz has devoted most of her life to the field of education. From 1945 until she became president of NEA she was a special education teacher at Price High School, Salisbury, N. C., from which she herself graduated in 1935. Her work there was with slow learners and disadvantaged children.

Earlier Mrs. Koontz held teaching positions in public schools in Winston-Salem, Landis, and Dunn, N. C. She also taught summer sessions at Livingstone College in Salisbury.

She received a bachelor of arts degree in English and elementary education from Livingstone College and a master's degree in elementary education from Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga. She did graduate work at Columbia University and Indiana University. Because of her interest in children whose background in formal education is

limited, she pursued additional training in the field of special education for slow learners at North Carolina College, Durham.

Mrs. Koontz has been active in numerous educational organizations. A life member of NEA, she served as president of its largest department, the Association of Classroom Teachers in 1965. She is a member of the NEA's Council for Exceptional Children and of the North Carolina Council and the National Association for Retarded Children. In 1965-68 she was a member of the President's Advisory Council on Education of Disadvantaged Children.

She has also held membership on such diverse bodies as the Family Service Council of North Carolina, the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, and the Education Committee of the National Urban League. She is an honorary member of Zeta Phi Beta Sorority. She served on the North Carolina Governor's Commission on the Status of Women.

Mrs. Koontz has traveled widely. In 1964 she was one of 16 Americans who visited the Soviet Union at the request of Saturday Review magazine. Two years earlier she represented NEA on a trip to West Berlin to observe the effects of the Berlin Wall on education. She has also attended conferences in Vancouver, B. C., Canada; Dublin, Ireland; and Seoul, Korea, of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), an educational

advisory and consultative body working with but independent of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Before and after the trip to the conference in Korea, she visited numerous countries around the world.

Mrs. Koontz has been the recipient of several awards and honorary degrees, including an honorary doctor of humane letters degree and the Distinguished Alumni Medallion for Achievement from her alma mater, Livingstone College, and the Distinguished Teacher Award from the Civitan Club of Salisbury.

# # #

February 1969

MAY WE HELP YOU

to continue the dialog begun during . . .

. . . *the Poor People's Campaign?*

During the spring of 1968, representatives of the Poor People's Campaign visited the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Education, an operating agency within the Department. These representatives pointed to a number of areas in which the Department and the Office of Education might be more responsive to the needs of the poor. Among their suggestions, they stated that the Department should "establish a national structure and mechanism which provides for continuous input by poor black, brown, and white people in the design, development, operation, and evaluation of all federally funded education programs."
In response, the Commissioner of Education instructed the Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged, part of the Office of the Commissioner since 1965, to determine whether the poor are being adequately served by Federal education programs and to seek to ensure that the Federal legislation to provide educational benefits for the poor is being applied fully.

To carry out this assignment, the Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged:

- Receives inquiries and complaints through telephone conversations and personal interviews as well as by mail.
- Works to resolve the complaints it receives as follows:

1. The Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged (OPD) first contacts the complaining party (by telephone, if feasible) for additional information and to assure that the exact nature of the problem is understood.

2. OPD then takes the complaint to the program concerned, learns what action is intended, and relays this information to the complaining party.

3. OPD remains in touch both with staff members of the program involved and with the complainant while the matter is being studied. The complaining party is encouraged to inquire at any time about the status of his complaint and to inform OPD of any additional developments which relate to it. Such additional information is immediately shared with all officials involved.

4. OPD promptly notifies the complaining party when final decision is made on the complaint and encourages him to express an opinion on the effectiveness of that action. If the solution arrived at is unsatisfactory to the complainant, OPD continues its assistance to all parties concerned until a better approach is found, or until all possible alternatives are exhausted.

The Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged has cooperated both with government and nongovernment officials in dealing with matters such as the inability of the poor to meet the costs of public education, alleged discrimination by local school districts against minority group members of their teaching staffs, and possible misuse of Federal funds at the local level.

- Promotes serious consideration of recommendations relating to the improvement of Federal education programs through its contacts in the Office of Education, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and in other Federal Departments.

By early 1969, the Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged had received excellent recommendations from local communities concerning Office of Education programs, including those in bilingual education, and manpower development. Several important suggestions regarding innovative methods for teaching the disadvantaged have also been forwarded to OPD.

You are encouraged to write the Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged with your recommendations or observations on Federal education programs.

In addition, the Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged:

- Compiles material relating to techniques for teaching the disadvantaged.
- Prepares analytical studies on socio-educational problems.
- Disseminates information relating to education of the disadvantaged.
- Holds regional conferences to clarify the intent of Federal legislation concerning the education of the disadvantaged and to provide the Office of Education with greater insight into local problems related to the operation of education programs. Conference participants have represented such organizations as the Urban League, NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Ministerial Alliance, Congress of Racial Equality, and American Friends Service Committee.

If you wish us to help you continue the dialog begun in 1968, write, call, or visit the Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged to tell us of your questions, recommendations, or complaints.

Address: Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged
Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue SW.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Call: 962-1678, 962-1679 or 962-5121

GPO 876-048

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF H.E.W.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Ed TF - Res.

REDDING S. SUGG, JR.
3804 HEALY ROAD
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38111

TELEPHONE: AREA 901, 323-9643

NOV 3 1972

November 1, 1972

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I appreciated your talking to me about my idea for an SRC study of the ideas of black leaders in Memphis regarding the definition and practical approaches to "quality" education. I enclose herewith a proposal for such a study for your further consideration.

I assume that if you should wish to proceed with it, it would be subject to staff discussion there. I have therefore phrased the proposal in rather general, discursive terms--it amounts to a summary of what I tried to say to you. I am perfectly open to suggestions for modifying the proposal. I do not have any fancy "methodology" to recommend but may say that I am thinking of the project as an investigative report of interviews and discussions with not more than fifteen or twenty persons. They should be mostly blacks, the elective and appointive officials who now have a duty to the whole community--legislators, city councilmen, members of the school board, transportation authority, etc., school administrators and teachers. I am sure that Mrs. Coe's cooperation would be essential.

Sincerely yours,

Redding Sugg

encl.

Redding S. Sugg, Jr.
3804 Healy Road
Memphis, Tennessee 38111
323-9843 (Area 901)

A Proposal for a Southern Regional Council Study

AFTER INTEGRATION, WHAT?

by Redding S. Sugg, Jr.

Now that black leaders in Memphis are gaining positions in government and education and have a responsibility to the whole community rather than to the black part of it alone, it may be expected that their views as to the particulars of "quality" education have been affected. So far, "quality" education has been a slogan. What has been realistically aimed at has been "equal" education, defined as education carried on in schools with prescribed degrees of racial integration in administration, faculty, and student body. Integration remains the most vocal demand of black leaders as they insist upon busing to achieve it to their satisfaction. It emerges ever more clearly, however, as a device for bringing about general social change rather than as a specifically educative device. There are signs that the black leaders have begun to question whether "equal" education is the same as "quality" education.

I propose an inquiry among selected black leaders in Memphis, taken as a representative situation, as to the principles which should be reflected in the curriculum of the integrated public schools. I would set this inquiry in the perspective of a review of the literature of "quality" education, curriculum reform, etc., in the nation since 1954. The Memphis record should be searched for comment and recommendations on

the issue during the same period.

Historically, the democratization of American education, in which the integration of blacks is only the latest and most tempestuous chapter, has meant compromise on curriculum. As various groups have been mixed into the educational system, the compromise has taken the form of deliberate vagueness as to curriculum requirements which, if strictly defined, might seem to favor one group over another. This vagueness, while it may have been a necessary aspect of accommodating groups of widely different cultural backgrounds, has tended to subvert the disciplinary side of curriculum, indispensable though this is to any sort of "quality" education. Consensus as to a national social ideal, from which curriculum might be more definitively derived, remains a transcendental goal. In practice, what are often called "white middle class values" have functioned as the justification of curriculum, much honored in the breach.

The drive for integration is usually explained by black leaders in Memphis as the only way blacks can be sure that black children will have access to schools as good as those provided for whites. The curriculum in such schools was determined by "white" values, often attacked as inimical to black children. A certain ambivalence among black leaders may be formulated by putting into their mouths the question: We know what we want to bus black children away <u>from</u>, but what are we busing them <u>to</u>? This is matched on the white side by a suspicion that in demanding a "unitary" school system the blacks seek to destroy the "white" curriculum which re-

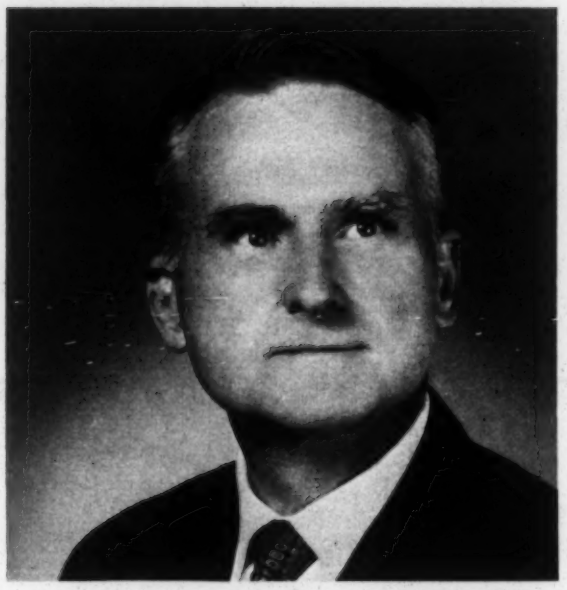
mains as all that the city has in the way of "quality." In this impasse, at least the issues begin to be clarified. How good is the "white" or "quality" curriculum? What, exactly, do black children need in the way of curriculum and do their needs differ ultimately from those of whites?

I propose to find out how far the black leaders have gone in thinking about such questions. How do they conceive of a satisfactory curriculum for integrated public schools? It would be necessary to get down to cases--of what, specifically, should the curriculum consist, grade by grade and subject by subject?

Assuming that the black leaders believe that a satisfactory curriculum can be devised, I should then like to inquire to what extent they are prepared to accept the disciplinary side of curriculum. Any curriculum, whether bookish or technical, "academic" or "vocational," is selective if seriously instituted. Accommodation and compromise--what Dewey called the "psychologizing" of subject-matter--are no doubt necessary aspects of the art of teaching; but if a curriculum is seriously instituted, accommodation and compromise cannot be entirely on the side of the school. A certain percentage of pupils, larger or smaller according to the standards set, will prove unable to complete the curriculum.

The proposed inquiry would extend, therefore, to the ideas of the black leaders as to the means of reducing the trauma of school failure, presumably through alternative programs of training and employment and the control of "elitism."

Acceptance of the disciplinary side of curriculum implies, further, readiness to shift the drive for social change from the school to other agencies and to relieve the school of the tasks, so subversive of curriculum, of providing "compensatory" education and merely custodial care for pupils who cannot cope with curriculum. From the point of view of education, the problem is whether certain preventive measures in the community at large might be substituted for the compensatory or frankly custodial ones now required of school. Do the black leaders of Memphis foresee a time when the school might be left to a more narrowly defined educative function while the departments of sanitation, public health, housing, and transportation were pressed to serve all areas of the city equally, to provide compensatory services to black slum districts, and --in short--to take responsibility for maintaining an environment in which black children would be more likely than they now are to reach school age in a condition adequate for profiting by the curriculum?



Experience Since finishing college and serving in the U. S. Army Air Forces in the China-Burma-India Theater during World War II, Redding S. Sugg, Jr., has alternated writing, on either a staff or a free-lance basis, with teaching college English. His first job was the editorship of a weekly newspaper, and for several years he was a staff associate of the Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, responsible for publications and public information. He has taught at the Georgia Institute of Technology, Georgia State College, and Memphis State University.

Books Editor, NUCLEAR ENERGY IN THE SOUTH (1957); co-author with R. H. Leach, THE ADMINISTRATION OF INTERSTATE COMPACTS (1959); co-author with G. H. Jones, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD (1960); all published by the Louisiana State University Press.

Articles Has appeared in such publications as THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGIST, THE ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, THE ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION, THE DELTA REVIEW, THE JOURNAL OF AESTHETICS AND ART CRITICISM, THE JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION, PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY, and THE SOUTHERN FOLKLORE QUARTERLY.

Reports Wrote, researched, or edited numerous reports and studies related to various fields of higher education for the Southern Regional Education Board during the 1950's and early 1960's. Designed, researched, and wrote two Background Papers on aspects of higher education and manpower planning published in mimeograph by the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission (1963).

News & PR Edited weekly NORTHWEST ALABAMIAN, Fayette, Alabama, in 1946-47. As staff associate of Southern Regional Education Board (1952-55) produced newsletters, releases, and promotional brochures.

Education University of North Carolina, A. B. in English, 1943. University of Texas, M. A., 1948, and Ph. D. in English, 1952. Fulbright student at University of Paris, 1951-52.

Personal Married to Dr. Helen White, ~~Associate~~ Professor of Engilsh, Memphis State University, who collaborates in free-lance projects. Hobbies include gardening, ~~photography~~, swimming, travel.

Redding S. Sugg, Jr.

3804 Healy Road
Memphis, Tennessee 38111
TELEPHONE: Area 901, 323-9843

Recent credits

AMERICAN HERITAGE
ATLANTA
NEW SOUTH
SOUTH TODAY
DELTA REVIEW
MEMPHIS MAGAZINE
SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY
STUDIES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

To be published Nov. 30, 1972: From the Mountain: Selections from Pseudopodia (1936), The North Georgia Review (1937-1941), and South Today, Edited by Lillian Smith and Paula Snelling. Edited, with an Introduction by Helen White and Redding S. Sugg, Jr. Memphis State University Press.

To be published in the fall of 1973: The Horn Island Logs of Walter Inglis Anderson, edited, with an Introduction, by R. S. S. Memphis State University Press.

Ed. Res. Proposals
Copy for Ed. Contacts

Director, School Finance Studies Group
The Urban Institute

specialist in local education support
" on law & education

Emory —

Professor Willis Hawley (Political science & Public Policy studies) 4895 Duke Station
Durham, N.C. 27706 919-684-6612

researching governance in education
white flight

Dr. Richard Ray, Director, Learning Institute of N.C.

a variety of educational issues
action & research orientation

Professor Betsy Levin, Duke Law School,
effective 9/1/73.

Ed. TF – Research Proposals.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

GEA – No grant bd. in past cito

Dr.

Earnest Austin – 633-8897

[MLK Center
talked to L.H.]

Small problem – LH & Rainey Bl.
Bill Denton Sempstress

Rural Ed through MLK Center

Bring the policy makers together in rural ed (principals, supts)

4 rural counties – one state

[Hancock Co] –

Thomas – Candler –
Glynn –
Crawford

Policy in-perd of Blacks –

Vol. 1, No. 11

Published monthly
by the Public Affairs
Research Council
Information Center
On School Desegregation,
Box 3118, Baton Rouge,
Louisiana 70821

Desegregation in Louisiana SCHOOLS IN

Rez

Private Schools

Although much has been made of the "white flight" to non-public schools during the period of heavy school desegregation, 1971-72 data obtained by the Information Center on School Desegregation indicate that enrollment in non-public schools has declined by 9,380 since the 1970-71 school year.

This school year 152,259 students are enrolled in non-public schools throughout the state. Of the total, 134,450 are white and 17,881 are black.

Easily tabbed as a peak year for non-public schools in the state, the 1970-71 total non-public enrollment was 161,711 of which 143,333 were white and 18,318 black. Last year the total number of non-public schools rose to 456, or 40 over the 1967-68 school year total of 416.

Statewide figures for the current year indicate that the loss in non-public enrollment was partially offset by an increase in state public school enrollment. Last year 836,632 students were enrolled in public schools throughout the state; the 1971-72 total is 843,586, an increase of 6,954 students.

A large percentage of private school enrollment continues to be classified as Catholic although Catholics as a percent of total private school enrollment have declined from 85 percent in 1967-68 to 74 percent this school year. The decline is explainable in part by the closure of a number of Catholic schools and the concurrent rise of non-sectarian private schools since the 1967-68 school year.

There were 121,509 students enrolled in Catholic schools in 1967-68. This total declined notably in the following two school years, rose briefly to 121,264 in 1970-71 and declined in the current school year by 8,597 for a 1971-72 total of 112,667.

If non-public schools other than Catholic are compared to statewide Catholic trends a significant increase from 21,504 in 1967-68 to 42,324 in 1969-70 can be noted. Enrollment dropped to 40,447 last year and further declined by 855 for a total of 39,592 this school year.

PUBLIC AND NON-PUBLIC ENROLLMENT SINCE 1967

Year	Public	Catholic	Non-Catholic
1967-68	830,656	121,509	21,504
1968-69	851,850	115,430	20,320
1969-70	840,573	112,606	42,324
1970-71	836,632	121,264	40,447
1971-72	843,586	112,667	39,592

[ca. 1972]

ETF – Research
[Educa'n. Task Force]

Real Estate Research Corporation

72 WEST ADAMS STREET • CHICAGO 60603 • PHONE: 312-346-5885 • CABLE: RERCO

ANTHONY DOWNS
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT

Look over this, to see what you want (if anything) and let me know. Tonia

For Your Information
from
M. Hayes Mizell
South Carolina Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee

SELECTED PRIOR STUDIES OF
REAL ESTATE RESEARCH CORPORATION

Real Estate Research Corporation is the oldest and largest consulting firm engaged exclusively in analysis of land use and public affairs. The staff of nearly 200 in 10 regional offices handles about 2,500 assignments per year for public agencies at all levels of government and for private companies and institutions. Continuous involvement in real estate markets throughout the country provides Real Estate Research Corporation with long-range perspectives on urban growth patterns and the elements that can cause those patterns to change.

The company's professional staff is experienced in conducting socioeconomic analyses and strategy studies for local government agencies, private firms, and national associations. These studies cover a wide range of subjects, but they are characterized by offering pragmatic recommendations for solving complex problems. In the following list of assignments, the focus is upon school desegregation, educational planning, and race relations.

A. Achieving Effective Desegregation

At the request of the President's Cabinet Committee on Education and the Office of Education, Real Estate Research Corporation conducted a survey and analysis of existing knowledge and experience of school desegregation in the United States. This five-part study was completed in September 1971.

The major document, titled Achieving Effective Desegregation, contains the major findings concerning the specific techniques and methods that have proven most effective in helping individual school districts carry out desegregation. The report was designed essentially as a handbook for practical, everyday usage by local school officials seeking to achieve effective desegregation, and by federal officials funding applications for desegregation assistance. The major portion of this report is now being published by Lexington Books (a division of D. C. Heath) for nationwide distribution. The Real Estate Research Corporation staff members cited as co-authors are Al Smith, Anthony Downs, and M. Leanne Lachman.

The other products of this comprehensive study included formulation of policy guidelines for federal administrators, overall design of a national data system to provide the basis for evaluating national and local desegregation progress,

submission of four papers prepared by outside experts on specific aspects of desegregation, and compilation of a bibliography of school desegregation literature.

It should be emphasized that the definition of "effective desegregation" developed in our study extends beyond physical desegregation. It concentrates upon social adjustment and encompasses school-community relations, student adaptation, administrative concerns, teacher training, and curriculum change. For each of these five subject areas, techniques are presented for bringing about change.

B. Competition and Community Schools

This assignment for The Brookings Institution involved preparation of an analytical essay on the relationship of competition to the concept of community schools, especially in big cities. It included an analysis of possible means of evaluating educational performance in schools, plus. development of alternative means of increasing the degree of competition in the provision of education in urban areas. This study has been published in the volume of essays, Community Control of Schools.

C. Report on the Impact of White Racism on the Operation of Public and Private Institutions in the United States

For the Civil Rights Commission, Real Estate Research Corporation prepared a study that relates recommendations for the reduction of racial tension to the specific community or subfederal level groups best suited to implement them. It was contended that, in order to establish a method of operation for increasing active participation of citizen and civic groups, a staff must understand the capabilities and desires of such groups to participate in suggested programs. This assignment included preparation of an essay published by the Commission under the title, Racism in America and How to Combat It.

D. Background Research and Draft Preparation for the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders

Real Estate Research Corporation participated extensively in the preparation of the Commission's study and report in several ways. First, we developed the research plans and the overall organization. Second, staff members

organized, analyzed, and reported on the field investigation materials collected by the Commission in more than 20 cities; we also assisted in the investigation. Third, Real Estate Research Corporation performed research on the relevance of proposed and ongoing programs to prevent civil disorders, developed and evaluated long-range strategies and program alternatives for alleviating socioeconomic problems, and performed cost analyses of various programs. Fourth, Real Estate Research Corporation wrote the initial drafts of five of the Report's 17 chapters.

One of our specific assignments was to develop educational policy recommendations for presentation to the Commission and for inclusion in the Report. After interviewing leading educational experts across the country, we developed a program of suggested strategies and policy recommendations to combat unequal educational opportunities in urban ghetto areas. This analysis also required extensive fact-finding on the nature and degree of racial inequality in educational opportunity in central-city, low-income areas.

E. Residential Segregation by Income and Race -- Its Nature, Its Relation to Schools, and Ways to Ameliorate It

This was testimony presented before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity. Dr. Anthony Downs outlined a process by which major changes in existing attitudes, behavior patterns, and institutional structures could be realized in order to alter residential segregation. Dr. Downs explored the causes of residential segregation and their impacts on community schools and the educational and social experience offered. He presented both long-range and short-term tactics to develop an overall social, financial, and psychological strategy to achieve dispersal of low- and moderate-income housing throughout major metropolitan areas.

F. Projections of Population and School Enrollments by Community Area for the City of Chicago, 1970 and 1975

For the Chicago Board of Education, Real Estate Research Corporation performed detailed demographic analysis of existing population and recent trends based on Census and enrollment data; projections of future population using a complex computer simulation model; breakdown of projections by 75 small areas and adjustment to take into account future urban renewal and other development plans; and derivation of white and nonwhite enrollment forecasts for the 75 areas.

A similar study was prepared for the Archdiocese of Chicago School Board, projecting population as of 1970 and 1975 in the north and northwestern portions of Cook County, then estimating the proportion of the population that would be Catholic, and then projecting the number of elementary and high school age children in Catholic families in the area.

G. A Plan for Educational Investment

This analysis for the New England Regional Planning Commission was part of a housing action program prepared for the six-state New England region. The overall program related housing policy to social need and to the regional development plan.

H. Comprehensive Housing Strategy for the City of Cincinnati

This study is funded with 701 planning grants and is designed to result in a housing strategy that can be used to monitor and direct housing development in the neighborhoods of the City of Cincinnati. The work program will be completed by mid-October 1972, and the full strategy development will take about 15 months. This policy planning assignment is directed by a local Working Review Committee on Housing, which includes representatives of local, regional and federal government, community residents, financial institutions, trade unions, realtors, and housing interest groups. This unique undertaking will provide a model for strategy development for cities throughout the United States.

The fact that Real Estate Research Corporation was selected to assist the City of Cincinnati in developing a housing strategy is cited here to demonstrate the company's thorough knowledge of housing market analysis. Since resegregation is so closely tied to changing residential patterns in a city, such knowledge is essential for development of action recommendations to reverse resegregation trends.

DR. ANTHONY DOWNS
Senior Vice President
Member, Board of Directors

Academic

Carleton College -- B.A.
Stanford University -- M.A., Ph.D.

Formerly a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago in the Economics and Political Science departments

Member of the Planning Department's Visiting Committee, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Occasional lecturer at:
Harvard University, the University of California at Berkeley, Northwestern University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Chicago, the University of Michigan, Indiana University, the University of Illinois, Southern Methodist University, the University of Wisconsin, Princeton University, Yale University, the University of Southern California, Michigan State University, and Emory University

Business Experience

Consultant to The RAND Corporation on Urban Affairs and Government Organization

Consultant to The Urban Institute, The Brookings Institution, and The Ford Foundation

Consultant to the following federal agencies:
Economic Development Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, U.S. Civil Rights Commission, U.S. Civil Service Commission, U.S. Information Service, Office of the President, Department of Transportation, and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Consultant to the following non-federal government agencies:
City of Chicago's Planning and Urban Renewal Departments, Chicago Board of Education, Cook County Assessor's Office, State of New Jersey Department of Community Affairs, University of California, State of California Planning Department, Planning Commission of the City of New York, Planning Department of the City of St. Paul, Corporacion Venezolana de Guayana, and many others

DR. ANTHONY DOWNS

Business Experience
(continued)

Consultant to the following private clients:
The Peoples Gas, Light, and Coke Company, J. C. Penney Company, Standard Oil Company of Indiana, The First National Bank of Chicago, Continental Illinois National Bank, Title Insurance Company of San Diego, Inland Steel Corporation, IBM, and many others.

Formerly consultant to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the "Kerner Commission")

Formerly member of the National Commission on Urban Problems (the "Douglas Commission")

Publications

Author of the books An Economic Theory of Democracy, Inside Bureaucracy, and Urban Problems and Prospects

Author of articles or reviews in the following journals:
Saturday Review, The Public Interest, American Economic Review, Land Economics, Journal of Political Economy, Journal of Property Management, The Appraisal Journal, Journal of Retailing, The American Behavioral Scientist, World Politics, American Political Science Review, Social Research, Traffic Quarterly, Daedalus, Revue Francais de Science Politique, Mercurio (Italian), Journal of Housing, and Public Administration Review

Staff writer for The National Market Letter

Author of Who Are The Urban Poor? published by the Committee for Economic Development

Author of Racism in America published by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission

ALAN J. SMITH
Senior Analyst
Washington, D.C. Office

Academic:

Harpur College, Binghampton, N.Y.; B.A., 1963, History and Economics
Syracuse University; Master of Regional Planning, 1967
Doctoral Work, Doctor of Social Science Program

Experience

Mr. Smith has been with Real Estate Research Corporation since 1967. In his capacity as an analyst he has conducted numerous demographic studies. During the course of this work, Mr. Smith has made estimates and projections of growth in school enrollment and the demand for school facilities. In addition to his work, Mr. Smith has been involved in campus planning studies and studies of municipal and school expenditures and financing. Examples of this work include analysis of the impact of a large Federal facility, the Weston, Illinois Accelerator plant, on municipal and school expenditures and the Community Renewal Plan for Utica, New York. Work was also completed on the potential for using school campuses as a basis for redeveloping neighborhood areas on the Near West Side of Chicago.

More recently, Mr. Smith has conducted research into the problems of providing housing and transportation for low-and moderate-income families. As part of this work Mr. Smith has studied the impact of physical and racial isolation on community attitudes and the effects of transportation on the travel behavior of school children. Examples of this work include A Housing Strategy Study for Greenville County, South Carolina; Low-Income Housing, Utica, New York; and The Demand for Transportation in Pittsburgh's Model Neighborhood. The former study was conducted as part of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration's Center City Transportation Project.

Prior to joining Real Estate Research Corporation, Mr. Smith was employed as an urban planner and economist with Syracuse City Planning and Urban Renewal Agencies, the Onondaga County Planning Department, Economic Consultants, Inc., and Sargent, Webster, Crenshaw and Folley, Architects and Engineers. In his capacity with these organizations, he conducted a broad range of general planning and renewal studies, as well as research into the problems of school enrollment and campus planning in Syracuse, New York.

In addition to the above work, Mr. Smith has completed extensive studies and research into the fields of location theory and space economics and metropolitan problems including a study of the problem of "Planning and Financing Public Education in Metropolitan Areas."

Affiliations

American Institute of Planners
Urban Land Institute

ROGER MALEK
Senior Analyst
San Francisco Office

Academic

University of California - B.S. - Architecture

Experience

Mr. Malek's professional experience includes extensive involvement with social and community program planning and development. As an integral part of his overall interest in relating problems of institutional service and change to program development, he has participated actively in the application of user surveys, consumer studies, group interaction methods, and research findings as applied to institutional development planning.

Significant projects of Mr. Malek's that involved these methods include a planning study for The Evergreen State College in the State of Washington and a comprehensive study to assist the San Francisco Public Library in its evaluation of library use patterns throughout the system and its financial and physical planning for new main library facilities. Mr. Malek is presently involved in a study for the Drew Postgraduate Medical Center in the Watts section of Los Angeles; the primary thrust of the assignment is development of health programs that will be responsive to the needs of the community.

Publications

"The Role of Personality Differences in Judgments of Roadside Quality," in Environment and Behavior (December 1969)

"Community Response to the Design Features of Roads: A Technique of Measurement," in Highway Research Record (No. 305, 1970)

Affiliations

American Institute of Architects
Society for Colleges and University Planning
American Association of Junior Colleges

Hold for Conversation with Mr Esser
Did not suggest money available

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

8200 HAMPSON STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70118
PHONE: 504: 866-5427

Hunter @ Stern?

March 12, 1970

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Center for Human Resource Development
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of George Esser of the National Affairs Division of The Ford Foundation. He has indicated that you may be interested in the World of Work program which is currently being conducted by the Educational Systems Development Corporation in cooperation with the New Orleans Public Schools.

For your information, I have enclosed a brief description of the World of Work program and also a description of the purposes and organization of the Educational Systems Development Corporation.

We are currently seeking financial support for the continuation of the World of Work program during the 1970-71 school year. I would therefore appreciate the opportunity to discuss with you the type of additional information which you might need to determine the possible interest of The Southern Regional Council in providing partial support for this effort.

If you wish to discuss this matter, please do not hesitate to call me at AC504/866-5427. I will look forward to your reply.

Very truly yours,

Glenn Hontz

Glenn Hontz
President

GH/cmr
Attachments
cc: George Esser

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

P. O. BOX 4233, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70118

The Educational Systems Development Corporation seeks to stimulate educational improvements through research and innovative programs. It is designed to work closely with existing educational institutions and other agencies to develop programs as they are required to meet critical needs.

An an independent agency, ESDC is not restricted by the purposes or administrative regulations of any school system, college, or other agency. This avoids any conflict of interest within the internal operation of a given institution, which might result if ESDC were subsumed under that institution. This independence also insures the freedom necessary to effectively foster needed changes. It further permits ESDC to stimulate cooperative efforts among a wide variety of educational institutions and social or governmental agencies which have not previously focused their collective efforts on certain educational problems.

PURPOSES

The basic purpose of ESDC is to stimulate research and development in areas of critical educational need. More specifically, it undertakes activities to:

1) Identify and analyze educational problems and to determine areas of needed development.

2) Develop research studies and pilot programs to test the effectiveness of educational innovations in practical settings.

3) Provide the training required for personnel to carry forth these programs successfully.

ORGANIZATION

The Educational Systems Development Corporation is legally constituted under the provisions of the State of Louisiana Revised Statutes pertaining to the organization of non-profit corporations and is classified as a tax exempt organization under the regulations of the Internal Revenue Code.

The program of ESDC is planned under the guidance of an Executive Board comprised of representatives from the fields of education, business, medicine, government, and industry. Program activities are administered by a permanent professional staff. As necessary, additional professional and clerical personnel are secured to plan, conduct and evaluate specific program activities. These personnel include project directors, consultants, instructors, secretarial assistants and others required for the duration of a certain project.

Labor? Soc?

SUPPORT

Support for specific program activities is sought from appropriate foundations and from certain agencies of federal, state and local government. In addition, general support for administrative costs and for extensions of specific programs is provided through private and corporate gifts and donations.

PRESENT PROGRAM

Support for specific research and development projects administered by ESDC has been provided by the following institutions and organizations:

Contract Basis?

City of New Orleans
Economic Development Administration
Humble Oil and Refining Company
International Business Machines
Jefferson Parish School Board
National Alliance of Businessmen
New Orleans Voluntary Equal Employment Council
Orleans Parish School Board
Plans for Progress Program
Shell Oil Company

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

P. O. BOX 4233, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70118

what other projects?

A SUMMARY OF

THE WORLD OF WORK PROJECT

During the past three years, the World of Work Project has developed and field tested several innovative instructional programs and procedures which have now been adopted by schools in the New Orleans metropolitan and suburban area. Significant among these are: a series of six half-hour educational T.V. programs dealing with topics relative to occupational information and career decision-making, a seven-week unit of study for use at the junior high school level, a directory of community resources for use by teachers and counselors in planning field trips to business and industrial sites for school classes, an illustrated student newsletter dealing with the local, state, and national employment picture, a series of career-day activities held at schools throughout urban and suburban New Orleans which provides opportunities for students from all socioeconomic backgrounds to discuss their career interests with personnel in various career categories, and a comprehensive directory of instructional materials in the field of occupational and career information for use by teachers and students.

During 1968-69, the instructional programs developed as a part of the World of Work Project reached a total of 4,136 secondary school students and more than 360 elementary school students. In-service training programs were conducted for 36 teachers and counselors who in turn became agents for change by conducting orientation and training sessions for fellow teachers and counselors at their respective schools.

The long-range objective of the World of Work Project is to develop and field test an articulated program of career education for students in elementary, junior high and senior high schools. This program seeks to provide up-to-date instruction in occupational information so the teacher-counselor teams can assist the students in ultimately making their own sound decisions in career selection. Pilot programs to accomplish this purpose are field tested on a trial basis and then thoroughly researched in practical settings before they are installed as part of the regular school program. This procedure has proved to be highly effective in developing programs which are practical within the realistic setting of the local school situation and which are also meaningful and motivating for students.

The overall schedule of past and future phases of the project are outlined below:

1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
Junior High Pilot Program	Junior High Research & Evaluation	Junior High In-Service Training	Junior High In-Service Training	Junior High In-Service Training Concluded
		Elementary Pilot Program	Elementary Pilot Program cont'd.	Elementary Research & Evaluation
			Senior High Pilot Program introduced	Senior High Pilot Program cont'd.

The general intent of this design is to initiate pilot programs which test the general feasibility of certain methods and materials at a given grade level and, thereupon, to design a research and evaluation effort to carefully appraise the practical effectiveness of these methods and materials. Stemming from this evaluation, the next step is to design in-service training programs which provide the necessary instruction for teachers to utilize newly developed methods. In this manner, the program is implemented throughout the entire school system as a regular part of the curriculum experience of all children. This well-established procedure for educational innovation has proved highly successful in the New Orleans area.

The long-range objective of the World of Work Program is to create a complete curriculum extending from elementary through high school. The program seeks to increase progressively each student's understanding of careers, to help him form favorable attitudes toward himself and his future role in the labor force, and to provide him with the skills essential for effective career planning.

The World of Work Project is administered by the Educational Systems Development Corporation and is conducted in cooperation with the New Orleans Public Schools. Principal financial support for this program is currently being provided by the National Alliance of Businessmen and the New Orleans Voluntary Equal Employment Council, with supplementary contributions from local business firms.

January 17, 1967

Mr. K.B.M. Crooksm Jr.
Training Center Director
National Urban League, Inc.
Southern Regional Office
78 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ken:

I have your letter of invitation to participate in your VISTA Training Program on the evenings of February 2nd and 3rd. I plan to be there.

I would like to present some general background on regional economic and political developments, changes in the region, some comments on the patterns of Negro-white relations, some problems and prospects of working with both whites and Negroes, and some of the sources of hope in the Southern scene.

It would be my intention to keep the initial presentation short and then see where the questions and comments lead us. Perhaps for the first evening, since you would like to use the film, "The Face of the South", we should simply show it and have a brief comment from me and let that combination stand for my presentation before getting into the discussion.

I plan now to join you for dinner on both evenings.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

Exid

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

President
LINDSLEY F. KIMBALL

Senior Vice-President
RAMON S. SCRUGGS

Vice-Presidents
JOHN H. JOHNSON
MARTIN E. SEGAL

Secretary
DOROTHY HIRSHON

Treasurer
IVAN C. MCLEOD

Executive Director
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

Honorary Trustees
WILLIAM H. BALDWIN
ROBERT W. DOWLING
LLOYD K. GARRISON
THEODORE W. KHEEL
HENRY STEEGER

Board of Trustees
Morris B. Abram
Mrs. Max Ascoli
Joseph M. Baird
Mrs. Haley Bell
Eugene H. Buder
Walker Cisler
John S. Hayes
Dorothy Hirshon
Jerome H. Holland
Sophia Y. Jacobs
Martin D. Jenkins
John H. Johnson
R. Frank Jones
Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr.
Lindsley F. Kimball
Robert Lazarus, Jr.
John G. Lewis, Jr.
Lawrence W. Lowman
Brian G. Manion
Louis E. Martin
Mrs. O. Clay Maxwell, Sr.
Ivan C. McLeod
Joseph J. Morrow
Edward C. Myers
James F. Oates, Jr.
Everett P. O'Neal
Peter Ottley
Henry G. Parks, Jr.
Mrs. Theodore R. Poston
Samuel D. Proctor
Hobson R. Reynolds
Ramon S. Scruggs
Martin E. Segal
Leslie N. Shaw
Louis Simon
Mrs. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger
William J. Trent, Jr.
William O. Walker
Leonard Woodcock
Frank H. Wyman
Clayton R. Yates
Dwight R. Zook

Arthur Q. Funn
Legal Counsel

January 9, 1967

Mr. Emory Bia
Director of Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mis

Dear Mr. Bia:

This letter is to confirm your participation in our VISTA Training Progran on the evenings of February 2nd and 3rd to discuss, in perspective, the picture of the South as seen by the Southern Regional Council.

As suggested, both evening sessions will begin at 7 p.m. On February 2, 1967, we would like to start with the film, THE FACE OF THE SOUTH, and have you follow-up with some discussion about the uniqueness of this region in terms of its political, social, and racial complextion.

We are trying to encourage total participation of our trainees and will recommend that you present an overview for the first thirty (30) minutes and build your presentation around questions which may be raised by participating individuals.

On February 3rd, beginning at 7 p.m., we would like you to follow-up the meeting with further details in line with the points we raised on the telephone.

Be kind enough to provide us with a confirmation letter and a brief statement about those areas which you expect to cover.

Our evening sessions are being held on the Old Gammon Campus, 9 McDonough Boulevard, S. E. We will be happy if you would wish to have dinner with us there at 6 p.m.

Yours very truly,

E. K. JONES VISTA TRAINING CENTER

Ken

K. B. M. Crooks, Jr.
Training Center Director

KBMC/els

(1)

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

The Ladies Auxiliary

and the

BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Train, Chair, Car, Coach Porters and Attendants

Affiliated with AFL-CIO/CLC

942 PARSONS STREET, S.W.

ATLANTA 14, GA.

PL 3-8233

440

THOMAS CULPEPPER
President
Atlanta, Georgia

H. B. MCCONNELL
Secretary/Treasurer
Atlanta, Georgia

COMMITTEE
Frances Arnold
T. Berrien
Vina C. Berry
Hazel Blackshear
Jimmie Brown
Joe Chandler
Ruth Cofer
Pearl Cotton
Ophelia Culpepper
O. Downer
Effie Few
Hattie Flanagan
Bessie Freeman
J. Freeman
A. Halliman
Jennette Harper
Florrie Harris
Sallie Holloway
Lois Kaigler
Gretchen King
L. King
Nazer Matthews
John Mitchell
Magnolia Mitchell
H. B. McConnell
Lizzie Pearson
M. Perkins
Fannie Russell
Riley Russell
B. M. Traylor
J. H. Traylor
Lorain Westbrooks

GERTRUDE ROSS, *President*
567 Pulliam Street, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

BEATRICE M. TRAYLOR, *Secy.-Treas.*
953 Ashby Circle, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

February 3, 1967

Dear Friend and Co-worker:

You are cordially invited to spend an evening "wining and dining" with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Ladies Auxiliary of the Atlanta Division.

Time: Friday, March 10, 1967

Place: Parliament House, 70 Houston Street, N.E.

The occasion -- a Testimonial Dinner honoring three courageous leaders of Labor, who during the early struggles of the Brotherhood inspired the porters and their wives to stand side by side in defiance of the mighty Pullman Company to build the Union.

Be it known that the lowly Pullman porters working under the most trying and deplorable conditions changed the status from equipment on the car to a first-class citizen. We invite you to hear our success story.

A cocktail party at 6:30 P.M. will precede the Testimonial Dinner scheduled for 7:30 P.M.

Speaking on the occasion will be our International President and Counselor A. Philip Randolph and others.

The honorees are: Mrs. Gertrude Ross, President of the Atlanta Division Ladies Auxiliary; Mr. Thomas Culpepper, President of the Atlanta Division of the Brotherhood and Mr. B. F. Hurt, former president of the Division.

For your convenience we are enclosing a reservation card. Please make reservations early.

Looking forward with a great deal of pleasure to seeing you on Friday, March 10, 1967.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

H. B. McCONNELL
Chairman
(Mrs.) BEATRICE M. TRAYLOR
Co-Chairman

H B McConnell
B. M. Traylor

February 8, 1967

Mr. Ken Crooks
Regional Office
National Urban League
78 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ken:

Here is an outline indicating most of the topics which I discussed with the group. You well know, in such an informal give-and-take, that some items were treated in greater detail than others.

It was a good group and I was happy to be with them. Lots of differences in background and experience which make it difficult to know just how effectively I made contact with what they most needed to know.

All good wishes as the group progresses through its training program.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

OUTLINE EMORY F. VIA'S PRESENTATION TO
VISTA ORIENTATION SESSIONS
February 2-3, 1967

I. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH

A. GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES

B. PLANTATION SYSTEM

C. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

D. CHANGES IN RACIAL RELATIONS

E. POLITICAL CHANGES

F. URBANIZATION

G. AGRICULTURAL CHANGES

H. FILM: "THE FACE OF THE SOUTH"

II. SOCIAL RELATIONS

A. "ETTIQUETTE" OF RACE RELATIONS

B. VARIED AND CONFLICTING PATTERNS OF RACIAL RELATIONS

C. SHARED VALUES ACROSS RACIAL LINES

III. SOME CINTINUING PROBLEMS

A. PREJUDICES AND DISCRIMINATION

B. SOUTHERN JUSTICE

C. EDUCATION

D. PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS - PATTERN IN CHANGE

E. EMPLOYMENT

F. PROBLEMS OF POOR WHITES

EFV/km

Tentative Program

MILES COLLEGE PROGRAM
HUMAN RESOURCES: A FULLER UTILIZATION

Barney Weeks
Ace Trainel
Bill Mintz
Jennie L. Wilkins

Monday, March 13, 1967

DINNER

Welcome, President, Miles College

Manpower Talk, J. Earl Williams

Characteristics of the Minority Work, J. Champagne

Tuesday, March 14

I. ROLE OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

9:00 - 9:30 a.m. A.) Plans for Progress Executive
9:30 - 10:00 a.m. B.) Miles College Board Corporation Executive

10:00 - 10:30 a.m. C.) Birmingham Corporation President
Experiences in Birmingham

10:30 - 10:45 a.m. Break

10:45 - 11:15 a.m. D.) Question and Answer Period

II. ROLE OF LABOR

11:15 - 11:45 a.m. Barney Weeks of ~~Birmingham~~ Alabama AFL-CIO

11:45 - 12:00 noon Question and Answer Period

12:00 - 1:30 p.m. Lunch

III. ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

1:30 - 2:00 p.m. Charles Gilmore - Department of Labor

2:00 - 2:30 p.m. Benny Solomon - OEO

2:30 - 3:00 p.m. A. Wade Martin - Tech.-Voc. Ed. and Federal and State Programs

3:00 - 3:30 p.m. Question and Answer Period

3:30 p.m. Summary - J. Earl Williams

Concluding Comments - President, Miles College

February 21, 1967

Dr. L.H. Pitts
President
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama 35208

Dear President Pitts:

It is my plan to be with you for your conference, "Human Resources: A Fuller Utilization."

Thank you for the invitation.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

MILES COLLEGE
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35208

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 17, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

On March 13-14, 1967, Miles College again joins with metropolitan ~~Birmingham as~~ partners in progress in a new venture. In cooperation with the U. S. Labor Department and the University of Houston, we are sponsoring a conference on manpower. This is my personal invitation and urgent request that you will come as a participant in this conference.

The conference aims to look at the manpower needs of the nation, but particularly, in metropolitan Birmingham. As we focus on these needs, we will be making an effort to look at the resources in this community with a view to finding ways of recruiting the kinds of people needed by business and industry, and offering them the assistance in counseling and training to make them more marketable and available. The U. S. Labor Department is sending a special team to the community in cooperation with the state and local employment offices as participants and leaders for this conference.

This conference is not a conference where people will be talked to, as much as where we talk together. I have said to the people in Washington and Dr. J. Earl Williams of Houston, that the leaders of this community are ready to move forward with any program that will improve the labor supply, that will upgrade present employees, and that will provide means of moving underemployed and overemployed into the labor market.

If you will attend this conference or will send one of your top executives, please call my office, 788-4641, and confirm this invitation.

Please find enclosed a tentative program.

Yours truly,

L. H. Pitts

L. H. Pitts

LHP:fhj
Enclosure
cc: Mr. Charlie Gilmore
Dr. J. Earl Williams

Press Spectator
John Kennedy
what Walter
Degregor

Miscellaneous Program

Schedule for Dr. Emory Via
March 16, 1967

11:30 Arrive Campus

12:30 Lunch with students and Mr. Feurer and Mrs. McCray

1:30 Political Science class - Mr. Feurer

3:00 Senior Seminar in Sociology - Sumner 104 - Mrs. McCray

M E M O R A N D U M

March 14, 1967

TO: Emory Via

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Lest I somehow miss you -- I called Mrs. Carrie McCray in Talladega and secured the following information (in addition to confirming that you will be there):

The first item on your agenda is an informal lunch with a group of students. She asks that you arrive around 11:30, as the luncheon is to be at 12:00.

She asks that you come to her office on the second floor of Swayne Hall. You can park on the parking lot at the administration building and ask directions; it is a small school.

From 1:30 to 3:00 you will meet with a political science class. From 3:00 to 4:30 you are to meet a senior seminar in sociology. She calculates that it might be 5:00 o'clock before you could get away.

Mrs. McCray seemed very pleased that you are coming. After I finished outlining your credentials she even said "Thank you, Dr. Stanfield" -- which I take as an effort to maintain the fiction that she would have been just as satisfied to have me!

Many thanks, and good luck.

Ed

SENIOR SEMINAR IN SOCIOLOGY

Seminar Theme:

"Social Change in America Today -- Implications for Social Welfare and Education"

Schedule of Invited Lecturers

March 16, 1967 - "The Process of Social Change in the South"

3:00, Sumner 104

DR. EMORY VIA, on leave from the University of Wisconsin to direct the Labor Project for the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Via is from the South and has been at the University of Wisconsin as professor of Labor Education. He comes to us through the Southern Regional Council.

March 21, 1967 - "The Law and Social Change"

2:00, Sumner 104

MR. OSCAR W. ADAMS, JR., Birmingham attorney and attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. Mr. Adams is a graduate of Talladega College.

March 23, 1967 - "Social Change and the Negro Family"

2:00, Sumner 104

DR. HERMAN HODGE LONG, President of Talladega College, Director Human Relations Institute.

April 11, 1967 - "Social Protest and Social Change"

2:00, Sumner 104

REV. T. Y. ROGERS, JR., pastor of First African Baptist Church of Tuscaloosa, active in Civil Rights, President of Confederation of Alabama Political Organizations, President of Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee.

April 17, 1967
April 18, 1967 - Two-day seminar and workshops in specific areas of Social Welfare and Education:

(time and place to be announced)

I. "Child Welfare Today"

MRS. ANNIE LAURIE TUCKER, Associate Director Sheltering Arms Childrens Service, New York City. Mrs. Tucker was consultant for New York City Department of Welfare in setting up of its adoption program. Mrs. Tucker is a graduate and trustee of Talladega College.

Ia. Workshop - "The Child Welfare Worker"

II. "Some Trends and Some Problems in Public Welfare"
MISS MAE NEELEY, Director of Division of Adoption New York City Department of Welfare. Miss Neeley has been with the Department of Welfare in New York City for many years, and comes to us with broad experience in public welfare services.

IIa. Workshop - "The Worker in Public Assistance"

III. "Special Problems of Youth in the Schools Today"
MISS THELMA GOODE, Guidance Counselor, Trenton, New Jersey. Miss Goode is a graduate of Talladega College.

IIIa. Workshop - "The Guidance Counselor"

April 25, 1967
April 26, 1967 - Two-day seminar: "Social Welfare Today and Tomorrow" with emphasis on social change and trends in social welfare.
(time and place to be announced)
DR. MARYELLEN GARDNER, Department of Sociology, The University of the City of New York. Dr. Gardner has a broad knowledge of the field of social welfare, having developed the curriculum for courses in Social Welfare at Hunter College, New York, Fairleigh Dickinson College, New Jersey and Queensboro College in New York City.

(Date to be Announced) - "Social Change and Social Problems, with emphasis on Mental Illness"
April 20, 1967
DR. ROBERT BERGEN, Department of Sociology and Psychiatry, Dartmouth College.

May 5-7, 1967 - "Problems of the Cities -- Implications for Social Welfare and Education"
PROF. ELTON W. HAM, Associate professor of Political Science and Director of Bureau of Municipal Research, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

I'M GOING OVER TO SET UP SEMINAR ROOM - WOULD YOU BE ABLE TO BRING DR VIA OVER AT 3:00.

28th Stanley Portnoy

30th [illegible]

Admin

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

Mr. Program

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

President
LINDSLEY F. KIMBALL

Senior Vice-President
RAMON S. SCRUGGS

Vice-Presidents
JOHN H. JOHNSON
MARTIN E. SEGAL

Secretary
DOROTHY HIRSHON

Treasurer
IVAN C. MCLEOD

Executive Director
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

Honorary Trustees
WILLIAM H. BALDWIN
ROBERT W. DOWLING
LLOYD K. GARRISON
THEODORE W. KHEEL
HENRY STEEGER

Board of Trustees
Morris B. Abram
Mrs. Max Ascoli
Joseph M. Baird
Mrs. Haley Bell
Eugene H. Buder
Walker Cisler
John S. Hayes
Dorothy Hirshon
Jerome H. Holland
Sophia Y. Jacobs
Martin D. Jenkins
John H. Johnson
R. Frank Jones
Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr.
Lindsley F. Kimball
Robert Lazarus, Jr.
John G. Lewis, Jr.
Lawrence W. Lowman
Brian G. Manion
Louis E. Martin
Mrs. O. Clay Maxwell, Sr.
Ivan C. McLeod
Joseph J. Morrow
Edward C. Myers
James F. Oates, Jr.
Everett P. O'Neal
Peter Ottley
Henry G. Parks, Jr.
Mrs. Theodore R. Poston
Samuel D. Proctor
Hobson R. Reynolds
Ramon S. Scruggs
Martin E. Segal
Leslie N. Shaw
Louis Simon
Mrs. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger
William J. Trent, Jr.
William O. Walker
Leonard Woodcock
Frank H. Wyman
Clayton R. Yates
Dwight R. Zook

Arthur Q. Funn
Legal Counsel

March 22, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

On behalf of the E. K. Jones VISTA Training Center staff, I would like to express our sincere appreciation for your valuable contribution to our training program.

Your presentation was meaningful and helping to our trainees' preparation for the job which they must do to help eliminate poverty. Will you be kind enough to send us an outline of your presentation at your earliest convenience?

A small honorarium will be mailed to you if you will provide us with a request for payment.

We will probably be calling on you for future programs.

Yours very truly,

E. K. JONES VISTA TRAINING CENTER

K. B. M. Crooks, Jr.
Training Center Director

KBMCJr:jb

Of course, we already have yours!
Thanks.

Honorarium will be coming shortly.
Thanks again
Ken

I don't think I submitted a bill. But let's let this go.

Affiliated with National Social Welfare Assembly, National Conference on Social Welfare
Contributions to the National Urban League are tax deductible

231

Labor Program

Miscellaneous Program

SENIOR SEMINAR IN SOCIOLOGY

Seminar Theme:

"Social Change in America Today -- Implications for Social Welfare and Education"

Schedule of Invited Lecturers

March 16, 1967 - "The Process of Social Change in the South"

3:00, Sumner 104

DR. EMORY VIA, on leave from the University of Wisconsin to direct the Labor Project for the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Via is from the South and has been at the University of Wisconsin as professor of Labor Education. He comes to us through the Southern Regional Council.

March 21, 1967 - "The Law and Social Change"

2:00, Sumner 104

MR. OSCAR W. ADAMS, JR., Birmingham attorney and attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. Mr. Adams is a graduate of Talladega College.

March 23, 1967 - "Social Change and the Negro Family"

2:00, Sumner 104

DR. HERMAN HODGE LONG, President of Talladega College, Director Human Relations Institute.

April 11, 1967 - "Social Protest and Social Change"

2:00, Sumner 104

REV. T. Y. ROGERS, JR., pastor of First African Baptist Church of Tuscaloosa, active in Civil Rights, President of Confederation of Alabama Political Organizations, President of Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee.

April 17, 1967
April 18, 1967 - Two-day seminar and workshops in specific areas of Social Welfare and Education:

(time and place to be announced)

I. "Child Welfare Today"

MRS. ANNIE LAURIE TUCKER, Associate Director Sheltering Arms Childrens Service, New York City. Mrs. Tucker was consultant for New York City Department of Welfare in setting up of its adoption program. Mrs. Tucker is a graduate and trustee of Talladega College.

Ia. Workshop - "The Child Welfare Worker"

II. "Some Trends and Some Problems in Public Welfare"
MISS MAE NEELEY, Director of Division of Adoption New York City Department of Welfare. Miss Neeley has been with the Department of Welfare in New York City for many years, and comes to us with broad experience in public welfare services.

IIa. Workshop - "The Worker in Public Assistance"

III. "Special Problems of Youth in the Schools Today"
MISS THELMA GOODE, Guidance Counselor, Trenton, New Jersey. Miss Goode is a graduate of Talladega College.

IIIa. Workshop - "The Guidance Counselor"

April 25, 1967
April 26, 1967 - Two-day seminar: "Social Welfare Today and Tomorrow" with emphasis on social change and trends in social welfare.

(time and place to be announced)

DR. MARYELLEN GARDNER, Department of Sociology, The University of the City of New York. Dr. Gardner has a broad knowledge of the field of social welfare, having developed the curriculum for courses in Social Welfare at Hunter College, New York, Fairleigh Dickinson College, New Jersey and Queensboro College in New York City.

(Date to be Announced) - "Social Change and Social Problems, with emphasis on Mental Illness"
April 20, 1967

DR. ROBERT BERGEN, Department of Sociology and Psychiatry, Dartmouth College.

May 5-7, 1967 - "Problems of the Cities -- Implications for Social Welfare and Education"

PROF. ELTON W. HAM, Associate professor of Political Science and Director of Bureau of Municipal Research, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

~~Hold for Detroit Trip II~~

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN-WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
ANN ARBOR DETROIT

March 22, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
c/o Southern Regional Council
5 Forstythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

In Reply Please Refer to:
4901 Evergreen Rd.
Dearborn, Mich. 48128

Dear Mr. Via:

Save the dates of May 25 and 26 for a most important conference.

The Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, in cooperation with the Liaison Office of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, has planned a conference for the directors and chairmen of state and municipal civil rights agencies.

You are probably familiar with the study of Patterns of Discrimination in Employment conducted by Wayne State University for the E.E.O.C. last year; perhaps you have had an opportunity to examine the findings and conclusions. The data from this study, similar observations by others, as well as changes in the population, economy, and civil rights movement combine to create a growing consensus about the need for agencies to review their direction in order to achieve greater gains.

The conference will be addressed by several outstanding theoreticians and practitioners in the areas of manpower and civil rights. It is being planned as an informal, off-the-record examination and exchange among those who bear the major responsibility for expanding and improving employment opportunity in their respective jurisdictions.

You will receive a formal invitation and details about the speakers and agenda soon. The site is Fairlane, the former Henry Ford estate, on the Dearborn Campus of The University of Michigan. Its location, away from the city, is greatly conducive to deliberation and discussion with a minimum of distractions but with modern comfortable facilities.

We hope you will plan to attend.

Sincerely,

Frances R. Cousens

(Dr.) Frances R. Cousens, Director
Patterns of Discrimination Project

FRC:ef

Misc Proj.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Participants at Fair Lane Conference

FROM: Frances Cousens

DATE: May 18, 1967

Your reservation form has been received and I am happy that you will be with us at the conference of civil rights agencies. Approximately sixty persons are coming and will represent a wide variety of state and municipal agencies from all parts of the country. The consultants are experts with knowledge and experience and will lead discussion on the most important aspects of civil rights.

Unlike many conferences, there will be a minimum of being "talked at;" relatively little formalized structure and ample opportunity for exchange and participation by the conferees.

The detailed agenda will be finalized by a small planning group meeting on Wednesday; this will be distributed, along with a number of position papers, when you register on Thursday morning. We can tell you, however, that the plenary sessions will cover areas such as: "Twenty Years of Fair Employment Practices Legislation" by Harold Fleming; "Tension and Crisis in Cities as a Consequence of Employment Discrimination" on the basis of a study of Watts by Paul Bullock; "The State of State Agencies" by Eric Polisar; "American Liberalism and Black Power" by Professor Arnold Kaufman of the University of Michigan Department of Philosophy; and commentaries by Ed Howden and K.C. Jones.

The findings of the Wayne State--E.E.O.C. study will be discussed and probed for their implications for affirmative action programs; also a proposal for another study under consideration for which we will solicit your comments and recommendations.

There will be free periods interspersed with both plenary and small group sessions; some time is also being set aside for a tour of the Fair Lane grounds and the Dearborn Campus which are beautiful at this time of year.

Now for some details about getting from the airport to either Holiday Inn or Fair Lane, depending on when you are arriving. We have arranged with the dispatcher of the limousine service to put you on the proper form of ground transportation. When you have collected your luggage, report to the limousine desk, located at the exit to the parking lot on the lower level of the main terminal. If you disembark in another wing, ask to be taken to the main terminal and proceed to the limousine service desk. We will have supplied them

with your names and respective times of arrival; in some cases, you may have to wait a little while for the other members of a party but this should not exceed twenty minutes or so.

A few of you who cannot be included with such a group will be directed to a cab. The cab driver need only be told that you are going to the Holiday Inn on Michigan, near Telegraph Road or the Fair Lane Conference Center on the Dearborn Campus of the University of Michigan. A map of the Campus was sent you in an earlier mailing which you might wish to bring with you; however, I am reasonably certain that limousine and cab drivers will know the way.

Several people have inquired about mode of dress; Spring has finally arrived in the Detroit area and the temperature is in the 60's during the day, and 40's in the evening. We will have Fair Lane all to ourselves or share it with only one other group; therefore, you may feel free to dress informally and for maximum physical comfort. Ladies might consider bringing a pair of low-heeled shoes for the tour of the grounds.

One disadvantage of the conference center is that no liquor can be served because it is a state-owned facility; however, there is a cocktail lounge at Holiday Inn for imbibing after sessions.

We are hoping to adjourn the conference no later than 5 P.M. on Friday and because you will be only ten miles of freeway from the airport, you can plan on 20 minutes (no more than 30 even in a traffic jam) to reach your return flight.

I hope you have a pleasant trip here and may be sure that we will do all that is within our power to make your attendance as comfortable and productive as possible. I am looking forward to greeting old friends and meeting new ones.

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN-WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

ANN ARBOR DETROIT.

In Reply Please Refer to:

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48202~~
4901 Evergreen Rd.
Dearborn, Michigan

May 9, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
c/o Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta Georgia 30303

cc: Ben Segal

Dear Mr. Via:

As of this date, we have had no reply to our invitation to attend the Fair Lane conference on May 25 and 26. Since all of our desks are deluged with invitations and publications of one sort or another, I can well understand how one may have decided to attend and yet neglected to return the reservation form.

There is already considerable conjecture about the coming summer and how "hot" it may become in various communities; moreover, some public agencies have become targets for legal action and other expressions of dissatisfaction on the part of the Negro community because of a perceived lack of effectiveness. We are not so naive as to promise you methods of resolving such conflict situations; nevertheless, much can be gained from a frank discussion of the problems common to all agencies and communities and much can be learned from a sharing of both successful and unsuccessful experience.

We urge your attendance at this conference; much thought has gone into the content and arrangements and a group of specialists will be here to serve as consultants. I know that agency directors and their commission chairmen are busy individuals but am confident that you will find this a worthwhile experience.

Please let us hear from you no later than May 12 and we hope that you will decide to come.

Sincerely,

Frances R. Cousens

Dr. Frances R. Cousens,
Project Director

FRC:ef

271-2300

Fair Lane 11:00
K.C. Jones & others 10:30
Share car

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN-WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
ANN ARBOR DETROIT

In Reply Please Refer to:
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
4901 Evergreen Rd.
Dearborn, Michigan

April 26, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
c/o Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

cc: Mr. Ben Segal

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed is the brochure for the Fair Lane conference on May 25 and 26 about which we wrote you earlier and which we hope you are planning to attend. I have received word from some who will attend and a few who find it impossible to do so. In any case, I believe all of you will want to have this additional information about the purpose of the conference.

This was not mentioned in the first communication, but you will be happy to know that we are planning to cover all your expenses except for travel. We need to know your travel plans as soon as possible, so please complete the reservation form and return it to us at your very earliest convenience.

When you arrive at Metropolitan Airport, go to the ground transportation desk of Airport Service Lines for a limousine to either Holiday Inn (Michigan Avenue at Telegraph Road) or to Fair Lane, depending on your time of arrival.

which

More detailed information and the conference agenda will be sent you well in advance of May 25.

We are looking forward to your attendance and participation.

Sincerely,

Frances R. Cousens

Dr. Frances R. Cousens,
Project Director

FRC:ef
enc.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

March 29, 1967

Dr. Emory Via, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

I am enclosing ten announcements on a Seminar on Protective Labor Legislation. This Seminar will be held on the campus of Troy State College, Troy, Alabama, on Wednesday, April 26, 1967. I hope your schedule will permit you to attend.

Since the topics to be discussed at the Seminar should be of interest to many individuals with whom you have contact, perhaps by word of mouth or through the use of weekly newsletters (if your organization has one) you can help us to reach these people and enable us to make this Seminar a big success.

I am looking forward to seeing you at the Seminar.

If you wish additional announcements, please contact Dr. Tom Eason, Troy State College, Troy, Alabama.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Smith

Harold L. Smith
Regional Consultant

Enclosures

Rob

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Room 404, Peachtree-Seventh Building
50 Seventh Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

SOCIAL SECURITY
ADMINISTRATION

April 4, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

I am glad you have accepted our invitation to attend the Equal Employment Seminar to be held at Paschal's Motor Hotel, Atlanta, on April 10, 1967. Your participation will contribute greatly to the success of the meeting.

Registration for the meeting will begin at 8:00 a.m. in the hotel lobby. A luncheon for all participants is planned, which will cost each person $2.00. This amount will be collected during registration.

A table will be provided in the hotel lobby for representatives from community organizations and groups to display pamphlets, leaflets or other type informational material about the activities of their organizations. It is intended that these materials be made available for distribution to the insurance company and Blue Cross organization representatives. Therefore, if you represent an organization or group that has such materials available, I would appreciate your bringing a small supply for dissemination.

I am looking forward to seeing you at the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Murray

James W. Murray
Regional Assistant Commissioner

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Peachtree-Seventh Building, Room 404
50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

SOCIAL SECURITY
ADMINISTRATION

A

EV — Need few attended at Conference

Called Miss Hankerson & said that EV would represent Soc Sec Apr. 10 wj 3/30/67

March 17, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Social Security Administration has contracted with Blue Cross-Blue Shield organizations and major commercial insurance companies in the administration of Medicare. These organizations and companies pay Medicare hospital and medical bills as agents of the Federal Government and, as contractors, have equal employment opportunity responsibilities under Presidential Executive Order 11246.

The Social Security Administration is sponsoring an Equal Employment Opportunity Seminar in Atlanta on April 10, 1967. The meeting will bring together home office, regional and local management personnel from 15 major commercial insurance companies and the Blue Cross-Blue Shield, along with representatives of regional and community organizations from Atlanta and the Southeast who are particularly concerned with the employment of minority persons. These companies will include among others, Aetna, Equitable, John Hancock, Metropolitan, Mutual of Omaha, Prudential and Travelers. Since the equal employment opportunity requirements cover all segments of the contracting organizations, the seminar will seek to encourage managers of local offices of these companies to increase minority employment in their commercial office forces.

The meeting is designed to enable insurance company representatives -- the employers -- to get together with various community groups -- the sources for prospective employees -- to discuss frankly job opportunities in the insurance field. Our plans call for general sessions in the morning of the meeting and in the afternoon we will

have five work groups on the subjects of: (1) recruiting clericals, (2) recruiting professionals and technicals, (3) the in-office human relationships atmosphere, (4) affirmative selection and promotion procedures, and (5) company self-appraisal of equal employment opportunity progress. Emphasis will be placed upon the cooperative post-conference activities of the participants.

The meeting will be held at Paschal's Motor Hotel, 830 Hunter Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30314, and will run from 8:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. on April 10, 1967.

Because of your leadership and concern for fair employment practices, you are invited to attend the seminar to participate actively and share your views and experience on equal employment with the participants. Your attendance, we feel, will add greatly to the success of the seminar. I would appreciate your notifying me by March 29 whether you will attend. If you like, you may call Miss Theresa Hankerson of my staff (telephone 526-5961) about your attendance. Or, if you wish additional information, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Murray

James W. Murray
Regional Assistant Commissioner

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITY GROUPS IN THE SOUTHEAST

PROGRAM

PASCHAL BROTHERS' MOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
APRIL 10, 1967

PROGRAM

8:30–9:00 a. m. Registration

MORNING SESSION

WELCOME: The Honorable Sam Massell, Jr.
Vice Mayor
City of Atlanta

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gordon Sherman
Atlanta Regional Office
Social Security Administration

PRESENTATION: Mr. R. C. Coleman
Eastern Airlines

Mr. Paul L. Everett
Social Security Administration

PANEL: Views of Equal Opportunity Program
by:
Community Representatives
Insurance Representatives

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

LUNCH

Richard Marshall — Pres. Combat Presidential (Jacksonville)
Paschal —
H. Sweat — (Assist)
Yeats — Pr. Mgr. — Ala. — Blue Cross 25th
Paul Everett — Sere. Sec.

AFTERNOON SESSION

WORK GROUPS:

Group 1—Recruiting minority group applicants for clerical positions

Group 2—Recruiting minority group applicants for professional and technical positions

✓ *Group 3*—Developing and maintaining a good in-office human relations climate

Group 4—Affirmative selection and promotion programs

Group 5—Company self-appraisal of EEO progress

SUMMARY MEETING

4:30 p. m. ADJOURN

Soc. Sec. & EEOC – [Mr Everett]
minority Coord., only from Soc. Sec initiative –

Mediation –
R. ~~[illegible]~~ non-involvement –

LIST OF INVITEES

Aetna Life and Casualty Insurance Company
American Friends Service Committee
American Jewish Committee
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Atlanta Community Relations Commission
Atlanta Life Insurance Company
Atlanta Public Schools
Atlanta University
Blue Cross-Blue Shield of Alabama
Blue Cross-Blue Shield of Florida
Chattanooga and Hamilton County Community Action Programs
Chattanooga Human Relations Council
Clark College
Columbia Community Relations Council
Connecticut General Life Insurance Company
Continental Casualty Company
Durham Human Relations Council
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States
Fisk University
General American Life Insurance Company
Georgia Hospital Service Association, Inc.
Georgia State Department of Education
Georgia Teachers and Education Association
Hospital Care Association
Hospital Savings Association
Jackson Council on Human Relations
John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company
Labor Education Advancement Program
Memphis Hospital Service and Surgical Association
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
Miami Times
Mississippi Council on Human Relations

Mississippi Hospital and Medical Service
Morehouse College
Morris Brown College
Mutual of Omaha Insurance Company
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Education Association
National Urban League
Nationwide Mutual Insurance Company
North Carolina Fund
Occidental Life Insurance Company of California
Pan-American Life Insurance Company
Pilot Life Insurance Company
Prudential Insurance Company of America
William Raines High School of Jacksonville
Social Security Administration
South Carolina Human Relations Council
South Carolina Medical Care Plan
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Spelman College
Teacher's Agency of Georgia
Tennessee Hospital Service
Tennessee Human Relations Council
Travelers Insurance Company
Union Mutual Life Insurance Company
United Fund of Dade County
United Hospitals Service Association
United States Civil Service Commission
United States Commission on Civil Rights
United States Department of Defense
United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
United States Post Office Department
Washington Employment Bureau
Alderman Q. V. Williamson

Paschal —
Women (white) & disc.
Corporate responsibility, reaches to ed., Emp. Serv, etc
Not come expecting Underdogger to do —
Corporate leaders come to town & take part in its Seg.
housing, part schools,

Marshall
go to colleges - Bias, Sell idea of placement & dev of alumni -
Call on "Option makers" in Com -
L Urban, H.R., Prominent preacher (?)
Use Team approach (Interracial?)
L Seeing is believing —
(Presidential Lea R. or Bd of Dir)
Approach to recruit
(3) You are underemployed
(1) accept change,
(2) Unlimited opportunity -
Have to convince out
matrimonials
Resistance to MS and Companies

Sweatt
motivation —
on the way to school, stop by graveyard to pick
up Booker T & Geo Wash Carver -
Kids aren't taking it against —
want to see something that breathes,
of their own generation —

Yeats - Blue Cross-Shield - B'ham —
once decided to really go for the program
2-3 N employees for Second year - Strong -
Then ~~medical~~ medicine, beg med, gynecol -
went to Gastan's Bus. School, H. S.,
150 new hires - 30 Negroes : last 12 months
went to Emp. Serv — MTDA
Econ necessity — benefit to So. if Negro income
goes up —

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Room 404, Peachtree-Seventh Building
50 Seventh Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

SOCIAL SECURITY
ADMINISTRATION

April 24, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I am sorry you were unable to attend and participate in our Equal Employment Opportunity Seminar for medicare contractors held on April 10. The consensus indicates that this was a fruitful meeting.

Although you were unable to attend, we thought you would be interested in receiving a copy of the report which includes a summary of the sessions, a listing of the participants and copies of news stories of the conference. It is enclosed. We hope this will help stimulate more and closer cooperation among company and community representatives in promoting equal opportunity in those insurance and Blue Cross-Blue Shield organizations with medicare contracts.

Sincerely yours,

Robert P. Bynum

Robert P. Bynum
Regional Assistant Commissioner

Enclosure

pl03

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Room 404, Peachtree-Seventh Building
50 Seventh Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

SOCIAL SECURITY
ADMINISTRATION

Program

May 5, 1967

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I am sorry our record of the persons attending the Equal Employment Opportunity Seminar on April 10 was incorrect. I am glad, however, that you did attend and we certainly appreciate your fine evaluation of the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Robert P. Bynum

Robert P. Bynum
Regional Assistant Commissioner

File

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 1, 1965

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Editor
Gainesville Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Air Mail

Dear Sylvan:

Would you be so kind as to send me information on the upcoming conference on Title VII to be held in Savannah later this month. My understanding is that the conference is under the sponsorship of the Georgia Advisory Committee.

I have returned to the Southern Regional Council to head their labor program. I have not been in these parts to stay since the first years of Harold's directorship, but look forward to a good year here and a chance to renew old acquaintances.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js

Emory-MSGR. TOOMEY of Sav. is chairman of the session. Sam Massell, Atlanta, is now acting chairman of the Ga. committee and Mrs. Francis Pauley is secretary. I think she could give you the details, if the details are now known. Hope this is helpful. I'm a member but no longer chairman of the committee.

Sylvan

Sylvan

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

Frogmore, S. C.
November 2, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
Southern REgional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I am certainly glad that you and Al could come down and participate in the Savannah meeting last week. I am sorry that we did not take advantage of your presence for more of a contribution but do appreciate your coming.

I do hope that you, Margaret and your son can soon come down for a weekend. Rather than waiting to discuss this at the SRC meeting, you might want to come before that while the weather is still good. At any rate, we will count on a visit soon.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

CS/fm

November 24, 1965

Professor Karl U. Smith
Department of Psychology
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Karl:

I am not certain if you know that I am on leave from the School for Workers to be with the Southern Regional Council for a year, but I write to seek your assistance in a matter close to your professional and personal interests.

We would like to have an article of about 2,000 to 3,500 words on problems of testing, with special attention given to occupational tests. The audience to which the article is directed is mixed: moderately sophisticated to very sophisticated, including a variety of professionals, business and labor leadership. They have in common a concern for the attainment of equality and decency in racial relations. It is overwhelmingly a southern audience but includes well placed and influential persons in social action, governmental, foundation, and academic circles.

The need as I see it is for a candid assessment of the uses and abuses of testing -- a clear statement as to what can be expected from tests and what it is improper and impractical to expect from them. I think, too, that a summary of the ways in which bias enters into the test is still quite useful. One special problem that seems to arise out of testing lore and, unfortunately out of Title VII (FEP) of the Civil Rights Act (1964), is the belief that testing is a device for assuring fairness.

I have been surprised all over again by the extent of this belief with no questions asked about the nature or the purposes of the test or whether it is reasonably related to the proclaimed end. The Civil Rights Law recognizes that not just any test is acceptable but that those professionally produced and administered are OK. One would gather that as long as there was no intent to discriminate that a professionally developed test would be accepted. I think this leaves a good bit to be desired.

Incidentally, it would not be necessary to limit your remarks to just the problems of possible discrimination because of race (or the cultural differences for which race is a shorthand symbol), and it would be of real value to have fundamental difficulties tackled. Having said this, though, clear lessons should be drawn, where they are clear, regarding the discriminatory effect of tests.

Although I have described our audience as sophisticated, I am sure that this means a fairly widespread acceptance of tests so long as they are professionally developed. We have found, generally, that we have the greatest impact with material that is moderate in tone but hard hitting in fact presentation and analysis.

The article would be designed for the Council's New South which is currently a monthly, but after the first of the year will be a much more substantial quarterly. Payment for the article would be modest, in the two-figure range. My appeal to you is really based on your own interest and the importance of reaching this particular audience. We would like to see your article by February 15, 1966.

Please let me hear from you about this matter. I will be happy to supply you with such further information or leads that would prove useful to you. I am enclosing a few items that may be of interest.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js
Enclosures - 2.

2255 Lenox Road, N. E.
Apt. L-1
Atlanta, Georgia 30324
November 22, 1965

State Teachers Retirement
System of Wisconsin
212 North Bassett Street
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is my check for $47.33 to be deposited to my variable annuity account. Will you please mark the copy of this letter paid and return to me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:js

Enclosures-2.

17 December 1965

Mr. Frederick Routh, Executive Director
National Association of Intergroup Relations
Officers
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Fred:

The enclosed article was published in the December issue of Labor Education News, newsletter of Local 189, American Federation of Teachers. I thought you might like to see it.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

File - Personal

HEINZ RUHNAU

2 HAMBURG-BLANKENESE
WILDENBRUCHSTRASSE 17E
TELEFON 86 50 39

17th December, 1965

Dear Conroy!

At the end of this year some very important alterations for my future life have been occured. The 15th December 1965 I have been elected as Senator of the Hamburg State. As Secretary for interior affairs in the Hamburg Government I will be responsible for the Community Administration, the Police and Civil Defense problems.

By this, my activity at the Metalworkers' Union, lasting more than 15 years, will be finished. The decision for this step was very difficult for me, because working 15 years in a trade union has built many personal relations. But on the other side it is an honour and an appreciation, I suppose, of the trade unions in our country. Furthermore I am convinced that now the time has come where the young generation has to take over the political responsibility in this nation.

By means of my work in the Metalworkers' Union I have won a lot of good friends. Today I may hope and wish that all these contacts will be preserved also in the future. But the step I have done is not rather big. Now I shall have the task and the responsibility to form from another place the social character of our country and to assist that freedom and democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany will have a stable basis. In the next months there is waiting a lot of work, as the Parliament in Hamburg will anew be elected on 27th March, 1966. In the Parliament we have the absolute majority and I am sure that we shall keep it. After that I hope it will be possible to make holidays for some time.

My family is well. They are all in good health. We would be very glad to hear from you in the very near future.

With my best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a happy New Year I remain

Yours very truly,

Heinz.

2255 Lenox Road, N.E.
Apt. L-1
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

20 December 1965

State Teachers Retirement
System of Wisconsin
212 North Bassett Street
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is my check for $47.33 to be deposited to my variable annuity account. Will you please mark the copy of this letter paid and return to me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:jb
Enclosures (2)

December 30, 1965

Mr. Stuart Brock
Fifth Floor
815 Sixteenth Street
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Stuart:

It is good to see the increased signs of life for local 189. I am sorry to be unable to take part in the confabbing between January 7-9. I will be launching the NILE southern union staff program at the University of Georgia on January 9.

Give my best wishes to those who are able to make it and I trust that the meetings will prove fruitful.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

February 10, 1966

Miss Mary L. Poole
State Teachers Retirement
System of Wisconsin
212 N. Bassett Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Dear Miss Poole:

Enclosed is my check for $47.33 to be deposited to my variable annuity account. Will you please mark the copy of this letter "paid" and return to me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:jb
Enclosure: personal check for $47.33

February 23, 1966

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Eggleston
321 Utah Avenue
Melrose Park
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Eggleston:

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks for your hospitality extended to my parents recently. They arrived here in Atlanta in great good shape - all due to your friendliness and companionship and Florida climate. They were quite buoyed up and our whole family is appreciative.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

February 24, 1966

Mr. Frederick Routh, Director
National Association of Intergroup
Relations Organizations
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Fred:

Do you feel the federal government has been nudging you lately?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure: copy of letter from Postmaster General addressed to "Mr. Baul Anthony, Executive Director, NAIRO"

File

From the desk of

FRED ROUTH

End of Feb 66

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory,

After what they have done to mail delivery, I am surprised at nothing the P.O. does -- but even they should know the distinction between a regional man and a national man !

Henry Dixon (Freudian slip, oops) should particularly know better; ah, with friends like these who needs acquaintances ?

Hope this finds Margaret and David well -- you, too.

Warmly, Fred

cc Anthony

NAIRO - 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C. - 387-7050

March 9, 1966

Dear Roy:

When I can't adequately perform the work I should do to better this old world I turn to personal pique at the injustices leveled my way by our many imperfect social systems. You will recognize an old complaint in the enclosed letter to United Van Lines and a variety of its agents. You should have seen the letter Margaret vetoed.

I hate to be done in by another fellow's fault which he could easily remedy. This is worth something to me in life. Let's say up to one hundred dollars in this case plus whatever a court might reasonably allow in costs and fees if the case is tight enough. I think the rascals are treating me rascally and should not be allowed off free.

If you say pocket your pique, pride, and accompanying sentiments and be off to sensibility, I will do so, and my continued respects to you. If you say other, and wish to proceed in the light of the above, I say, lay on McDuff (or is that sufficiently Scandahoovian)!

Margaret is currently in two shows in two states. Awards in each. Sold a major oil this week. Marketable are the works of the true professional, we continue to say.

My best to all there. At least you know the juices still run What can you expect in a warm climate?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

Home Address: 2255 Lenox Road, N.E.
Apt. L-1
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

Business: Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

EFV:jb

March 9, 1966

Mr. Michael Volk
International Representative, UAW
Florida UAW Area Office
1825 W. Oak Ridge Road
Orlando, Florida

Dear Mike:

Your good letter has been received and greatly appreciated. I thank you both for its thoughtfulness and its sentiments. I am sure it will be useful in helping to further the cause.

It was a real pleasure to renew acquaintances with you and with Ester. I hope that our paths will cross again soon. Best wishes to you both.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

Pen.

Apt. L-1
2255 Lenox Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

March 16, 1966

Wisconsin State Teachers
Retirement System
212 N. Bassett Street
Madison, Wisconsin

Gentlemen:'

Enclosed is my check for $94.66 to be deposited to my variable annuity account.

Will you please mark the copy of this letter indicating this payment has been received and return to me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:jb
Enclosure

2255 Lenox Road, N.E.
Apt. L-1
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

March 24, 1966

First Federal Savings and Loan
202 State Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Dear Sirs:

Some months ago, at my request, you had my property at 5710 Anchorage Avenue, Madison, Wisconsin, appraised. Would you please send me a report on that appraisal indicating the estimated value of the property?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:jb

April 5, 1966

Mrs. Joyce Ebi
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Joyce:

Can't you cook up troubles in your own union sufficient to keep you busy so that you will not interfere with the internal workings of mine to the extent of electing its treasurer. He won handsomely. Not a word of protest but then I kept quiet.

The enclosed pound cake recipe is for the ever growing file and eventual book. It is widely acclaimed in certain conclaves in Virginia and Georgia as the best yet. For immediate practical purposes the recipe comes from old Mama Via herself. For even more immediate and more practical purposes, the recipe comes from Margaret V. J. Via. No baker she, but the two she has whomped up have been most satisfying.

It was good to see Owen and Frank in Detroit. Tell all others I'm sorry they were not able to show.

Best wishes to Betty, Al, and to all other friends of good standing.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

April 6, 1966

Mr. William Elkus
Education Director
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America
15 Union Square
New York, New York 10003

Dear Bill:

It was good to see you even briefly in Detroit. I am very sorry that we got no chance to talk but I guess it was not the place nor time.

Although I have no trips scheduled for New York at present I will surely look you up next time I am there. Please do the same for me if you find yourself coming this way.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

June 6, 1966

Dean T. J. Shannon
University Extension Division
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Ted:

Thank you for your letter regarding the Regents' action approving my leave for a further year running to August 31, 1967.

The travel schedule here is as heavy as with the Division, except that it tends to be spread over eleven states. I have just returned from an ILGWU education conference at Daytona Beach which had followed immediately upon my participation at the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights". Incidentially, I served as a consultant to the White House Conference which meant that I was on the task force dealing with the section on economic security and welfare. This led ultimately to my serving on a panel with four of the sessions dealing with our task force's report at the conference itself. Bill Foster (Law) also served as a consultant. I believe the two of us were the only University of Wisconsin-connected persons among the forty or so people nationally who were used on the various task forces for the conference. Should this get a mention in MEMO?

The year has been fruitful and many respects but still full of frustrations when I look at all that there is to do. I remain appreciative of your willingness and cooperation in securing leave for me and for your interest in the program here.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

June 8, 1966

Mrs. Ruby Hurkey
Southeast Region&l Diqector
N&ABP
859 1/2 Hunser Stqeet N.W.
Aslanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hurkey:

It was so nice having you at the Whiee House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." It gave me special pleasure to put your name in the program.

Sincerely,

Ide Triedhard
Chief Typesetter

ITh:jb

June 9, 1966

Manager
Sheraton-Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I was a registered guest in your hotel from May 31st through June 2nd. With a conference of 2500 persons making use of your facilities I know that it was a time of unusual business and harrassment.

I write simply to say that I have never before been in so large a hotel where service and courtesy were so uniformly good. It was a real pleasure to have dealt with housemen, maids, bellboys, and the people at the front desk and to have always been treated ably and kindly.

I know that a full thousand things must have gone wrong during the same period of my stay with you; however, I could not resist this fan letter since the quality of service I received made an otherwise busy stay quite pleasant.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:jb

June 15, 1966

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
Associate Editor
The Atlanta Journal
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Reese:

I liked your piece entitled "The South's Battle Has Come To Town". It was clear, to the point, and serves a good purpose. Thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

SHERATON-PARK HOTEL AND MOTOR INN
WASHINGTON, D. C.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

PHONE: COLUMBIA 5-2000
TELETYPE WA. 75

June 23, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you so much for your complimentary letter of June 9, 1966.

We look forward to your early return.

Kind regards,

R. W. Bob Holden
General Manager

RWH:cxh

July 19, 1966

Professor James Stern
School for Workers
825 Extension Bldg.
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Jim:

The grapevine, or whatever it is we use for a communication network, tells me that your status will soon be changing at the University. I have no doubt that we will miss you at the School. I know that I will miss the smiling countenance, long sharp needle, buzz sessions, and occasional brainstorming. I trust that when the Vias return to town that we will be getting to see you and family through other interests if not on a daily work basis. Best wishes to you as you go full-time in economics.

What finally gets me to actually correspond with a human being outside this region is the need to settle Owen Tapper's credit situation which involves the two of us. I am satisfied in my mind that Owen has done sufficient reading, re-reading, thinking, and applying of what he has read to easily warrant the four hours of credit which we had agreed he would be due if all was done satisfactorily.

His readings included articles in books from the following authors: William H. Form, Alice H. Cook, Lawrence Herson, Arthur B. Shostak, Charles R. Walker, James B. McKee, Orme W. Phelps, Donald E. Ray, C. M. M. Hart, W. Lloyd Warner, and Floyd Hunter. If you need more of a report it could be provided. Owen used his reading in connection with our project and I think quite usefully.

Let me know if anything else is needed. Best wishes to you and family.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

COLLEGE OF LETTERS AND SCIENCE
THE HONORS PROGRAM
203 SOUTH HALL

TELEPHONE
262-2984

August 17, 1966

Professor Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Professor Via:

This is a very belated "Thank You" for sending me a copy of the 1965 report of the Southern Teaching Program.

This plan has real import for our own Carnagie Grant with A&T, NCC, and TSU. I know that Marshall Colston, who now is Administrative Secretary of our CCNU, would appreciate receiving a copy of it. This noon, I had lunch with Jack Barbash, and he too stated that he would like a copy.

For your own interest, I am enclosing a copy of our report to the Carnagie Corporation. This report was sent to them this spring and describes in some detail various aspects of our program.

Please keep my name on any mailing list you have for future reports on the Southern Teaching Program. I had expected to see you this fall and to get acquainted with you personally, but I just learned that you again are on leave of absence for the coming year. Good luck!

Sincerely,

C. H. Ruedisili

C. H. Ruedisili
Associate Dean

CHR/tt
cc: Marshall Colston
Administrative Secretary
CCNU Committee on Cooperating Negro Universities

Professor Jack Barbash
Economics Department
University of Wisconsin

1 September 1966

Mr. Norris Tibbetts
Room 825 Extension Bldg.
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53701

Dear Norris:

I will be in Madison on September 7 about mid-afternoon and stay there until about mid-afternoon on Friday. I will be attending the sessions of the apprenticeship conference sponsored by the Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education. Sorry for the short notice but look forward to seeing you and others on the staff during that time.

Best personal wishes to you, family, and all.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

copy to home address:

13 Veblen Place
Madison 53705

1 September 1966

Mr. Kale Williams
5637 Dorchester Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Kale:

I will be in Madison from September 7 through mid-afternoon September 9. I will leave Madison on Northwest flight 444 at 5:40 p.m. on the 9th and arrive in Chicago at 6:17 p.m. I hope to see you that evening. May I stay the night? One big drawback is that I have to catch a 7:00 a.m. flight out of O'Hare for Richmond on Saturday morning.

Don't bother to meet me at the airport. I'll make my way to your place. I'll either call you from the airport or from Madison to make sure all is o.k.

I look forward to seeing you and am sorry that Margaret and David will not be with me. Love to all.

Emory F. Via

copy sent to office address:

American Friends Service Committee
431 South Dearborn Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

1 September 1966

Mr. Rubin C. Buse

Dear Mr. Buse:

I will come into Madison on September 7. I should arrive some time in the mid-afternoon and will be there until mid-afternoon on September 9 attending a conference at the University.

I will be in touch with you shortly afterII arrive to arrange a convenient time for me to come out to the house. I need to take a look at our own stuff in the basement and would greatly welcome the chance to meet you. I am sure that you've had your hands full in getting settled into the house after your extensive travels. There are one of two items that got lost in the shuffle that perhaps I should raise now. We had had a water softener service provided by Clack. We would like this continued and its cost is included in the rental charge. Similarly, the water bill is included in the rental charge. We have also used the Midland Cooperative for our heating oil supplier. We would prefer that they continue to be the supplier both because of good past relations and because we would like to continue our service contract with them. Incidentially, the cost of the service contract is also included in the rental payment.

If there are any problems that have arisen since you moved in I would be happy to discuss them with you while I am in Madison. I look forward to meeting you and family.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

1 September 1966

Mr. A. Roy Anderson
5934 South Hill Drive
Madison, WWisconsin 53705

Dear Roy:

I plan to be in Madison from September 7th (mid-afternoon) until September 9th (mid-afternoon). I will be attending an apprenticeship conference at the University.

I trust I will get to see you both for business and personal reasons. I will be in touch with the Buses.

Best personal wishes. Look forward to seeing you and Pat.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

efv:jb

1 September 1966

Mr. and Mrs. John McGrath
210 Princeton Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin 53705

Dear John and Mary Jean:

I plan to be in Madison on the afternoon of September 7th through the afternoon of September 9th. I will be attending an apprenticeship conference at the University.

My plans have been late in jelling but I will be in touch with you and look forward to seeing you.

Love,

Emory F. Via

1 September 1966

Mr. and Mrs. David B. Johnson
5806 Anchorage Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin 53705

Dear Dave and Marge:

I plan to attend the apprenticeship conference at the University and will be coming into Madison on the afternoon of September 7. I have to leave on the afternoon of Friday the 9th. I trust I'll get a chance to see you.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:jb

2 September 1966

Mr. Marshall Colston
Administrative Secretary
Committee on Cooperating
Negro Universities
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Marshall:

Congratulations! I have just learned of your appointment from Dean Ruedisili in a recent letter. He thought that you would be interested in the enclosed report on the Southern Teaching Program. We are most pleased for you to have it.

Don't fail to look us up if your travels bring you through Atlanta. With a little care you could route yourself this was and your visit would be welcome both by the Vias for personal reasons and by our office here for professional ones.

I will be making a rushed appearance in Madison during the apprenticeship training conference which will be on September 8. Since I have to not only attend the conference but tend to some pressing pessonal matters I'm not sure just how many folks I will get to see. If I miss you, please keep our invitation to come see us in mind.

Sincerely,

Emory F..Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

2 September 1966

Professor Jack Barbash
Department of Economics
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Jack:

I believe you have already received a copy of this report on the Southern Teaching Program. However, Dean Ruedisili asked that I forward one to you and to Marshall Posten. We are most happy to do so.

I hope to have a quick trip into Madison during the time of the apprenticeship training conference. Look forward to seeing you. Best wishes to Kitty and the rest of the family.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:jb

2 September 1966

Dean C. H. Ruedisili
College of Letters and Science
203 South Hall
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Dean Ruedisili:

We were happy to get the copy of the report of the committee on cooperating Negro universities. We will be certain to send to you any further reports on the Southern Teaching Program or related matters.

My recollection is that I had previously sent Jack Barbash a copy of our report. However I will sent both him and Marshall Posten a copy.

The Council here would like to continue to receive any further reports from the University's program.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

2 September 1966

Central Payroll Office
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is my check for $93.60 for pre-payment on my State of Wisconsin group life insurance for the period from September 1966 through August 1967. I will be on leave of absence from the University at that time.

It is my understanding that I may not prepay my state health insurance since this will be a second year's leave of absence. Is this information correct? Would you please see that the proper reinstatement forms are sent to me along with information on how soon my full health insurance coverage will berseinstated once re-application has been made.

Please write me in care of this Atlanta address.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Associate Professor
School for Workers

EFV:jb

2 September 1966

The National Guardian Life Insurance
Company
P. O. Box 1191
Madison, Wisconsin

Attn: Mr. Krogh

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is my check for $12.00 to cover the annual premium on my faculty life insurance at the University of Wisconsin.

This premium would normally be deducted from my October salary but I will be on leave of absence at that time.

This method of payment has been worked out by the Extension Business Office. If for any reason any complication arises will you be in touch with me at my Atlanta address.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Associate Professor
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin

EFV:jb

September 21, 1966

Mr. O. J. Irons
2863 Handy Drive, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Dear Mr. Irons:

It has been along time since you have heard from me, for which I am very sorry. Enclosed is a check for $35.00 for your assistance in the apprentice study in which I had a part. I do not always have funds for such cooperative efforts, but I am pleased to be able to forward this to you. My apologies for the delay.

It could be that the near future will bring about a more concerted effort to end discrimination in apprenticeship programs. It would be most helpful, if we could continue to be in contact. I would still like to know of youngsters who have a serious interest in attempting to enter the trades.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Enclosure

September 23, 1966

Mr. and Mrs. Kale Williams
5637 Dorchester Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Helen and Kale:

It was great seeing you on the evening of the nihth and even at 5:30 a.m. on the tenth. Thanks for the hospitality, information, and just a chance to see you.

Love,

Emory F. Via

hj

Per

Per Sand

MEMORANDUM

Telephone: 525-8549

To: Emory Via

October 6, 1966

From: E. T. Kehrer
Suite 1422
40 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Subject: Georgia Independent Democratic Caucus

Regardless of the outcome of the November Governor's race, i.e., whether Maddox wins or not, the fact remains that he and his radical right "wool hat" group will control the Georgia Democratic Party machinery for the next four years. Under this "leadership" there will be no place for the moderate Georgian. The resulting vacuum could very well have disastrous results for the Democratic Party and the future of our State.

I would like to suggest the formation of an Independent Democratic Party Caucus to meet this urgent need for a viable structure under which the moderate Georgian, Negro and white, could coalesce.

The chief purposes of this Caucus would be:

1. To provide a district, county, and state delegate organization to reach the rank and file voter, and a communication link up and down the organization and throughout the State.

2. To serve as a program formulating, issue stating, and problem focusing structure for Georgia. This role would be two-fold - pressures on the incumbent administration in an effort to prevent erosion of already existing programs - and development of a framework of program on which to build the next campaign.

To carry out such an important and imperative program it would require that a number of Georgians of stature issue a call for the Caucus and also the commitment of some money for a modest budget.

I would be interested in your reaction to the above proposal.

ETK:sjs
opeiu #21
afl-cio

October 18, 1966

Sheraton-Battle House Hotel
P. O. Box 1269
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Sirs:

When I was last with you (attending the Alabama Labor Council Convention) I was not able to straighten out the enclosed statement.

My recollection about the bill for September 16 and 17 is that I checked out of the hotel on the 18th very early in the morning, and stopped by the cashier's window before catching the airport limousine. The notes in ink on the face of the statement are mine, and come from my personal copy of my expense account. They indicate the charges and that they were paid on a Diners' Club credit card. Unfortunately, I no longer have the receipts.

Would you have your accounting office check this matter again? If you can come up with a conclusive answer, or if my organization is not billed by the Diners' Club, I will be most happy to pay the amount due.

My most recent stay with you was quite pleasant.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Vaa, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km
Enc.

Apartment L-1
2255 Lenox Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

October 24, 1966

State Teachers Retirement System
of Wisconsin
212 North Bassett Street
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is my check for $43.33 to be deposited to my Variable Annuity Account. Will you please return a receipt as usual?

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Associate Professor
School For Workers

hj
Enclosure

File: Personal Correspondence

Apartment L - 1
2255 Lenox Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

November 7, 1966

The Editor
The Wall Street Journal
30 Broad Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I read The Wall Street Journal regularly and with respect. I am among a rather sizable portion of your readers who respect your paper as a journalistic enterprise, but who find themselves frequently in disagreement with your editorial positions. I am sorry that this letter is not occasioned by a favorable response to an editorial position rather than a negative one. But you have reacted, I think, too quickly and far too negatively to a proposal which (a) attempts to be responsible in the U.S. scheme of things, (b) which offers help to our land at a point of great hurt, and (c) which suggests positive benefits, possible of attainment, to the nation, its economy and, thereby, to business.

I speak of your response to the "Freedom Budget" proposals in your editorial of November 1, 1966.

I guess I am realist enough to know that no letter such as this could persuade you to consider an about face. But as a people, business and The Wall Street Journal included, we face problems of such seriousness that I would hope for some reconsideration on your part. Or perhaps you could call for an open examination of what the "Freedom Budget" offers.

Surely you, and all of us, must go beyond the right-middle-left cry that poverty programs have failed. We must find ideas and programs which meet needs--needs which have frequently found eloquent and factual expressions in your own most worthy news columns.

There probably are those of us who can point to even more poverty program failures than the editors of the Journal. But can we let the matter rest with such criticism of recent special efforts--even when we fail to recognize successes? Can we urge a return to prior practices which benefited many of us, but which did little to narrow the gap between those of average means (leave the rest of us out) and those in poverty? Can we ignore the impact of world events, the mass media, and a to-be-praised rising expectation of our own people which have led to accelerated demands for solutions to individual and group problems occasioned by society's ills?

It would be wrong to suggest that our society is all bad. I for one defend even the near-indefensible in the hope that we preserve the good while nudging the bad from the picture. Would that I and you were dedicated to the eradication of the bad.

We could quibble at great length about what the "Freedom Budget" proposes. Let me suggest some things which it, or similar plans with broad backing, holds that your editorial over looks:

(1) Full employment for the able and willing;

(2) Training, education, motivation toward making people able;

(3) A candid recognition of the harm done to others (children, for instance) by not caring adequately for those not now ready for full participation in the economy;

(4) Recognizing that those described in (3) are deeply affected by society's own failures;

(5) Leaving unsaid as to the details of what we can do for those cases--large in numbers but small in percentages--whose failures may be due to individual inadequacies, but suggesting a more positive approach than the nation has yet tried;

(6) To encourage economic growth, full production, improved transportation, water and air purification, resource development;

These profit us all--me, the editors, business, the masses. The cost is not likely to exceed the return to our economic health to say nothing of the gain in human values.

You rightly proclaimed the contribution of the two hundred billion dollars spent annually on education and social services. Did the proposers of the "Freedom Budget" fault existing expenditures? I think not. They took a hard look and added what further was needed, and I think they have stated why.

Could we all find a way to quibble, if needed, about particulars, but accept with energy the basic outline for a common effort for our common good?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

I wrote this originally as a personal exchange with the editors, but would not mind its publication. I am sorry about the length, but you have able people there and if it must be cut, cut it.

Appreciatively,

E.F.V.

November 7, 1966

Miss Nadine Peppard
General Secretary
National Committee of Commonwealth Immigrants
6 Tilney Street
London W-1, England

Dear Nadine:

I am so sorry that your last day in Atlanta was such an utter mess. It was certainly too much to have our farewell be the tending of a stalled car for forty-five minutes in downtown traffic. Your good humor made it a much less bitter experience.

It was a great pleasure to get to meet you and to hear of your work in Britain. All of us enjoyed your visit and we trust that you were able to glean from it some of what we do.

Enclosed is a receipt for your subscription to the NEW SOUTH. Your name will be added to our mailing list for publications. Don't hesitate to be in touch with us, if you ever think we can be of service.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Enclosure

Personal

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

November 8, 1966

Dear Emory,

Your letter of July 29, along with the examination copy of the New South, failed to reach me in Vermont, where we spent most of the summer. Since I got back in September, I've made many good resolutions to answer it (the kind, I'm afraid, with which the road to Hell is paved), and only many distractions and the mental lapses, which mark my decline, have kept me from doing so.

Let me say that I'm glad you are in Atlanta, where what you believe and are doing counts (& will continue to count for so much. (I say this in spite of the fact that this is election day, 1966.) I hope you will have a continued sense of contentment & achievement, which it often takes faith to sustain.

The New South is handsome and telling. The issue I have seems more intent to create a mood (with interviews & interjected commentary) than to push analysis through to designs for action. But it contains substantial articles which belie this impression. I enclose a subscription blank.

Give our regards to Margaret, & accept our best wishes to you both.

Sincerely
Roy Foerster

September 4, 1970

National Guardian Life Insurace Co.
Wicsonsin Avenue at Gilliam
P.O. Box 1191
Madison, Wisconsin 53701

ATTENTION: Mr. J.L. Gehrig

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is my check for $24 for the annual premium on my UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN FACULTY ASSOCIATION Group Life Insurace policy.

Thank you for attending to this matter for me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Enclosure

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
Political Science Building
1726 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

To: Members of the Association

From: Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Executive Director

As the spring term begins, I would like to call your attention to the following items of Association business.

1. Life Insurance

Over 750 members including graduate students belong to the Association's low cost group term life insurance program. Two enrollment dates each year--in November and May--are maintained by the Association; all applications for the May enrollment date must be filed with the Association's office by May 15. A descriptive booklet containing detailed information on the Program's benefits is available upon request from the Association.

2. Travel-Study Opportunities

Once again the Association is arranging summer flight programs to Europe. Also, we are sponsoring a 1966 tour seminar to Africa as a part of our continuing program of area study tour-seminars. These programs are described in detail in an enclosed announcement and a printed brochure.

3. Research on State Legislatures

Recently, there has been an increase in research activity on state legislatures and the availability of financial resources for such work. The Association is interested in gaining knowledge on research in the area and the manner in which such research is financially supported. To this end, a questionnaire is enclosed and those doing research on state legislatures are requested to fill it out and return it to the Association.

4. Professional Personnel Placement Service

The Association's Professional Placement Service is widely recognized for its effectiveness in serving the recruitment-employment needs of our profession. Registration with the service is open to all Association members for $5.00 per calendar year, to cover the cost of printing, mailing, and processing of referrals. Ten newsletters are sent to those registered with the service each year, and the listings include teaching, research, and administrative positions. For further information and registration forms, write to the Personnel Service Director at Association headquarters.

5. 1966 Annual Meeting

The 1966 Annual Meeting will be held at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in New York City, September 6 to 10.

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN 78712

I

July 27, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
School of Social Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Les Dunbar tells me you are going to be back at the SRC in Atlanta next year. If your time is not already too fully committed I would like to solicit your help with the study preferably as an interview coordinator or as a consultant. Interview coordinators would undertake some interviews and coordinate the activities of interviewers in several cities, including Atlanta. The interview coordinators and consultants will be paid on a daily basis plus per diem and travel expenses. I am enclosing a copy of our proposal which has been approved by OMAT. The study is being undertaken at the request of the Secretary of Labor and will, as you can imagine, be followed very closely by unions, government officials, and Civil Rights' groups.

If you can possibly denote some time to the project, I would very much like to have your participation.

Cordially,

Ray

Ray Marshall
Professor of Economics

RM:jas
Encl.

Project Title: NEGRO PARTICIPATION IN APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

Submitted by: Ray Marshall

Address: Department of Economics
The University of Texas
Austin, Texas 78712

Telephone: Office: GR 1-3211; Home: HO 5-8310; Area Code 512

Initiated by: Ray Marshall
Professor of Economics
The University of Texas
Austin, Texas 78712

Date: June 1, 1965

Submitted to: Office of Manpower,
Automation and Training of the
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Negro Participation in Apprenticeship Programs

Abstract

Objectives

The proposed study would seek to identify the approaches and methods undertaken to increase Negro participation in selected apprenticeship programs; and establish why other attempts have been unsuccessful. The main objective of the study would be to recommend policies which would make it possible for Negroes to increase their participation in and successful completion of apprenticeship programs, as well as their equitable placement as journeymen when they complete their training.

Procedures

An examination will be made of dynamic situations involving the participation of Negroes in apprenticeship programs in the recent past, in at least six major cities with large Negro populations. Specific situations to be studied would be selected to reflect different regions, crafts, industries, degree of union involvement and degree of minority representation in the crafts. One of the cities chosen should reflect substantial progress in Negro participation. The apprenticeship situations studied would include those in the building and printing trades and the machinists crafts.

In specific situations studied, attention would be focused on remedial measures initiated, such as better vocational counseling, wider publicity, more intensive recruitment efforts, revised tests, fairer administration of tests, pre-apprenticeship training programs, etc. For these specific situations information

would be obtained from the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, state apprenticeship officials, joint apprenticeship committees, minority organizations involved, management and union officials, rank and file white and Negro journeymen, Negro apprenticeship applicants, Negro drop-outs, Negro apprentices, commission members, counselors, apprenticeship instructors, and other individuals and organizations which have played a role in the effort to increase Negro participation in apprenticeship programs. Remedial measures would be evaluated as to their effectiveness and potential for apprenticeship programs in other crafts and areas.

Negro Participation in Apprenticeship Programs.

Problem

The problem of Negro apprenticeship training relates directly to many of the stated objectives of the Manpower Act. The proposed study would develop and supply information and recommend methods needed to deal with one of the problems of malutilization of Negro manpower: the failure to utilize Negroes in apprenticeship. Greater Negro participation in apprenticeship training would tend to minimize the impact of technological change on Negro workers, would tend to raise the skill levels of this important sector of the work force, increase the Nation's productivity, and help provide the manpower resources needed in the crafts. The problem of the utilization of Negro workers is undoubtedly one of the most important manpower problems confronting the Nation.

Objectives

The proposed study would attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What specific measures have been taken in the situations studied to promote greater Negro participation in apprenticeship programs?
2. Why have certain specific programs proven successful while others have not?
3. What are the conditions which have promoted Negro participation in certain crafts as opposed to others?
4. What techniques should be used to improve Negro participation in apprenticeship in particular crafts and in cities where there has been little participation?
5. What is the significance of apprenticeship training for the overall Negro employment problem?

Relationship to Other Research

Considerable research has been undertaken to show that Negroes have not participated in apprenticeship training. Some of this research has been undertaken by the principal investigator of this study. However, none of this research attempts to analyze in depth the reasons other than discrimination which account for the relative paucity of Negro apprenticeship trainees. And few of these studies make systematic recommendations of policies (other than the elimination of discrimination) which would make it possible for Negroes to increase their participation in apprenticeship training. Indeed, many of the studies proceed from the assumption that discrimination is the only or predominant reason for the low degree of Negro participation in apprenticeship training; the study proposed here would attempt to account for other factors as well as discrimination and evaluate corrective measures taken to increase participation; such as measures taken to improve their preparation, to increase their selection rate, to reduce their dropout rate, and to improve their placement rate as journeymen.

Procedure

Nine cities - - such as New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Houston, and San Francisco - - have been tentatively selected for the study. In all of these cities there have been significant developments in the Negro apprenticeship situation in recent years.

In an effort to find out what was done to increase Negro participation in apprenticeship in these cities and to evaluate their effectiveness, information would be collected through unstructured field interviews from

the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, state apprenticeship officials, joint apprenticeship committees, apprenticeship information centers, employment offices, rank and file white and Negro journeymen, Negro apprenticeship applicants, Negro dropouts, Negro apprentices, state and Federal apprenticeship officials, civil rights commission members, vocational counselors, apprenticeship instructors, and other individuals and organizations. In each case, information would be gathered as to the extent of Negro participation in apprenticeship programs, the reasons for Negro participation or the absence thereof, and recommendations for policies which would make it possible for Negroes to increase their participation. More specifically, answers would be sought to the following questions: Do Negroes have knowledge of and aspirations to participate in apprenticeship programs? If Negroes are qualified, why do they not apply for apprenticeship training? If qualified Negroes apply, do they or do they not get into apprenticeship training programs? What have been the results of tests administered to Negroes who had the formal qualifications for apprenticeship training? What accounts for the results in each case? Are apprenticeship entrance tests fairly administered? What have been the training experiences of Negroes who were admitted to apprenticeship training? How does the Negro attrition rate compare with that of whites? What accounts for the differential in attrition rates, if any? What has been the work experience of Negroes who have completed apprenticeship training? To what extent have remedial measures adopted in these cities been successful? If they were unsuccessful, what are the reasons for failure? Where appropriate, interviewees would be asked

Guidance counselors H.S. & Voc. classes

to make recommendations to improve specific defects in the flow of Negroes through apprenticeship programs and into jobs.

The project will be undertaken in the following phases:

1. The development of background information, plans for interviewing, and preparation of instructions to interviewers.
2. Conduct the interviews.
3. Begin a non-statistical analysis of gathered data and re-examination of particular situations.
4. Complete a preliminary draft of the report which will be circulated and discussed with knowledgeable and interested people.
5. Wrtie the final report.

Phase 1 of the project will consist of the development of background information, plans for interviewing and preparation of instructions for interviewers. In addition to available printed sources, information will be developed from preliminary discussions with knowledgeable and interested individuals in the survey cities and in Washington. Lists of prospective interviewers and interviewees will be compiled during Phase 1, and the interview check-list will be pre-tested in Houston, Texas. Advice will be sought from special consultants in the social sciences during this phase of the study, which will be completed by October 1, 1965.

Phase 2 of the study will consist of field interviews with approximately 300 interviewees in the survey cities. Although reliable statistics are not available on the number Negro apprentices, the interviews conducted during this study undoubtedly will consist of the large proportion of the total number of Negro apprentices in the United States.

In addition to the interviews with various organizational representatives, particular attention will be paid to the development of a limited number of case studies of Negroes who were successful entrants into apprenticeship programs, and a limited number of case studies of individuals who were not. These interviews will be undertaken by the principal and assistant investigators, by graduate students in the social sciences, and other available personnel. In the interest of economy wherever possible interviewers will be selected who reside in the survey cities. They will be supervised by the principal and assistant investigator and by interview coordinators on the staff of the project. Interviewers will be instructed to prepare written reports which not only set forth the interviewees' responses to specific questions, but also the general circumstances surrounding the interview. The interviewers will be briefed before they undertake the interviews. It is expected that this phase of the project will be completed by January 15, 1965.

Planning Training Interviews

The third phase will consist of a systematic analysis of the data collected and preparation of a preliminary draft of the report. The principal and assistant investigators will prepare the preliminary report with the assistance of special consultants. Some of the situations probably will be reexamined during this phase, which will be completed by April 1, 1966.

The fourth phase of the project, circulation of the preliminary report to knowledgeable and interested people, will begin April 1. Perhaps it would be possible during this phase to hold a seminar in Washington based on a discussion of the preliminary report. After comments have been

received on the preliminary report, the fifth and final phase, writing the final report, can be undertaken. The final report will be completed by July 1, 1966.

Personnel

The principal investigator is Ray Marshall, Professor of Economics, The University of Texas, who has considerable research experience in the area of minority group employment problems. Marshall has published a number of articles dealing with Negro employment problems and has a book (The Negro in Organized Labor, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1965) which deals in part with the participation of Negroes in apprenticeship programs. He also worked on the Minority Group Employment Project at Princeton University (which led to Toward Fair Employment. New York, Columbia University Press, 1964). Marshall has related research experience as a Fulbright Research Scholar (1955-1956) to study Finnish labor problems and as a Wortheim Fellow in Industrial Relations at Harvard University (1960) to make a study of Labor in the South, which will be a forthcoming book. During 1964-1965, Marshall was awarded a grant by the Ford Foundation to study "The Impact of Federal policies on Negro Employment in the South," which resulted in a number of articles, several of which have been published and others of which are forthcoming. Marshall holds a Ph.D. in Economics from The University of California at Berkeley.

The other principal investigator is Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., Assistant Professor of Economics, The University of Texas. Briggs' main field of interest is Labor Economics and he holds a Ph.D. degree in Economics from

Michigan State University. He has taught a course in Manpower Economics and he will have a paper in a forthcoming issue of the Industrial and Labor Relations Review.

Facilities and Cooperating Groups

The facilities of the University of Texas are available to the investigators. These facilities include one of the Nation's largest libraries, an excellent computor center, and specialists in a variety of fields. In addition, the investigators' past experience suggests the cooperation of civil-rights, labor, management, and other interested groups. The director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and the chairman of the Construction Industry Joint Conference have promised their assistance with the project. The investigators also anticipate the cooperation of various federal and state agencies.

Duration

The project would start on July 1, 1965 and be completed by June 30, 1966.

Administrative Information

Salaries paid from government grant funds at the University of Texas conform to the rates approved by the Board of Regents for salaries paid from regular University funds.

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

Apprenticeship Study

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN 78712

II

AIR MAIL

August 10, 1965

Mr. Emory F. Via
Associate Professor
of Labor Education
The University of Wisconsin
School of Social Workers
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letter of August 3, expressing your interest in the Apprenticeship Project.

I am enclosing a copy of our proposal which has been changed, but will give you some idea what the project is about. As to your specific role, we would like for you to conduct the kinds of interviews indicated by the proposal primarily in Atlanta, but in other places if you have time. In addition, we would like for you to recruit interviewers in places where there are too many interviews for you to conduct alone. Since the project is still in the planning stages, we have not compiled a list of specific questions to be asked of the interviewees, but I am currently preparing such list. As to compensation, we are prepared to pay you $50. a day, plus travel expenses, and $16. per diem while traveling. I think our use of your services will depend primarily upon the amount of time you have available.

If you have any questions after reading the proposal, please call me collect at GR 1-3211, or HO 5-8310.

Very cordially yours,

Ray

Ray Marshall
Professor of Economics

RM:jas
encl.

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

Apprenticeship Study

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN 78712

September 30, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

In connection with our conversation, I am enclosing a letter of introduction which you may use when making contacts on the apprenticeship project. I am glad that you are finally settled in Atlanta and can devote some time to the apprenticeship project. I also welcome any suggestions you might have about the project.

Sincerely yours,

Ray

Ray Marshall
Project Director

RM:jas
encl.

P.S. Please sign the enclosed vouchers and return them to me when you have some expenses or when you want to get paid.
Ray

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

Apprenticeship Study

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN 78712

October 1, 1965

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that the bearer, Mr. Emory Via, is serving as in Interview Coordinator for a project on Negro Participation in Apprenticeship Programs. The study is being undertaken by the Department of Economics, the University of Texas, under contract from the Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training, U. S. Department of Labor.

If there is any question concerning Mr. Via's participation in this project, you may call the undersigned or Dr. Vernon M. Briggs at GR 1-3211 (Area Code - 512) Austin, Texas.

Sincerely yours,

Ray Marshall

Ray Marshall
Project Director

RM:jas

If you do not agree with us filling out the forms let me know & I will send you a detailed letter on how to correctly how to fill it out.
Jean Schlueter (Sec. to Dr. Marshall

October 1, 1965

Dear Mr. Via:

We are enclosing some forms for your use in reimbursing you for expenses and also salaries made to you.

These forms are:

1. Travel Voucher
2. Purchase voucher

I have marked both forms with an "X" where your signature is needed. All copies of each form must be signed and returned to us. Or, if you wish for us to fill out the forms for you, please sign all the forms and return them all to us. If would be easier for you (and us) if you would just sign these forms and return them to us so that we can have them on file as your expenses incur and as time for salaries roll along. Then all you would have to do as your expenses incur is to mail us your receipts and a note telling us how much you spent on taxi fares. We could complete the forms in this office, send them to the auditor for processing and really expedite payment to you.

If you agree to this, please sign all the forms in the placed marked with an "X" and mail them all back to us. When you travel, you need to send us:

1. The dates you traveled

2. All airplane tickets

3. All receipts for fares (taxi's, limousine's rent-a-car,etc.) for over $2.50

4. The dates you travelled by plane noting what time you left your home base, the time you arrived to your destination, the time you left that city, and returned back to your home base. (i.e., left Washington 9/10/65 - 1:00 P.M. arrived New York 6:30 P.M. 9/12/65 left New York 2:10 P.M. arrived back in Washington 8:48 P.M.)

5. A brief sentence stating why you travelled to that city. (i.e., Trip to New York to conduct interviews with various interviewees as area (or interview) coordinator in connection with apprenticeship project)

Taxi fares must be listed as follows:

9/10	Taxi from residence to airport (Washington)	$1.50
	Limousine from airport (new York) to hotel	2.50
9/11	Taxi from hotel to contact	.75
	Taxi from contact to hotel	.75
9/12	Taxi from hotel to airport (New York)	2.50
	Taxi from airport (Washington) to residence	1.50

[Post 1971]

PROPOSAL

PROSPECTUS

AN INNOVATIVE APPROACH TO

COMPREHENSIVE AREA

SUPPORT SERVICES

PROJECT

TO

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT

IN

SOUTH MISSISSIPPI

Utilizing Resources of Existing
Federally Funded Office of
Economic Opportunity Grantees

Area Comprehensive Supportive Services

NOTE: The purpose of this proposed project is taken from the "Minority Report" as submitted to the Honorable Robert J. Brown, Special Assistant to the President, in Washington, D.C. on January 18, 1971, by Mr. State Stallworth of the NAACP, Legal Defense, taken from page four, item numbers 7 & 8.

PURPOSE:

1. Join with anti-proverty programs to develop meaningful motivational projects to insure that minorities are sufficiently prepared to take on the responsibility of employees, homeowners and productive citizens.
2. Develop programs to insure minorities of all the support necessary for success despite the unique problems that beset their race.

a. <u>What problems will be dealt with in the project?</u>

The project will address itself to the underemployed, unemployed, and unemployables because of a lack of education, a usable skill and unique problems that can be solved or eased by adequate Supportive Services. All of the OEO grantees in the area to be served by this project have indicated a willingness to assist and enter into cooperative efforts with other agencies i.e. MESC, Vocational Education, etc., to supply the aforementioned supportive services.

b. <u>What are the objectives of the project and what benefits should result from its operations?</u>

It is the objectives of this project to involve all disadvantaged persons or families participating at any level in the industrial Development of Jackson County in the following supportive services as needed:

1. Identifying the target group
2. Recruiting
3. Assessment
4. Counseling
5. Referral Services
6. Basic Education
7. Consumer Education
8. Pre-Employment Skill Profiling
9. Transportation
10. Subsistence
11. Follow-up
12. Trainee Paraphernalia
13. Day Care - JCCAA will Develop Separate Proposal
14. Job Coaching
15. Family Services
16. Coordinate Labor Mobility
17. Source of Advice for management/Employee Sensitivity Training

The following benefits should result from the project:

1. The project is designed to provide to the maximum extent an avenue for the unemployed, underemployed, present unemployable populous of the assigned targit area.
2. They will be instrumental in releaving area residents from deprivation of poverty and provide a long range solution to the area manpower needs.

c. Why do you believe these results can be achieved?

in Addition to the expressed need of area residents, several areas of commitment from these grantees greatly enhance the potential for success of this unique approach. These include commitments from Star, Inc. staff with the cooporation of other area agencies to provide services in identifying the target group, recruiting, assessment, counseling, referral, ABE, consumer education, pre-employment, skill profiling, coordinate transportation, provide subsistence, follow-up, provide trainee parapheranalia, coordinate day care services, job coaching, identifying the target group, recruiting, coordinate labor counseling, outreach, and social services and commitments by the following OEO Grantees:

1. Forrest-Stone Area Opportunity, Inc. in Forrest County
2. Harrison County Civic Action Committee in Harrison
3. Jackson County Civic Action Committee in Jackson County
4. Pearl River Valley Opportunity, Inc. in Lamar, Marion, and Walthall Counites
5. Community Education Extension in Jones, and Stone Counties
6. Friends of the Children of Mississippi in Wayne and Greene Counties
7. Mississippi Action for Progress, Inc., in Hancock, Pearl River, and Perry Counties
8. Sophia Sutton in Jefferson Davis, Jones, and Covington Counties

It is the opinion that upon availing themselves of the services offered in the program, these participants will be much better equipped to understand and work with the complexities of involvement in full gainful employment.

Further, OEO Grantee agencies that will be involved in providing the aforementioned services are people oriented instead of paper oriented.

II. PARTICIPANTS

a. How many people are potentially eligible to take part in the program account?

All of the 31,476 plus poor families in the 16-county area served by this project will be eligible to take part in the program. This amounts to approximately 31% of the total population of the 16-county area. (See attached chart #201.)

b. What percentage of those eligible will participate?

Due to the impact of activities of this program upon the entire family, we will assume that where a family member participates, the family will be considered to have participated. On this basis, a minimum of 3,900 or approximately 12.6% of the poor families in the area will be directly served by the activities outlined in the program.

c. How will the poor and target area residents learn about and be recruited for the program?

Information about and recruitment for the program will be done through the combined outreach staffs of all grantees within the 16-county area.

d. What are the selection criteria?

Selection will be on a first come, first serve basis and upon expressed interest in and articulation of a commitment to complete the activities of the program. OEO income guidelines will apply.

III. PROGRAM

a. What activities will be carried out in the work program?

The following activities will be carried out in the work program?

1. Supportive services by central coordinating staff. These activities will include:

   a. Coordination of all participant agencies progammatic efforts

   b. Develop and operate a management information system (MIS)

   c. Develop plans and necessary budgets for project activities

d. Evaluate the overall effectiveness of this and other programs of participant agencies which are a part of this program

2. FACILITIES - Prime centers will be provided for program activity on a needs basis at the following locations:

a. Tylertown - Systematic Training and Redevelopment, Inc., (STAR), and Pearl River Valley Opportunities, Inc.

b. Hattiesburg - STAR, Inc., Forrest-Stone Opportunities, and Mississippi Action for Progress

c. Lucedale - STAR, Inc., and Friends of Children of Mississippi

d. DeLisle - STAR, Inc., and Mississippi Action for Progress

e. Gulfport - STAR, Inc., Harrison County CAA, Community Education Extension

f. Biloxi - STAR, Inc., Harrison County CAA, Community Education Extension

g. Pascagoula - STAR, Inc., Jackson County CAA

h. Secondary centers will be established to serve the counties of Jefferson Davis, Covington, Jones, and Wayne as needed. Existing facilities of participating agencies will be used in all cases (STAR, CEE, FOCOM, and Sophia Sutton).

3. ACTIVITIES - Through these existing centers, the following supporting services will be provided:

a. Needs assessment - Direct contact will be made by outreach staff of the participant agencies utilizing their expertise in locating and indentifying the target residents. Individual interviews will be conducted to determine:

(1) Normal CAA MIS

(2) Inventory of manpower interest and skills

b. The central staff will develop MIS information for the entire area from the input described above. Development of this information

may require purchasing computer time and card punch services. This information will be the basis for qualifying the services to be provided at each of the centers.

c. The participant agencies will be assisted in developing a coordinated program for providing needed services in line with their goals, program activity, and available resources.

d. Each prime center will be equipped to provide the following services to the target residents:

1. Initial Contact and Survey - conducted by present outreach staff of participant agencies.
2. Recruitment and Intake - follow-up individual recruitment of target residents into the centers conducted by present outreach staff.
3. Assessment - needs definition and qualification of service needs to be conducted by STAR staff and/or STAR trained staff of participant agencies.
4. Input of information developed in step #3 to central staff and MIS. This information is processed and each participant is apprised of the scope, specific nature and projected participation levels, by center.
5. Direct Support Services Begin - Based on the needs, schedules, and coordination developed above actual activities begin and through the centers. These activities include:

   a. Personal Services

      .1 Family Counseling

.2 Day Care

.3 Consumer Education

.4 Basic Education

.5 GED

.6 Referral to services of participating and other agencies.

b. Career Development Services

.1 Career counseling and employability planning

.2 Pre-employment and skill profiling

.3 Co-ordination on behalf of the individual with MESC for manpower training, projected job, etc.

.4 Assignment to training slot

.5 Job coach assigned to the individual

.6 Trainee paraphernalia supplied

.7 Transportation and subsistence on a need basis

.8 Job development and placement

c. Follow-Up

.1 Individual and Family Counseling

.2 Assist in the development of Management-Employee sensitivity training

.3 Evaluation of co-ordinative and participant agencies services

Staffing and Budget Requirements:

STAFF

A. Central Staff:

Director - Coordinator	$14,000
Manpower/Management Information Developer	12,000
Planner/Resource Developer	12,000
Executive Secretary	6,000
Clerk Typist	4,800
Travel, Office Operations	30,000
Computer systems leasetime	10,000
	$88,800

B. Individual participant agencies may require additional funding for travel and training materials. Present funding sources of these participant agencies must be made aware of this need and assured of sufficient resources to meet it.

NOTE: All of the above described activities and services are available within the current capability of the agencies listed subject to the funding needs expressed. We highly recommend that funding for the central staff be through an OEO agency such as STAR, Inc., or one of the CAA's in the area.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

After considering the above proposal, the Manpower Committee approved same and hereby submits it to the Executive Committee with the following conditions:

1. Before application to fund the Coordinating Staff, efforts be made to use present funded projects to function as the coordinating staff, i.e., TENCO Program Development and Planning Project.
   Negotiations should begin immediately with OEO to reprogram to include the functions of the coordinating staff, etc.
2. If the above can not be achieved, the Committee goes on record that this project be funded immediately through some source.

COMPREHENSIVE AREA SUPPORT SERVICES PROJECT

RECOMMENDATIONS AND TIME PHASING

OF THE

WORK PROGRAM

The following are recommendations of immediate and long-range implementation of the Grantee's Proposal.

A. What major steps will be taken to carry out the work program?

		Start	End
1.	Assemble a temporary staff from Project "50" of Pascagoula and TENCO.	Immediately	Upon hiring of permanent staff
2.	Identify and define geographical areas that each center will be operationally responsible for.	Immediately	Continuous
3.	Identify and charge each Grantee with a specific geographical area of responsibility and to which center the Grantee is to work in conjunction with.	Immediately	Upon completio
4.	Formal staff orientation: (If funds are received at this point, permanent staff will be recruited and hired.) Orientation will include coordinating staff, Executive Directors of participating agencies and STAR Manpower Director, Manpower teams, and STAR Center Directors. (In the event that the coordinating staff is not on Board, this will be repeated.)	May, 1971	Upon completion
5.	Gear up all Centers for operation.	May, 1971	Upon completion
6.	Set up coordination points with MESC to include agency responsibilities, develop common system of referrals, and lines of communication.	May, 1971	Upon completion
7.	Develop a pool of additional supportive services and a system of referral to each; i.e., Salvation Army, Catholic Charities, Welfare Agencies, etc.	May, 1971	Upon completion
8.	Inform residents of the program to include documentation of potential participants.	May, 1971	Upon completion

		Start	End
9.	Participant Intake		
10.	Use of computer lease time to qualify and quantify information as gathered throughout the program.	June, 1971	Upon completion
11.	Workshop for the exchange of information and the re-assessment of training and/or job slots to include Coordinating Staff, MESC, and representatives of the Miss. Manufacturing Association, EDA, Chambers of Commerce, etc.	June 15, 1971	Upon completion
12.	Render quality supportive services to enable participants to successfully qualify for and enter into programs and/or jobs.	July 1, 1971	Upon completion

DEMOGRAPHIC NOTATIONS OF POVERTY
CHART #201

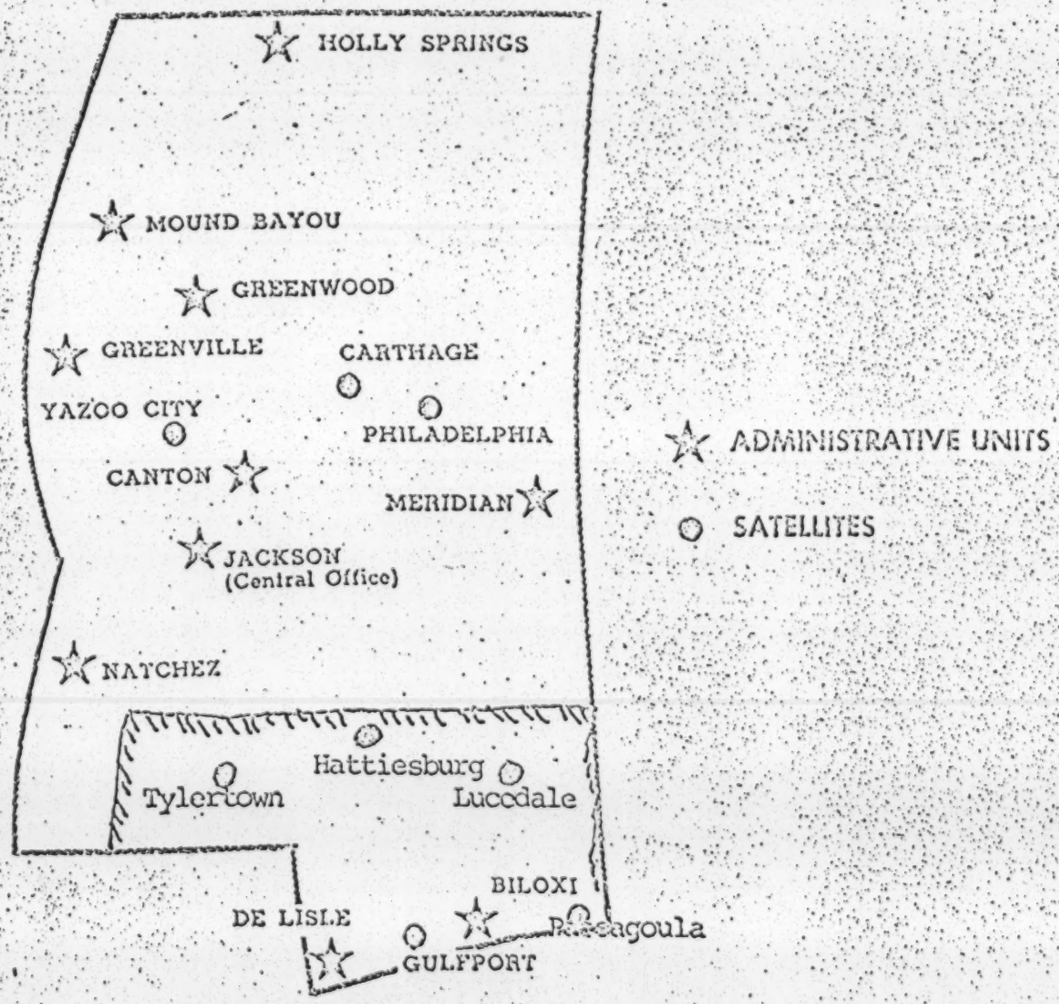
I. Magnitude of Poverty (1) - Number of Families in County
II. Percentage of Families (1) - In County
III. Median Family Income
IV. Unemployment
V. Education: Median Educational Attainment.
VI. Functional Illiteracy (2)
VII. Insufficiency of Housing (3) - Percent of
VIII. Infant Mortality

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Covington	1,142	36.8	$3,396.00	5.3	8.8	16.8	25.3	689
Forrest	3,770	24.8	5,062.00	4.5	11.0	11.1	15.0	1,880
George	805	29.6	4,383.00	5.7	9.2	13.8	21.3	2,302
Greene	838	47.4	3,350.00	7.0	8.9	15.3	23.9	1,562
Hancock	1,351	32.1	4,109.00	6.3	8.9	15.7	19.8	2,121
Harrison	7,565	21.8	5,213.00	5.7	11.5	8.8	18.8	1,939
Jackson	3,241	17.3	5,818.00	7.8	10.3	10.6	22.0	2,622
Jefferson Davis	1,154	41.2	3,276.00	4.1	8.9	16.2	25.8	1,652
Jones	3,785	24.4	4,977.00	4.6	9.5	14.1	18.4	2,915
Lamar	1,101	30.6	4,040.00	5.3	9.1	13.0	16.7	2,173
Marion	1,703	31.4	4,054.00	5.8	9.2	15.7	20.5	2,127
Pearl River	1,971	30.1	4,331.00	9.5	8.9	14.6	21.4	3,310
Perry	875	41.5	3,516,00	6.6	8.5	17.7	23.5	2,884
Stone	805	29.6	4,383.00	5.7	9.2	13.8	21.3	2,302
Wayne	1,370	37.5	3,742.00	7.4	8.6	16.8	23.9	1,933

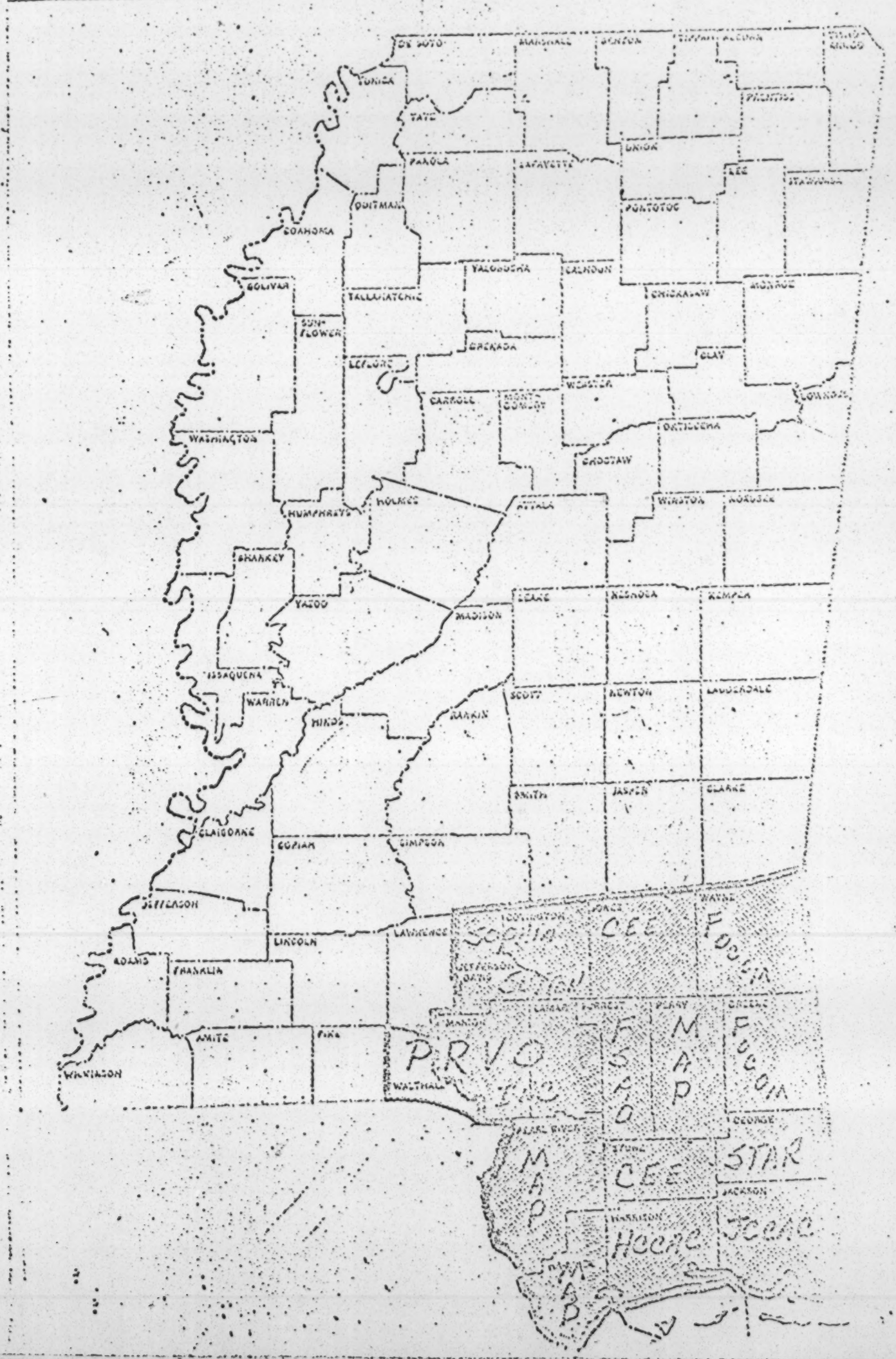
(1) Based on Social Security Poverty Index of 1966
(2) Completed Less Than Four Years of School
(3) Based on Indices of Overcrowding
(4) Per 100,000 Population

Chart #202

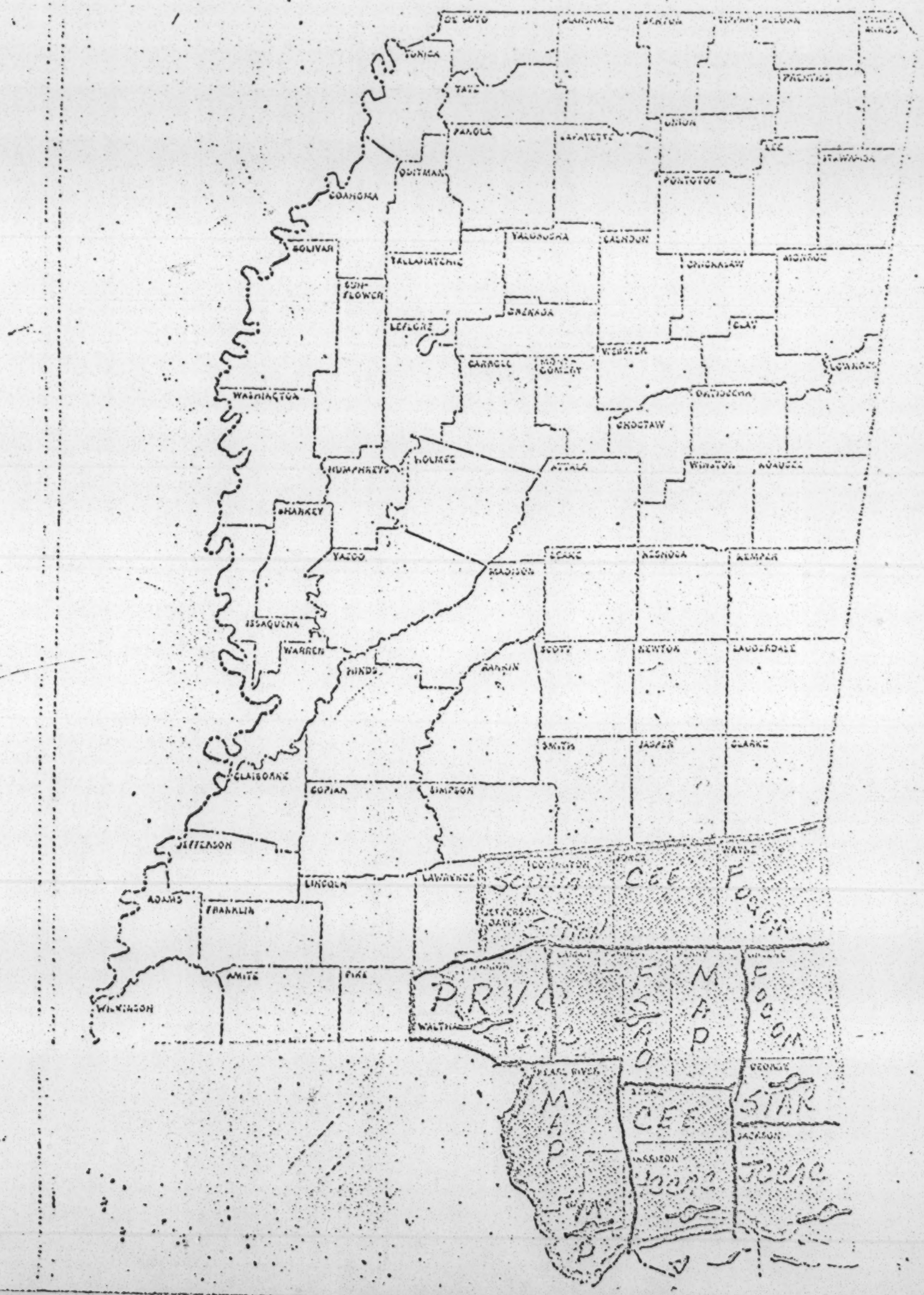
Centers Location



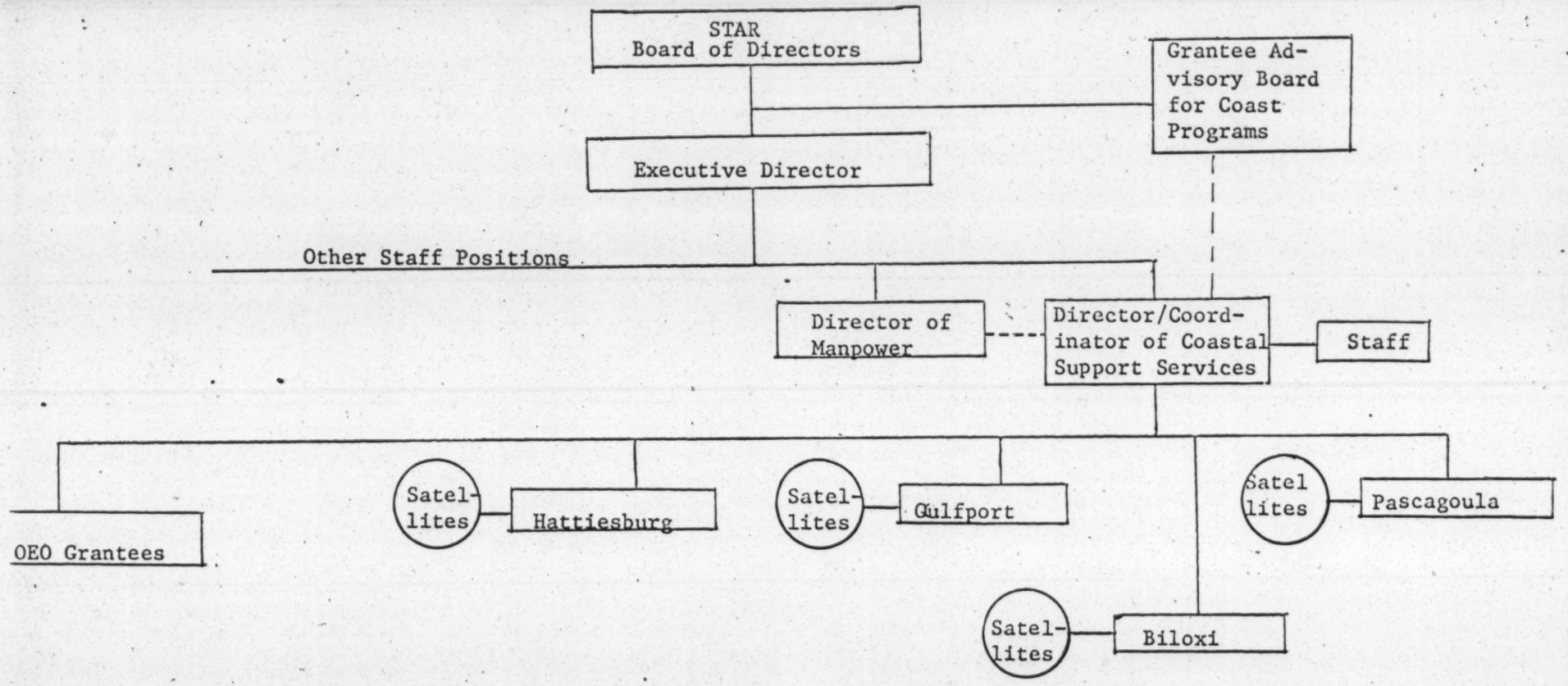
Target Area With Participa



BEST COPY AVAILABLE



BEST COPY AVAILABLE


STAR
Board of Directors
Grantee Advisory Board for Coast Programs
Executive Director
Other Staff Positions
Director of Manpower
Director/Coordinator of Coastal Support Services
Staff
OEO Grantees
Satellites
Hattiesburg
Satellites
Gulfport
Satellites
Pascagoula
Satellites
Biloxi

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY - APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

PROGRAM ACCOUNT BUDGET *(Please type or print clearly)*

Form Approved. Budget Bureau No. 116-R0158

1. APPLICANT AGENCY	2. DATE SUBMITTED	3. PROGRAM YEAR E END DATE: 8-31-71	4. GRANT NO.
STAR, INC.	3-25-71		3130

5. PROGRAM ACCOUNT

a. P.A. NO.	b. NAME	c. BEGINNING DATE	d. END DATE
01	Comprehensive Area Support Services Project	4-1-71	

6. SUBMITTED AS PART OF *(check one)*:

a. [x] FUNDING REQUEST b. [ ] AMENDMENT REQUEST *(If this item is checked, attach CAP Form 25b, "Justification for Program Account Amendment".*

SECTION I. BUDGET SUMMARY

COST CAT. NO. (1)	COST CATEGORY (2)	APPROVED PY TOTAL PROGRAM (3)	APPROVED PY NO. MOS. (4)	REQUESTED PROGRAM YEAR TOTAL PROGRAM (5)	REQUESTED PROGRAM YEAR FEDERAL SHARE (6)	REQUESTED PROGRAM YEAR NON-FEDERAL SHARE (7)	REQUESTED PROGRAM YEAR NO. MOS. (8)	REQUESTED PROGRAM YEAR + 1 FULL-YEAR TOTAL PROGRAM (9)	REQUESTED PROGRAM YEAR + 1 FULL-YEAR NO. MOS. (10)	REQUESTED PROGRAM YEAR + 1 EXPANDED TOTAL PROGRAM (11)	REQUESTED PROGRAM YEAR + 1 EXPANDED NO. MOS. (12)	REQUESTED PY + 2 EXPANDED TOTAL PROGRAM (13)	REQUESTED PY + 2 EXPANDED NO. MOS. (14)
1.	PERSONNEL COSTS			64,256	64,256	-0-							
1.1	SALARIES AND WAGES				48,800	-0-							
1.2	FRINGE BENEFITS *(Employer's share only)*				5,456	-0-							
1.3	CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES				10,000	-0-							
2.	NONPERSONNEL COSTS			41,460	41,460	-0-							
2.1	TRAVEL				12,660	-0-							
2.2	SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS				-0-	-0-							
2.3	CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES				14,400	-0-							
2.4	RENTAL, LEASE, PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT				14,400	-0-							
2.5	OTHER COSTS												
	TOTAL COSTS			105,716	105,716	-0-							
	FEDERAL SHARE			105,716									
	NONFEDERAL SHARE			-0-									

CAP FORM 25 (REV. AUG 68) REPLACES CAP FORMS 23, (APR 68); 25, (FEB 66); AND 43, (MAR 67); WHICH ARE OBSOLETE.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY - APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

PROGRAM ACCOUNT BUDGET SUPPORT SHEET *(Please type or print clearly)*

Form Approved Budget Bureau No. 116-R0158

1. APPLICANT AGENCY	2. DATE SUBMITTED	3. PROGRAM YEAR	4. GRANT NO.
STAR, INC.	3-25-71	E END DATE: 8-31-71	3130

5. PROGRAM ACCOUNT

a. NUMBER	b. NAME	c. BEGINNING	d. ENDING
01	Comprehensive Area Support Services Project	4-1-71	

6. BUDGET SUPPORT DATA

COST CATEGORY NO. (1)	DESCRIPTION OF ITEM AND BASIS FOR VALUATION (2)	AMOUNT OR VALUE OF ITEM: FEDERAL SHARE (3)	AMOUNT OR VALUE OF ITEM: NON-FEDERAL SHARE (4)
1.1	Salaries and Wages		
	Director - Coordinator @12 months	14,000	-0-
	Manpower/Management Information Developer @12 months	12,000	-0-
	Planner/Resource Developer @12 months	12,000	-0-
	~~Executive Secretary @12 months~~	~~6,000~~	~~-0-~~
	Clerk Typist @12 months	4,800	-0-
1.2	Fringe Benefits 12% x 48,800	5,456	-0-
1.3	Contract Services/Computer Lease Time	10,000	-0-
2.1	Travel (*per diem Director (10 da per mo @$25/da) 10 x 25 x 12	3,000	-0-
	(Mileage Director (3,000 mi @10¢/mi x 12 mos.)	3,600	-0-
	TOTALS CARRIED FORWARD FROM ATTACHED PAGES *(if any)*		
	TOTALS		

7. ☐ ADDITIONAL NARRATIVE STATEMENT IS ATTACHED

CAP FORM 25a (REV. AUG 68) (REPLACES CAP FORM 23, DATED APR 68, WHICH IS OBSOLETE.

5. PROGRAM ACCOUNT

a. NUMBER	b. NAME	c. BEGINNING	d. ENDING
01	Comprehensive Area Support Services Project	4-1-71	

6. BUDGET SUPPORT DATA

COST CATEGORY NO. (1)	DESCRIPTION OF ITEM AND BASIS FOR VALUATION (2)	AMOUNT OR VALUE OF ITEM: FEDERAL SHARE (3)	AMOUNT OR VALUE OF ITEM: NON-FEDERAL SHARE (4)
*	Manpower/Management Information Developer		
	Per diem (7 da per mo @$25 per day) 7 x 25 x 12	1,980	-0-
	Mileage (2000 mi @10¢ per mi x 12 mos)	2,400	-0-
*	Planner/Resource Developer		
	Per diem (7 da per mo @$25 per da) 7 x 25 x 12	1,980	-0-
	Mileage (2000 mi @10¢ per mi x 12 mos)	2,400	-0-
2,3	Consumable supplies		
*	Deak-top materials ($200 per mo x 6 centers x 12 mos)	14,000	-0-
2,4	Rental - Typewriter (12 IBB @18.00 per mo x 12 mos)	1,872	-0-
	Telephone (6 centers @$200/mo x 12 mos)	14,400	-0-
	TOTALS CARRIED FORWARD FROM ATTACHED PAGES (if any)		
	TOTALS		

7. ☐ ADDITIONAL NARRATIVE STATEMENT IS ATTACHED

CAP FORM 25a (REV. AUG 68) (REPLACES CAP FORM 23, DATED APR 68, WHICH IS OBSOLETE.

SECTION II. SALARIES AND WAGES *(Itemization of Cost Category No. 1.1)*

7. PAID PERSONNEL							8. VOLUNTEERS			
NO. PERSONS (1)	TITLE OR POSITION (2)	ANNUALIZED SALARY (3)	NO. OF MOS. (4)	% OF TIME (5)	FEDERAL SHARE (6)	NON-FEDERAL SHARE (7)	CATEGORY OF VOLUNTEER (8)	WAGE PER HOUR (9)	NO. OF HOURS (10)	NON-FEDERAL SHARE (11)
1	Director/Coordinator	14,000	12	100	14,000	-0-				
1	Manpower/Management									
	Information Developer	12,000	12	100	12,000	-0-				
1	Planner/Resource									
	Developer	12,000	12	100	12,000	-0-				
1	Executive Secretary	6,000	12	100	6,000	-0-				
1	Clerk/Typist	4,800	12	100	4,800	-0-				
	TOTALS, PAID PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL				48,800	-0-				
	TOTALS, PAID NONPROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL				-0-	-0-				
	TOTALS, PAID PERSONNEL				48,800	-0-	TOTALS, VOLUNTEERS			

CAP FORM 25 (REV. AUG 68)

Ins

The C
budget, t
by cost c
which fu
budget w
ceding pr
cost of th
succeeding
program
ate if addi
page of th
and Wage
A separ
each prog
quested. T
specific ite
included, t
Page 1,
Items 1-4,
Form 1.
Item 5.
Accounts,"
and name
prises the a
and insert
respectively
and end d
program ac
year. The
up to, but r
gram year.
covers porti
those segme
funds are re
beginning d
may not en
gram year.
Where th
gram accou
ends in the
year budget
fect the appr
operating pe
program year
For examp
1 through M
count runs f
CAP 25 for
April 1, 196
represent a bu
1, 1969-June
(which actual

[1953]

PROCEEDINGS OF

Conference On Arbitration

HELD AT
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
DECEMBER 4, 1953

SPONSORED BY

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
EXTENSION DIVISION
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON, WISCONSIN

The University of Wisconsin
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION

School for Workers
5-3311 Ext. 4349

3012 Stadium
Madison 6, Wisconsin

INTRODUCTION

For better or worse, the use of arbitration as a means of resolving grievances arising under the contract appears to be growing. The purpose of this conference was to aid union staff representatives in preparing and presenting arbitration cases and in writing contract clauses on arbitration.

The large number of favorable responses from participants have led us to prepare this summary of the proceedings of the conference. The language of the participants has been used but repetitious words and ideas have been cut wherever possible. Subject headings have generally been substituted for questions from the chairman and the audience.

The School for Workers wishes to express its appreciation to the many audience participants and particularly to the program participants, who so obligingly subjected themselves to a long hard day.

Robert Ozanne, Director
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

ARBITRATION CONFERENCE PROGRAM

9:15	Registration	Hotel Pfister
9:45 - 11:00	CHOOSING AN ARBITRATOR Chairman, Robert Ozanne; Panel: Pearce Davis, Frank Ranney, Max Raskin, Harold Thompson Discussion of sources of arbitrators Ad Hoc vs Permanent Arbitrator Board vs Single Arbitrator	
11:00 - 12:20	PREPARATION OF CASES Chairman, Norris Tibbetts; Panel: Pearce Davis, N. P. Feinsinger, David Previant Type of facts needed Getting the facts Union record keeping for grievance and arbitration purposes	
12:30 - 2:00	LUNCHEON Nathan P. Feinsinger, speaker	
2:10 - 3:20	PRESENTING THE CASE Chairman, Raymond Munts; Panel: Pearce Davis, N. P. Feinsinger, David Previant, Max Raskin Briefs, oral presentation Use of witnesses Cross-examination of witnesses	
3:30 - 4:30	A. SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN WAGE INCENTIVE AND JOB EVALUATION ARBITRATION Chairman, Bertram Gottlieb; Panel: Pearce Davis, Anthony Doria, Bertram McNamara B. CONTRACT CLAUSES ON ARBITRATION Chairman, William Kuhl; Panel: N. P. Feinsinger, David Previant What should be arbitrated Common examples of inadequate clauses	

CHOOSING AN ARBITRATOR

Participants: Chairman: Robert Ozanne, Director, School for Workers
Harold Thompson, Int'l Rep., United Auto Workers, CIO
Frank Ranney, Sec. Treasurer, Local 200, Teamsters, AFL
Max Raskin, Attorney, Milwaukee
Pearce Davis, Chairman, Business & Economics Department of Illinois Institute of Technology

Single Arbitrator Vs. Board

Thompson: I think I prefer a single arbitrator to a board. Because the chairman of the board has to compromise with either one side or the other side he very often does not give a true decision.

Ranney: I've always had a lot of arguments with our legal staff on this point. The legal staff seems to think you'll be able to put your case across inside a session much better. But actually the arbitrator sits there and says, now you fellows get together and agree upon something or I'm going to make the decision. You might as well compromise without going into arbitration. I think you'll get lot better results presenting the facts of the case to one man than making a compromise.

Davis: I'm only speaking here today from the point of view of the arbitrator. About half my cases are boards and about half are sole arbitrators and I don't much care which they are. I do disagree based upon my own experience with some of my colleagues. I don't believe that collective bargaining has entered into my board sessions. I frankly don't expect to get anything better than a majority decision. Under certain circumstances the board has advantages in certain types of cases. Also it has an advantage in explaining your decision and promoting industrial relations, a side-issue from the arbitration.

Raskin: Generally speaking a single arbitrator is the best means of reaching a decision. However, when you do not rely upon a transcript, the counsel of the various parties through their representatives on the board would be of some

value. But, it is much more advantageous to have a good record so that you know all the facts have been presented and you don't have to rely on any outside sources.

Comment: One point that might not have been covered so far is that it depends to a large extent on the issues involved. I agree with the majority of the panel on simple cases such as discharges that a single arbitrator is better than a board. But in arbitrating a very complex incentive system, I believe that it is worthwhile, from the union's point of view, to have one of their representatives on the board so that it is satisfied the arbitrator understands the union's position.

Comment: Isn't this problem a question of how the arbitration process is conducted? If you do adversary proceedings where the parties are going to battle it out, rather than take part in collective bargaining, doesn't that color your view as to whether a single arbitrator or panel should decide the case?

Thompson: In a wage case where there are a lot of technical things involved I'd prefer a tri-partite panel. But I think from what the War Labor Board experience shows, I'd have to disagree with Davis that such arbitration does not involve compromise.

Davis: This general matter of whether you should merely arbitrate or whether bargaining mediation should go on is a matter upon which arbitrators hold different opinions. My position has always been that we are not mediators. However, if he is asked for that, then I think the arbitrator is certainly within his professional responsibilities in taking that course.

Comment: The better your case is, the more reason you should present it to one arbitrator. On a tri-partite panel you find that the arbitrator doesn't want to gain the animosity of industry or of labor. You can sit there hours on end arguing with him and finally trying to get the parties together. You

see an opportunity to gain a point, so you'll give up a point. It's just exactly like collective bargaining. Maybe the arbitrator doesn't come out with a unanimous decision but in the process you have given up several points, that you would have won if you had left it to a single arbitrator.

Methods of Selecting Arbitrators

Ranney: If you have the money to spend, the United States Conciliation Service is the place to go, and even then it is not entirely satisfactory. The panels that are submitted to you by the Conciliation Service have people on them from all over the country whose transportation expenses you must pay. You may wind up with an arbitrator that knows absolutely nothing about your problems or the particular type of arbitration and therefore you don't get the decision you think you should get. Many unions in the past have had clauses in their contract to let the circuit court appoint the arbitrator. That is probably one of the least expensive ways of getting an arbitrator. But you don't get a panel. It depends upon who the calendar judge is so that you may wind up with somebody who is in total sympathy with the employer. The State Labor Board is another place to go, although I find that the panels that they have sent out are mostly loaded with business attorneys or heads of industrial firms. I know a number of unions have had the Industrial Commission as the agency picking the arbitrator. I haven't had too much experience with that myself but I understand that some of the unions have had satisfactory service from the Industrial Commission.

Thompson: It's my opinion that the parties should select the arbitrator if at all possible. If you pick the guy, you are less apt to find fault with him than if somebody else picks him and he starts out in a better position. My second choice would be the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. I've used the American Arbitration Association but I always end up with the same guy so why should I pay the AAA for a list if the Federal Mediation and

Conciliation Service will furnish his name without charge? I am against a judge picking the arbitrator. He usually gives us some lawyer that starts out not knowing anything about the shop. I have checked the Labor Board's list and I agree with Ranney.

Ozanne: I had hoped to give you the list of arbitrators who are actually used in this area by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the American Arbitration Association and the State Labor Board. I wasn't able to get all of them and so I don't want to give out any one of them lest I be accused of advertising one particular agency. However, I have a very firm belief that this information should be published and that every union and every company should have the list of panels from which these people are selected before you go to one of them. I'd also want to know who the agency has actually appointed in the last hundred cases, so I know what my chances are. I see no reason at all why that information should not be divulged. The agencies that refused to give it simply gave the sentence "we just haven't got the clerical staff to get out this list". But I really think it's something you should demand and you should be able to get.

Ranney: The panel here is unanimous in their agreement that the best method is to mutually agree with the employer and if this is impossible, that the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service is the next best solution.

Raskin: The experience I have had is that in representing labor in arbitration cases, it isn't too difficult to pick an arbitrator if you know the attorney on the other side. In spite of what the average labor man thinks, the lawyer isn't a bad guy. You talk the same language to him and you start taking apart various individuals and pretty soon you arrive at the person you want, except that he wants to check it with his client and vice-versa. I would like to suggest the creation of a board or a commission of arbitrators.

I would like to see the arbitrators independent and courageous and without the necessity of constantly compromising or worrying whether they are going to have a next assignment. We have finally gotten through a retirement law for judges. There are a number of them that I know of that would be well fitted to be used to act as arbitrators in various types of cases.

Davis: I want to pick up the last remark about independence. It's a delicate subject, but I think it should be spoken to. I know a good many arbitrators in this country and my impression is that most of them, certainly those that I know, do make decisions based upon what they think is right. I firmly believe that no arbitrator should be dependent upon arbitration cases for his livelihood. That isn't to say that if you were dependent, you wouldn't be considered impartial, but it is just more difficult for obvious reasons.

Ozanne: I wonder if there are any other ways in picking an arbitrator that are worth mentioning before we continue.

Raskin: There is. Mr. Davis' suggestion that the parties themselves as part of the contract itself might agree on a person or a group of people and incorporate their names into the contract.

Who Makes a Good Arbitrator?

Ranney: I think my first choice would be from the ministry. However, they are being used less and less because of employer fear that since the minister looks at the human aspect of arbitration, he usually leans a little more towards the union's point of view. My second choice would be professors of either economics or law, who are probably doing most of the arbitrating today. Unions have a good deal of faith in them and the employers, so far, don't seem to have as much reluctance to accepting them as they do gentlemen of the cloth. The third group would be lawyers and other professional groups within

the community, but here the union often has the same reluctance as the employer does with the first group that I mentioned. Actually that leaves you with only the professors and the colleges and I think you are on safe ground to get an honest decision based upon the facts from that group.

Thompson: I think I'd have to add the qualification that the individual is more important than the calling sometimes. I would first call in the professional arbitrator, whom I think has a lot more background than a minister. I think many times a minister only brings good will and not enough knowledge. I am also against lawyers because they get too legalistic. I think professors would be my second choice although sometimes they get too opinionated.

Raskin: I would say that the man must know his job and you can't just appoint someone to be an arbitrator, particularly if it's an involved problem or question, and expect him to become a professional on the job. To defend a decision to your members you have to be able to uphold the dignity of that arbitrator, by stating who he is and what he has done. The professional arbitrator studies, has written decisions and has read all the decisions, particularly professors in the law school or in the school of economics. I think that if you confine your choice to those two groups you are apt to get a better decision.

Selecting Arbitrator to Fit the Case

Davis: The use of the term, professional arbitrator I think probably means arbitrators of experience who know what contracts mean, and know about public relations. That is not inconsistent with my criterion of not being the source of total income. I'd like to pose a question--do unions really try or care to find trained people when they select an arbitrator to work on a technical case?

Comment: When we write in to the state board, we usually write a joint letter with the company and we state we would like to have someone familiar with engineering or problems of that nature. We still get a panel of five and out of that five, very rarely do all five have the qualifications we ask for.

Comment: We go into arbitration because we want to win so if we feel that the contract supports us, common sense will tell us to pick a man with technical experience. On the other hand if the contract case is weak, we want to pick a man who hasn't got so much technical experience.

Comment: I think that in our particular organization we find that there are three general categories of types of issues that come up under arbitration. One, we have cases which are strictly legal interpretations of a contract clause. Here we're not too concerned with a man's philosophy about trade unionism. We'd just as soon have a lawyer, an honest fair one who can make a true appraisal of the law. Two, is the category of trade union practices. Here we want a man who has an understanding of collective bargaining. The third one involves emotional appeal in the social aspect of the employer-employee relationship. So we try to peg which one of the three classes the particular case falls in and get the qualified individual to handle it.

Lawyers as Arbitrators

Ranney: I think that among those actively practicing law, you'll find very few who could classify as impartial arbitrators since they receive their income from one side or the other.

Ozanne: Is there any person in any segment of society that someplace along the line doesn't have a prejudice?

Ranney: I think you have to define the degree of prejudice, and I think that when you speak of lawyers who owe their income to one particular group or another, that they're bound to be prejudiced. Whereas, someone who has his income assured from the state or where it comes equally from all of the people, they have fewer prejudices.

Comment: To mention the clergy again, I presume the clergymen up in Whitefish Bay and Fox Point would have one bias and clergymen from the south side of Milwaukee would have another bias.

Ozanne: I'd even go farther and say I think you ought to look over the viewpoints of the professor just as you would a minister and certainly a lawyer.

Comment: In all fairness to the lawyer I'd like to mention that one thing he's inclined to do is to hold the decision until the end of the case because he wants to get all the facts out, which is not true of all arbitrators.

Raskin: Generally speaking, I would think that lawyers as a group are objective. They have been taught to be able to analyze problems and they are in some sense independent. If you've got an independent lawyer who has an income, and doesn't have to rely upon labor and doesn't have to rely upon management, for his daily bread, you'll find a good arbitrator whether he has been a professional or ever expects to become one.

Cases Based on Emotional Appeal

Comment: Let's have cases decided strictly on their merit and we'll get someplace. Only go into arbitration with a strong case. Don't try to win a weak case on an emotional basis or you're only going to hurt yourself in the future.

PREPARATION OF CASES

Participants: Chairman, Norris Tibbetts, School for Workers
Pearce Davis, Chairman, Business and Economics Department, Illinois Institute of Technology
Nathan Feinsinger, Law Professor, University of Wisconsin
David Previant, Milwaukee Attorney

(The check list on the preparation of arbitration cases which served as a basis for this session is included in the appendix of this summary.)

Feinsinger: The first warning that I would like to give you is that you cannot generalize as to the most effective kind of preparation or presentation. In a question concerning job standards, for instance, you may have to go to the extent of calling on an industrial engineer and there your emphasis would be on expert testimony. Your man in the shop may be absolutely useless to you. First, look at the kind of grievance you're talking about. In a simple discharge case, the presentation depends on who your arbitrator is. I like to have somebody on the union's side and on the company's side start out and tell me in very simple language what it's all about. As a rule, rather than a lawyer, I prefer to have someone who knows the shop problem and knows what the grievance is about and preferably someone who has followed through the grievance procedure.

Secondly, I often find it very helpful in saving time and money for the union representative, after he gets through telling me about the case, to make what I call an offer of proof. He says, "I have several witnesses here who, if called upon, will testify as follows," and then he will tell what they are going to testify. Frequently the company will say, "We agree that if they're called, that's what they will say. Our argument is not as to what happened but is rather on what the contract means, that is, whether we had cause for disciplining and whether the penalty was excessive."

So you have saved a day, perhaps two days, and sometimes a whole week. Sometimes you get a little disagreement where the other side will say, "We're not concerned with any of that except this one thing." Then you'll put on your man or men just to talk about that one thing. While you may have to bring a lot of people in anticipation of anything that may happen, don't feel that because you've got them there, even if they've got speeches all rehearsed, you've got to use them. Your object is not to provide a hearing hall for your people, as a rule, but to win your case.

Formulation of the Issue to be Arbitrated

Davis: I go along with everything Feinsinger said. Also, I think the formulation of the issue to be decided should be looked at very carefully. I have had situations where I was quite sure that the union did not realize the implications of the situation presented to the arbitrator and all the presentation was on issues that were not for the arbitrator. Many arbitrations have no written record because of the cost involved. In that situation, I find it very useful if there is a little brief presented by the union. It seems to me to have some advantage from the point of view of putting down your own ideas as well as in helping the arbitrator diagnose the issue.

Previant: I'd like to concur in what Mr. Davis said about clarifying the question involved. However, there are dangers in this from the union's stand point. Usually the attorney for the company prepares a proposed stipulation which tries to make it very narrow and very technical. I have always advised our people to be very careful of that type of stipulation. For one thing, I do not think it's a good idea to put into a stipulation any reference to any particular provision in the contract. You might even agree with the company that the issue can be decided under a particular provision of the contract. But by the time you get through presenting your case, you may find either that

you are mistaken or that the arbitrator may find there are other provisions which said as much if not more on the particular problem and on which he would prefer to base his decision.

Generally, the only possible basis for the overthrow of an arbitrator's decision is that he acted outside his jurisdiction. If you have limited his jurisdiction in your submission to making a precise answer based upon a precise provision of the contract and his answer is based on other provisions of the contract, you may find you have an invalid award. The submission, therefore, is probably the only part in an arbitration proceeding where it is well to advise with your counsel. I think you want to be sure that the question submitted is broad enough so that when the decision comes down, not only is this particular grievance settled but that you have eliminated the possibility of other grievances along the same line in the future.

The other comment that I want to make with respect to the check sheet is to suggest that you use it even before you decide to arbitrate, and not wait until you have made your request for arbitration and selected your arbitrator. Too many times you find that after getting to arbitration that you are arbitrating the wrong case. Maybe it's not the particular case that you should have chosen to present the general problem in which you are interested. Or one or two members of the committee may get a little hot on the disposition of a particular grievance and submit it to arbitration without relating the problem to other cases and to the overall relationship between the union and the company.

Question: A particular contract says that if unable to reach an agreement on the last step of a grievance procedure, either party may submit the matter to arbitration. In such event, the party shall submit the question to be arbitrated and name their arbitrator. The other party, within five days,

shall name their arbitrator and failure to do so shall forfeit their case. Does the other party have the opportunity to state the question the way it wants it stated?

Previant: My advice would be to state the question the way you think it should be stated and your position on it, and not worry about the other fellow's position.

New Evidence in Supplementary Brief

Question: I would like to ask a question as to what weight the arbitrator gives to additional evidence which may not have been brought up in the hearing.

Feinsinger: Theoretically you are not supposed to present any new evidence in your supplementary brief. If you do, the other side usually insists on writing a counter-supplemental brief. Almost invariably the first side wants to answer the answer, so you wind up with a half a dozen supplemental briefs. Therefore, as a rule, I try to get the parties to agree that each side can submit a supplemental brief on the same day. I usually find supplemental brief very helpful because by that time the issues have sharpened. However, I think you ought to refrain from putting new evidence in your supplemental brief that the other side hasn't had a chance to answer. However, there are cases where neither side has the figures available at the hearing which the arbitrator want to have, and it is agree that one side or the other will submit that evidence. In that case, it must be agreed which of the two parties is going to prepare that additional evidence. It should be further understood that before this is sent to the arbitrator, the other side will have the opportunity to check on it and to add anything that it wants to, and then the arbitrator gets the whole submission at one time.

Preliminary Brief

Previant: I can appreciate that Mr. Davis and Mr. Feinsinger, being arbitrators, would like a preliminary brief so that they can help orient themselves. However, I prefer the suggestion made earlier that somebody at the beginning of the hearing say for the benefit of the arbitrator exactly what is involved, rather than have to submit a formal preliminary brief. I am getting at the same point I made before. Things may happen during the course of an arbitration that may change your entire attitude. You may find then that you have bound yourself in your brief to certain positions that you wish you hadn't taken. If the arbitrator feels that a post-hearing brief will be helpful to him, then I think a brief summary setting forth the highlights, without a large document, would be the proper thing. But if you are before a board of arbitration that thinks in terms of legal procedures, you can very seriously prejudice your case, in my opinion, if you submit a preliminary brief.

Davis: I recognize the point of my colleagues. It depends somewhat on the nature of the case. If there is no transcript of the hearing, I would accomplish my purpose by a post-hearing brief.

Rules of Evidence

Question: Does the panel believe that it is advisable to abide by the rules of evidence?

Feinsinger: I think the answer of most arbitrators is that the technical rules of evidence have no place in an arbitration case. But since most of the rules of evidence are based on common sense, they are useful to some extent. For example, you may have two witnesses available, one of whom saw what happened and the other didn't. If you decide to use the fellow who only heard about it because you think he'll make a more impressive witness, the first thing the arbitrator will ask is, "Did this fellow see it"? In a

court of law that would be rejected on the ground of the hearsay rule. I wouldn't place my objection on this ground. Rather, I would ask, "Why didn't you produce the guy that saw it? The arbitrator has a perfect right not to pay much attention to the evidence of the fellow whom you did produce when you could have produced an eye witness.

"Face Saving" Arbitration

Previant: I don't see anything wrong, from a union point of view at least, with a face saving arbitration. It may be that you think an entire group within your organization is trying to stretch the contract beyond all reason and you may feel that the way to stop that tendency is to go into what you call face saving arbitration. I think that it would not be an imposition on the arbitrator if he understood that an answer is required in order to solve a situation which may cause trouble in the plant. Also, I don't think that you should necessarily call them 'face saving' as that has an unpleasant implicatio It's simply that you've got to get a decision one way or the other.

Another practical consideration a union may face is when it has a series of winning cases before a permanent arbitrator. It may get a little bit leary that the company is going to replace him with a new permanent arbitrator, so it may decide to take a couple of "dogs" up and let the company win so the company won't question the fairness of the arbitrator.

Feinsinger: I agree with Previant on his first proposition. Don't forget that one of the chief functions of the arbitration procedure is to let the partners blow off steam. I can understand why a grievance which the officers recognize may be out of reason, but which the members want to have taken to arbitration, should be taker there. However, I disagree strongly with the idea of sending up cases simply to giv the arbitrator a chance to fatten his batting average. I have known occasions where the union has submitted five cases, three good, and two which they thought were "dogs",

where the arbitrator held for the union only in the "dog" cases.

Suggested Award

Question: I wonder how Professor Feinsinger feels about preparing a case in such a way that it gives the arbitrator a suggested award?

Feinsinger: It is perfectly proper and he welcomes it.

In lots of cases, the arbitration award is unsatisfactory in that it doesn't exactly answer the problem or it covers too much ground. In some cases it helps a lot for the union to say, "We want the arbitrator to award as follows:" and write it in just the way you want it if you should win the case.

Oral vs. Written Argument

Question: I have a case in which the arbitrator asked me to send in an initial statement to him and to the company. Then he told the company to send me back a reply, to which I would send an answering statement. I'm afraid that I'll exhaust all my good arguments in written language and I want to know from the viewpoint of the arbitrator, do they attach as much importance to the written briefs as they would to an oral presentation?

Feinsinger: The initial statement I was speaking of is given to the arbitrator just at the time of the hearing. If I were in your position, I would not like to do what you were asked to do. On the question of the weight of written or oral argument, I would only be able to answer with my own experience. After getting all the evidence, my procedure is to go through everything I have at one sitting - transcript or my hearing notes, and briefs, etc. I don't think that I would attach more weight to oral or to written presentation.

Oral or Written Stipulation

Question: Do you believe it is better to have a written stipulation, or let the arbitrator determine whether or not he understands the question after an

oral presentation?

Previant: Consistent with my previous statements, I would like to stay away from any written commitment of any kind prior to arbitration. However, I think in fairness to the arbitrator, he should know what the question is in some way. I think you should try to summarize the precise question that is involved.

Question: Will you make your statement consistent with your previous position?

Previant: I said as far as I was concerned, in no event should you try to tie your written stipulation down to a specific provision of the contract. It's all right to say "Was this man discharged with cause", "Was this man transferred outside of seniority", "Was this man improperly laid off", "Was this man called back before others were called back who were better entitled to be called back", but don't mention any particular contract section.

Davis: I just might say that from a practical point of view, the arbitrator must know before he hears the case what the issue is that he is to decide. Nothing can be worse than to decide the wrong thing. I, like most arbitrators, will take a double statement, providing it is perfectly clear in my mind what the issue is. Several hours can sometimes be taken up if you try to get a single wording. I think that can be avoided if it is perfectly clear what the issue is.

Influence of Past Practices

Question: Should emphasis be placed on past practice, as well as the written contract in preparing a brief?

Feinsinger: Your contract is supposed to represent what the parties intended. Your contract consists not only of the written language, but of any other evidence which brings out the intention of the parties, including past practice, that went on during negotiations, and how grievances have been settled. If either side suddenly changes the pattern, that will be held against it in many

You may run into the technical problem which we call the parol evidence rule. Arbitrators will frequently say, as courts frequently say, "If the language of the contract is clear, that's as far as you can go." However, rules of contract interpretation often come in pairs. There is another rule of "latent ambiguity" that says, "even though the language appears to be clear on its face, you may introduce evidence to show that all is not as clear as it appears." That's the advantage of having a lawyer. If the arbitrator starts spouting legal propositions, since most legal propositions do come in pairs, your lawyer may be smart enough to think of the opposite one. I have very seldom seen a case where, in my judgment, the language was so clear as to permit only one decision. Even where the language appears to be clear, if you dig into the facts, you'll find in many cases that the parties didn't have that situation in mind when they used the particular language.

Opinion Accompanying Award

Question: How does the panel feel about having an opinion accompany the arbitrator's award?

Davis: I never was on a case without an opinion. I've always assumed the parties didn't want just a decision, but they wanted to know "why".

Weight of Previous Awards

Question: What is a source for getting arbitration awards and opinions in related cases? What degree of weight do arbitrators usually give to previous awards?

Feinsinger: The easiest source to get these awards is at Max Raskin's, David Previant's, or Bobby Gram's office. More seriously, there are various services available: Prentice-Hall, Commerce Clearing House, Bureau of National Affairs. We happen to use the Bureau of National Affairs at the Law School. Certainly somewhere in the City of Milwaukee, in some union office, there must be a

complete set of those reports for the use of those local unions which are not going to employ a lawyer to present their case.

Your question as to how much weight arbitrators give previous decisions is an important one. Practice varies greatly. The new arbitrator, or the fellows who are afraid of criticism, are more inclined to rely on precedents to support their position. The older and more experienced arbitrators, either because they are men of great character or have a separate income, don't care whether they are criticized. Personally, I very seldom pay any attention to other arbitrator's awards, except in those cases where I'm acting as permanent or contract arbitrator. There I feel I ought to give weight to previous awards because one of the purposes of having a permanent arbitrator is to have continuity in the administration of an agreement. For example, for years the umpires of the General Motors agreements have ruled that all an arbitrator can do is to declare job vacant if a promotion was given to the wrong man under the seniority rules. Now, I followed that rule in a recent decision even though I didn't agree with it and even though under most contracts back pay is awarded to the man who should have gotten the job.

There is another time when I use prior awards. Suppose I've got a new question which involves a more-or-less philosophical problem. There I will look up to see who people whom I respect in the profession have d[illegible] at question. Sometimes I may find a good opinion from a fellow I don't know but who has given deep thought to the matter and arrived at a pretty sound conclusion. I look at these decisions and check them against my own reaction. Beyond these two cases, I think I'm safe in saying that I don't pay any attention to anybody else's awards. I'm hired to decide a case on the basis of what I think is right under the particular contract.

Davis: I'd like to put in a word of caution on the use of services. You will not necessarily get a random sample in the services that have been mentioned.

First of all, they only select certain cases they think should be printed. Secondly, only those cases can be included where the parties give permission.

Closing Remarks

Feinsinger: I want to recall my opening remark. Voluntary arbitration is not a court proceeding in which rules as to how the case is to be handled have been laid down in advance. The proceedings are entirely in the control of the union and the company concerned in the particular contract. So please don't feel that because some other unions deal with some things in a particular way, that you must do it in that same way. It is up to you and the company to decide what kind of procedure you want and what kind of arbitrator you want. You must decide for yourself what you think is the best way to prepare the particular grievance before the arbitrator you have selected.

SOME VIEWS ON LABOR ARBITRATION

We're meeting here today for the purpose of discussing some specific problems in the field of labor arbitration. I should like to discuss that subject in a broader setting.

Twenty years or so ago, persons in your positions would have scratched their heads in amazement at the discussions we have been having. In those days, your concern would have been mainly how to get recognition and some kind of an agreement, - you wouldn't have worried much about how to administer the agreement once you got it. Until late in the 1930's, generally speaking, you would have had to go after recognition the hard way, that is, by the strike and by the picket line.

Union recognition and collective bargaining are now part of our national policy. The law requires both sides to attempt in good faith to reach an agreement on terms and conditions of employment, and on questions arising under the agreement once it is made. There is no hard and fast line between bargaining in the making of the agreement and bargaining after the agreement has been made.

The law requires the employer to furnish information which is necessary for the union to bargain intelligently and to police the contract after it has been made. Some of you may be aware of the recent Otis Elevator Case in which a federal court of appeals ruled on a contract which gave to the employer the right to set job standards, but gave the union the right to file grievances over the job standards. The union filed such a grievance and asked (1) for the date on which the employer's engineers had based their job standards, and (2) for the right to make an independent time study of its own. The court unanimously ruled the union was entitled to access to the information on which the employer based his own job standards, but by 2 to 1 vote ruled that it was not entitled, however,

to make its own job studies. That case may go up to the United States Supreme Court. The dissenting judge agreed with the National Labor Relations Board that there was no difference between these two requests and had held that the union was entitled to have both requests granted.

Our government does not as a rule attempt to dictate what goes into the contract or how questions arising under the contract will be settled. There are, of course, some exceptions. For example, the Labor Management Relations Act and our state act provide certain restrictions on the type of union securit clauses that you can agree to with the employer. The government does appoint mediators to help the parties reach agreement but if they still disagree, the parties are free to strike or to lock-out provided that the end is lawful and the means used are lawful. Unfortunately, the ends and means test leads to difficulty because what is lawful or unlawful often depends on what the particu lar judge or group of judges or the members of a government board feel to be economically or socially justifiable.

The "hands-off" policy of the government is based on the theory that in our democracy, characterized by the spirit of free competition and liberty of contract, it is better that the public suffer the temporary inconvenience of a shut-down than to force labor to work or management to run its business on terms not of their own making. It is only in periods of war or defense production, in cases threatening a national emergency or, in some states, an interruption of public utility service, that this principle is departed from and then only to the least possible degree.

It's important to note that employers and unions are not obliged to resort to the strike or the lock-out to settle their contract differences. They may, on the contrary, agree to submit such disputes voluntarily to a third party of their

own choosing for a final and binding decision under such restrictions as they themselves choose to impose. Instances of that kind are increasing, but they are still rare because of the reluctance of labor and management, as they view it, to turn over to an outsider the functions of making the agreement under which they are to live.

Now, in the case of a dispute arising after the agreement has been made, the situation is reversed. As of 1950, over 80% of all the agreements in the United States contained some kind of provision for arbitration at the terminal point of the grievance procedure. There are several explanations for the greater willingness of employers and unions to use this type of arbitration. First, is the feeling that the parties take no great risk in permitting an outsider merely to interpret their contract as long as he does not attempt to add to or change that contract. Second, people are used to having courts decide disputes as to what a contract means. Third, and perhaps most important, is the realization that there must be some way to dispose finally of the varied problems which arise in the day-to-day administration of the agreement, lest an accumulation of unsettled grievances that arise between periods of contract negotiation blow off the lid.

There are often questions that arise during the life of the contract that are not covered at all by the contract. Sometimes the parties have anticipated that situation and have agreed that they shall carry it over until the next contract negotiation. In such a case the union has, in effect, waived its right to bargain over the question.

Usually, however, the parties have not anticipated the problem. In such a case, the union, for example, has a right to ask the employer to negotiate on the question. But suppose that the parties fail to reach an agreement. Then

what? The answer depends to a large extent on the scope of the grievance and arbitration provisions. Suppose that the arbitration clause covers only a question of interpretation or application instead of all disputes: then if a question does not pertain to a matter covered by the agreement, it is not arbitratable. What happens then, if no agreement is reached on the matter? The union, generally speaking, is free to strike, and the employer is free to lock-out, unless they have agreed to an overall, no-strike, no-lock-out clause.

All this points to the necessity of using extreme care in negotiating the contract -- first, to define what you mean by a grievance, second, to state clearly what grievances, whether all disputes or just certain kinds of disputes may be taken to the arbitration step; and third, to specify whether the contrac no-strike clause is to be only as broad as the arbitration clause or is to be all inclusive. If you have an all inclusive no-strike clause and you cannot agree on a matter not subject to arbitration, the employer's decision controls until the next contract negotiation.

Even grievances concerning matters covered by the contract, such as the setting of job standards (a common case), are sometimes excluded from the arbitration clause and from the no-strike clause. In the General Motors contract, the umpire can handle any dispute arising under the contract, except disputes over the study of job standards, but as a corollary, disputes over job standards are excluded from the coverage of the no-strike clause, so the union is free to strike. However, there has not been as yet a single strike over the setting of job standards in General Motors. I am not sure whether this is because of the union's reluctance to strike during the contract even though it has the right, or the fact that the employer leans over backward to be fair in setting job standards. I'm inclined to believe it's the

latter, and if I'm right, then it might be advisable for some unions to experiment with affording the employer more leeway in certain areas than they are generally inclined to do.

Try eliminating some things from the arbitration step that the employers ask, but subject to the understanding that if it does not work, then the matter will be made subject to the arbitration procedure in the next contract. Most unions would probably oppose my suggestion, but I should point out that if you do not want to get too rigid in labor-management relations. Symmetry or completeness must not be confused with perfection.

This does not attempt to be an exhaustive treatment of the subject of arbitration. I am trying to point out that we have come a long way from the law of the jungle in our handling of labor-management relations in a relatively short time. In my opinion, the relationship between labor and management will always have the dual elements of cooperation on the one hand and competition on the other: competition over the distribution of the profits of the enterprise, but likewise cooperation in increasing output, by which all parties concerned benefit, and cooperation in making the agreement work. We shall never, I hope, be in the position of the Iron Curtain countries whose "worker" delegates to the ILO will have to sometimes sit on the labor side of the conference table and sometimes on the management side because they regard themselves as both managers and workers. But the fact that in this country our workers sit on one side of the bargaining table and our managers on the other side of the table, should not obscure our realization that there is, in the last analysis, a common enterprise. Therefore, the pursuit of advantages to one side should not be pressed to the point of real injury to the other.

We are much more civilized in our industrial relations than we were a generation ago, but sometimes I regret to say this civilized attitude does not extend to the arbitration hearing room. The business agent sometimes argues his case as though he were presenting a case to an NLRB trial examiner, charging the company with a vile conspiracy to undermine the union when all that is involved is an honest difference of opinion as to whether John Jones did or did not carelessly spoil some pieces. Likewise, the industrial relations manager sometimes argues that the union is trying to ruin the employer's business, when the dispute is only an honest difference of opinion as to whether the work assigned to John Smith is covered by his present negotiated job description or a description carrying a higher wage rate. Often the people presenting the case become so engrossed in pointing out that the other side is a so-and-so, that they have no energy left to emphasize the facts and arguments relevant to the case. The arbitrator is left impressed with the forensic ability of the parties but without the necessary information to make an intelligent decision in the case.

This brings me finally to the role of the lawyer in arbitration proceedings. Unfortunately, the growing complexity of our present labor relations laws makes it almost essential for employers and unions to resort to legal counsel, both in the drafting and collecting of labor agreements and, to some extent, in the presentation of arbitration cases. For example, the drafting of an arbitration and no-strike clause may be extremely delicate and technical. The improper drafting of such a clause may lead to serious disturbances during the contract, including costly law suits.

Recognizing the increasing role of lawyers in labor relations, the University of Wisconsin Law School is attempting to train its students to be not only

good advocates, but to understand labor relations, to realize that there are many ways of winning an arbitration case, some of which may be more costly to their client than losing it. Win or lose, the employer and the workers must continue to live together after the contract is completed or the arbitration is decided. In my own classes, if I find a man whose natural sympathies are on the union side, I appoint him as counsel for the employer; and if I find a man whose natural sympathies are on the employer's side, I assign him as counsel for the union. It is surprising to see how fast a man can get rid of his own prejudices and adopt the opposite prejudices of his client even in an academic debate. I'm sure that our students will be better labor lawyers, whichever side they serve when they get out into practice, for the experience of having served as counsel, even in classes, for the other side.

PRESENTING THE CASE

Participants: Chairman, Raymond Munts, School for Workers
Nathan Feinsinger, Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin
Pearce Davis, Chairman, Department of Business & Economics, Illinois Institute of Technology
Max Raskin, Milwaukee Attorney
David Previant, Milwaukee Attorney

Procedural Rules for Hearings

Raskin: I'm not one who is interested in too much flexibility but rather believe that certain procedures are necessary. Now some arbitrators even go to the exter of swearing in witnesses. However, I believe that without interruption witnesses should testify from each side with opportunity for cross-examination by the other side and then the arbitrator may ask questions. I think that if you parallel to a large degree the pattern followed in a court of law, you will find that you get the job done much more expeditiously than where there is a talking free-for-all. A witness should be presented and asked questions, one at a time, so that his story is sufficiently extracted. You are less likely to present all the fact when you have a free-for-all.

Previant: I belong to that school of thought that believes in the "grab your best hold" idea. Feel your way along and adjust your tactics and your procedures to the things that come up in the arbitration rather than trying to follow closely the procedures in a court of law. I don't think that it should become a talk-fest, or that there should be a complete lack of control on the part of the arbitrator. I think that one of the things that most of our labor union clients are opposed to is the legal procedures of the courts. They have very reluctantly accepted the arbitration procedure because they had been told "this is different than going into court".

Now certainly a union should know before it gets into the arbitration where it is going---generally, who its witnesses are going to be and what its position is going to be. But I think that you destroy the ability to present a good

case if you try to pattern yourself as closely as you can on a court of law. I myself believe that in most cases the parties are better off if there is no lawyer in the arbitration hearing.

Of course, I think a great deal depends on who the arbitrator is. There are some arbitrators who are not going to permit you to be informal or to be flexible, while other arbitrators encourage it. So you will have to adapt your tactics and your procedures to a particular personality before whom you are trying your arbitration case. I think that it is impossible to plan a really orderly procedure in an arbitration because you may re-shape your entire case and pound away at a particular point after hearing arguments or sensing the feeling of the arbitrator. That, I think, is the advantage of informality and flexibility in a hearing.

Contrasting Types of Arbitration

Feinsinger: Both Raskin and Previant are right. There are two or more proper ways to present an arbitration case. There should be as many ways to prepare and present an arbitration case as the parties and the arbitrator want.

If it will help the arbitrator to understand the case by developing it in the way that Raskin suggests, you should try it that way if you can persuade the arbitrator to listen to you. I have found it most effective for my own handling of the case to have the presentations more informal as Previant has suggested. I'd like to illustrate two types of arbitration proceedings both of which are good because they work for the particular parties.

Under one contract the parties come in together after having met the night before and weeded out all the "dogs" or traded them off. They come to present four or five cases that are real disputes. Each side has come prepared with a short brief. Each puts his witnesses on the stand and examines

them. Then, there's cross-examination and finally the umpire is permitted to examine the witness himself. If we need to go to the plant to look at a job, each side sends a man along with me. Sometimes they file post-hearing briefs, usually not. There are no informal discussions whatsoever between the parties and the umpire.

Now, under another contract, I'll get there the evening before and sit down with the business agent and the top man from the company. They say, "We've agreed on twenty of these thirty-seven cases but we'd like for you to hear what the steward has to say and what the foreman has to say because they'll feel much better if they get things off their chest." I mark these cases. At eight o'clock in the morning we start going through the plant to start to look at the jobs that we're going to talk about in the arbitration proceedings. We pick up people as we go along and discuss the thing very informally. In the hearing each dispute is allowed the same amount of time whether it's a genuine dispute or not.

When we get through about 4 p.m. we dismiss everybody but the business agent and a couple of more fellows on his side and three fellows on the company's side. We take off our coats and we sit down to discuss these cases. I say, "Well, now fellows, it seems to me that there should be no dispute about this group of cases; the company is clearly right about these and the union is clearly right about these". They can argue if they think I'm wrong, but generally speaking, they will agree that my hunch is right. So you are left with about three cases that are very tough. Then we argue back and forth and I take part in the argument. When it is about six o'clock I say, "Now, if you fellows don't agree on the remaining cases, I'm going to decide them, one way or the other". They may ask for a recess. Half the time they call me in and say "o.k. You're all through. We've settled it". The other half of the time they may have one or two cases and they say "On these we're ready to ask your decision".

I decide and I tell them why orally. Now until last year then we used to call in a stenographer and I would dictate opinion and the awards in all these cases and they would say "Wait a minute. That's not clear. That's going to cause trouble if you do it that way". After a while, it occurred to me that it was just a waste of time for me to do it, since they were telling me what to put in the opinion anyhow. Now they write them up and send them to me. Sometimes I catch one where I would not have put it that way so I refuse to sign and send it back for revision.

Booby Traps in Presenting Cases

Raskin: Generally speaking, if the international representative knows the case at his fingertips and knows the proof that he's going to submit to the arbitrato there are very few booby traps he could fall into. However, if he decides at the last minute and relies exclusively on the grievance write-ups that he has accumulated in his briefcase, then, of course, he's liable to find that he never reached the real issue and the arbitrator will probably decide against him. An exception is the informal procedure Feinsinger describes where everybody just si around and talks about the case.

But for the most part, where arbitration cases are quite recent and you haven't yet orientated yourself to this method of presenting a case, you're safe by all means in presenting it in the more ordered manner I have suggested. Safe, because you will avoid talking out of turn and making an admission in this so-called "off the cuff" discussion which the other side may grab on to and repeat and perhaps blow out of proportion and get accepted by the arbitrator as the basis for his decision. If you've got your case outlined, you know what each fellow is going to talk about. You know what the weaknesses of the company are and plan questions to reveal them, and if you're in a position to make a good summary, I think you'll be in good shape. I think the free discussion ought to take place after all the witnesses have told their stories,

but not in the process of their telling them.

Is A Stenographic Record Useful?

Feinsinger: If you have a verbatim transcript, it can serve as a supplement to your own notes. You may mark in your notes that certain testimony is unimportant and can be skimmed while other testimony should be examined intensely.

Raskin: I find it somewhat disconcerting when an arbitrator continuously takes notes. It's hard to tell if you are getting your testimony over. That's one of the reasons I recommend, if it's at all possible, to have a stenographic record. Then the arbitrator can concentrate on the situation and he can see and listen to the people.

Feinsinger: I'd like to add one caution to Raskin's remarks. Don't look at the arbitrator and don't expect the arbitrator to look up in order to encourage you or discourage you or it may be misleading to you.

Previant: I want to register a dissent on the transcript idea. When you submit to arbitration, you've got to accept the arbitrator's mistakes of facts, and the arbitrator's mistakes of law. However, many employers in my experience, are not willing to accept those mistakes. The employer will use the transcript to attempt to destroy entirely the award and to cast a reflection upon the integrity of the arbitrator and upon the integrity of the union representative. Unless it's an exceedingly complicated case, arbitrating wage matters, I don't think the arbitrator really ever has any need to go to the transcript if he has paid attention during the hearing and taken either sketchy or copious notes. If he's a good arbitrator he has at least the basic essentials necessary for his decision. He knows what he's looking for and has questioned the witnesses closely on those particular points. Also, I think that having to work with the interruptions of a recorder is a greater handicap than having the arbitrator sit there taking copious notes.

Comment: It seems to me that if it's three or four weeks until the arbitrator gets around to writing his opinion he will have to have a transcript to refresh his memory.

Feinsinger: That's one of the nice things about a transcript for me. But when don't have any transcript, I try to write that case up fast, while my notes are meaningful.

I think arbitrators take too long to decide their cases. I suggest that in all your appointments of an arbitrator you say "one of the terms of your appointment is that a decision be given within thirty days after the last brief." If he realizes he's got thirty days' deadline, he'll probably get it out of the way within two weeks, but if you don't give him any deadline, he'll do anything else first, because it is really tough to write up some of those decisions.

Legality of Arbitrator's Award

Question: Is there any way in which a court of law can upset an arbitrator's award by comparing the transcript with the opinion and decision?

Feinsinger? The grounds on which an award can be upset by the courts are very narrow: fraud, collusion, or exceeding the arbitrator's authority. A mistake of fact or law is no basis for setting aside the arbitrator's award.

Cross-Examination of Witnesses

Feinsinger: Both sides I think very frequently hurt their case by spending too much time on minute cross examination. Unions particularly lose cases which they should have won by hurrying through their affirmative case in order to tear the company witnesses apart.

Question: I wonder if Mr. Feinsinger wants to take all the enjoyment out of arbitration in cross examination of the company's witnesses. How can we get the arbitrator to understand or to recognize that the witness is lying if we

don't cross examine a great deal?

Feinsinger: The answer is to bring it out through your own witnesses. I have seen union representatives try hour after hour to get witnesses to admit lying but that is very rarely successfully accomplished. The best way to prove that the other fellow is lying is to produce your own people, have them tell their story, and let the arbitrator decide who is lying and who is telling the truth.

Question: Where there's a direct conflict in testimony, isn't it true that the arbitrator will put more weight on the testimony of the individual's foreman?

Feinsinger: The answer generally speaking is "no". It depends on the particular foreman's testimony. The foreman's testimony carries no more weight than the janitor who may be involved in the case.

Length of Pre-Hearing Brief

Question: Is it better to submit a short general brief and then carry on with the main points in your oral presentation, or is it better to present a good complete brief with your most important points listed there?

Feinsinger: In any case you should bring out everything at the hearing, all your evidence and all your arguments. Your citations of authority you can let go until later. If, as Previant advises, you are going to limit your brief, then I suggest that you start out with a one-page summary of the case. The important thing is to give the arbitrator at the beginning of the case by a brief or a summary statement, a general idea of what the case is all about, what you claim the facts to be, what your position is, what the other fellow's position is, where the difference lies, and what you're asking him to decide.

Question: Do you think from your experience that arbitrators are aware of the natural hesitancy of many witnesses to go counter to the wishes of management?

Feinsinger: That's a difficult question. The arbitrator, in theory at least, does not attempt to help one side make it's case because it may be weaker than

the other side, or have a weaker case. Now, I say that with reservations, because even a judge, when he feels that a party has a case but because of poor expression, etc., isn't bringing the case out in its best aspects, will take a hand, and by his own questioning produce the necessary facts. In that connecti I might point out arbitrators are very frequently criticized for doing things that courts do ever day. However, you can't expect the arbitrators to give you a break, a 10% discount or anything like that because your witnesses are timid.

Should Witnesses Be Sworn In?

Previant: A lot of arbitrators feel that psychologically there is an advantage in swearing in a witness. My own experience is that the guy who is inclined to lie is not influenced a bit by being sworn in.

Raskin: I think that the arbitrator ought to be able to understand who is closer to the truth, without placing witnesses under the restraint that the oath usually has psychologically.

Davis: As far as I'm concerned I'd never ask for it, but I always ask the parti what their pleasure is.

Feinsinger: My practice is not to swear the witnesses in unless that is the understanding of the parties or unless that's the rule of the office that appointed you, like the American Arbitration Association. You've got to remembe that the witnesses are fellows from the shop and like most stories that fellows tell in the shop, their testimony is composed partly of things they know partly of things they believe, partly of things they don't believe but would like the arbitrator to believe. Now as the arbitrator hears these fellows, he tries to form a conclusion --"Just how far can I trust this or that witness?"

Now the minute you put a witness under oath he starts to stutter and he gets all fouled up and you don't get the story. Particularly when the lawyer on cross examination says, "In answering this question, I want you to realize that you're under oath."

Question: Would you advise that the union would be better off not using a witness who has difficulty remembering time, dates, or people with whom he worked?

Feinsinger: If the witness has anything to contribute, I don't think a good arbitrator will be misled by the fact that the fellow has a poor memory for dates, etc. A lawyer frequently will try to discredit a witness for that reason, but a good arbitrator knows it is human nature to make mistakes.

Change of Grounds in Arbitration

Question: Suppose that a case has been fought on seniority grounds through all the steps of the grievance procedure and suddenly, the company, for the first time at the hearing uses the discharge clause to support its case. Has the arbitrator the right to examine the case from this entirely different point of view?

Feinsinger: That's a very good question. As often as not , however, the shoe is on the other foot and it is the union that advances another theory or relies on a different clause of the contract before the arbitrator. This is a situation where Previant's theory about not freezing your case in a submission is in point. Many arbitrators say that you cannot change your theory or basis of your case after it has once reached the arbitrator. I am probably in the minority. The position I take as arbitrator is to do justice to this individual under this contract regardless of the grounds on which the grievance was originally presented.

Question: If a case is made where agreed-on practice has replaced the contract, does the contract or the past practice govern?

Previant: I would like to decide before the hearing whether I'm going to argue that a clause is unambiguous and that the decision should be made strictly on the clause, or whether I'm going to argue that there is latent ambiguity and leave it wide open. The danger in leaving it wide open is that the union representative may not tell you of all the past practices so that you may hurt yourself by giving the employer an opening. However, I've found that even when I argue that the contract clause is clear and that there is no reason to search into the past practices, the arbitrator will usually decide to take the additio evidence anyway.

PROBLEMS IN WAGE INCENTIVE AND JOB EVALUATION ARBITRATION

Participants: Chairman: Bertram Gottlieb, School for Workers
Pearce Davis, Chairman, Department of Business and Economics, Illinois Institute of Technology
Anthony Doria, Secretary-Treasurer, United Auto Workers, AFL
Bertram McNamara, Staff Representative, United Steelworkers, CIO

Gottlieb: In an article in the June edition of the Labor Law Journal by Herbert Unterberger, three solutions are suggested to the problem of arbitrating technical cases. One is to use a technician as arbitrator. The second is the use of a technician as an advisor to the arbitrator. In the third solution, the technician not only presents his findings to the arbitrator but presents the material to the parties, and if they so desire, they can have a hearing in front of the arbitrator and go over this information. What do you think of these approaches?

Technical Adviser to the Arbitrator

Davis: I touched on this subject this morning when I asked whether the unions try to seek out particular people for particular cases. I got the answer that they do and I would certainly think this is desirable. Now the third suggestion Gottlieb mentioned of having a technical adviser is a very good one, except for a practical difficulty which I think kills it. A consulting expert is going to increase the cost of these cases very substantially. I think it would be very difficult for the typical union to take a 75% or a 100% increase in the cost of cases. I don't know what the solution is except to train enough arbitrators who understand the problems.

Doria: Any dispute that involves an incentive problem has to come down to the point of measurement. To submit a problem to any arbitrator who did not have complete grounding in the technicalities involved in the matter of

measurement would be a hopeless task. Then it would be a case of who could present the best argument to completely confuse the arbitrator. The arbitrator would be in a position of 'who convinced me', not who was right. Even if the consultant could impart to the arbitrator his complete technical knowledge, and the arbitrator could make his decision with full control of the technicalities that are involved, we are actually taking, then, the results that have been arrived at by the consultant. Therefore, I would favor selecting the most technically competent individual that is available to us. Of course, he should possess those characteristics of impartiality that we look for in any arbitrator

Since most consultants are working for management, where do we look for one that will not hurt the union cause in an arbitration proceeding? Our only assurance is to state the case clearly so that the consultant has to take a very specific position with respect to very specific facts. The award rendered in writing remains as a permanent record of the policy of the consulting firm.

Industrial Engineer as Arbitrator

McNamara: I agree completely with Tony Doria about using a technical consultant to the arbitrator. But should we agree at all to the use of technicians as arbitrators? Where do you find an industrial engineer that you can rely upon to be reasonably impartial? By and large, they are individuals who have taken their training solely for the purpose of getting a position in industry. I've found generally that companies who propose industrial engineers as arbitrators in wage rate cases are companies who, in the beginning, were extremely reluctant to have the matter of incentives arbitrated at all. They have found that if they have to submit to some form of arbitration, they prefer the industrial engineer because they feel they have one of their own kind to arbitrate the case.

Even where we have agreed to having an industrial engineer, we have finally concluded that there are possibly five or six men covering most of the United States that we could generally agree on. When you examine them, you find that at least two or three of them are not industrial engineers but arbitrators or university professors who have had some industrial engineering training. I have found from experience that I prefer to rely on the professional arbitrator who has had broad experience in incentive cases as well as the other kinds of arbitration. You have to recognize that even in incentive cases you want to have a man who can interpret the agreement.

Davis: There are some contracts that call for a competent industrial engineer to arbitrate certain types of cases. The plain fact is that there is no agreed upon definition of "industrial engineer" in the profession itself. I would suggest that you achieve what I think you want by putting in something like "a person trained in incentives" or "competent in this field", rather than tying yourself to a term that may cause you trouble.

Time Study by Arbitrator

Question: Don't we need to have an arbitrator who can time-study a job, not just one who is acquainted with wage incentives?

Davis: In the sense of going in to do a complete job, the answer is "no". If you go into that sort of thing, it will take a fantastic amount of time. I think that by the proper presentation on the part of the union people and the company people, plus an experienced man going in and looking at the job and going over the points, you can achieve your objective. I think unions are doing a very good job of presenting arbitration cases, but if there is one field in which they are weak, it is in technical presentation. I think that every union should have trained people who can present technical cases.

Performance Rating

Doria: To me, the whole issue of an incentive grievance, when it gets down to its bare facts, is a matter of the time study man's judgment on the performance rating of the operator. I don't worry about a man deliberately chiseling on the actual clock timing of the operation. That can be too easily checked and an error determined. But it is very easy for the time study man of the company to say, "This fellow was working at 105 per cent" when actually he was working at 130 per cent. Therefore, you've got to get right back to the job. No amount of facts that could be presented in the arbitration hearing could ever make up for the lack of the information as to what the performance was when that job was time studied.

Question: How would Mr. Davis decide a case where there was a difference of opinion on the performance ratings? Would he split it right down the middle? Would it then be smart for the union to set their sights high and have the company set their sights high so in the end they wind up in a compromise?

Davis: I certainly don't split it up the middle. All I can say is all the facts have to be presented and I've got to see the situation to make a decision, maybe wholly for the company or wholly for the union. Certainly there is no slide-rule technique that you can apply. It's judgment from the company, judgment from the union, and judgment from the arbitrator-informed judgment.

Types of Incentive Cases

Question: I'd like to know, Mr. Davis, whether it's your experience that in many cases the method of taking the study, the conditions of the job, or the contract terms cause trouble, or do you arbitrate in most cases the performance ratings Mr. Doria discussed?

Davis: That gives me an opportunity to bring out that there are all sorts of arbitration issues revolving about the general incentive problem. There is the

question of standards. Here you have to go over the entire approach of the company. On the other hand, you get a question such as I had not long ago as to whether or not the company was privileged to change the incentive rate, in view of the wording in the contract. Here the parties very carefully said, "We don't want the arbitrator to tell us whether the change in rates was right, only whether the company had the right to change." All the things you listed are possibilities with all sorts of variations.

McNamara: I think the type of case depends on the kind of industry with which you're working. We have any number of grievances which arise not over the actual process of setting the rate, but over whether or not the company has a right to change a rate, or whether the job was changed to the extent that a new rate is necessary. I would much prefer to submit such problems to a competent professional arbitrator than I would the alleged specialist, the industrial engineer. Although these are incentive problems, they are also basically a matter of contract interpretation.

Question: Which is the hardest one to solve?

Davis: The standards question and the detailed method are the hardest cases there are -- or they ought to be.

Are Performance Ratings Measurable?

Question: Are we arbitrating measurable quantities, particularly in the case of performance ratings?

Doria: Let's say that we're measuring measurable quantities with a flexible rule, because of the inability to provide methods that are as exact as they should be. When we get into performance ratings, judgment unquestionably has to play a part. But I do believe that we can start relating performance rating with certain basic factors that have been determined about the productive capacity of individuals. What is the range of this capacity in human beings

taken as a group? And within that range we're trying to place the pacing of that particular operator when that time study was taken. I might say at this point for the benefit of just union people that the thing that is wrong with this whole scheme of incentives is that employees who are working in the plant don't spend their whole time on it, but are usually the ones that have to bring about the challenge. We shouldn't be overly impressed by someone who has a stopwatch, a slide rule, and some fancy terms. After all, we're trying to find out one thing: how much faster does a fellow work, and is he getting paid for the how much faster that he works? The way we get that answer should not be impressive. We should find out to what extent we have answered that question. And we ought to challenge what we believe is wrong.

Comment: I think one of our biggest problems is to get our workers to work at a normal speed. Then if the rate doesn't come out, his earnings are going to prove that the time study man was wrong in that rating. But sometimes in the shop you get a smart guy that'll go in there and think he's going to fool the time study man. Maybe he'll go like a cyclone to see how high the guy's going to rate him. Then the time study man gives the guy a rating of 120 per cent. This normally wouldn't be too bad if he had been working right along, but he was really tearing. When he found he had to work the job all day long, he couldn't make out and there's a grievance.

Comment: Your situation is one even an arbitrator would have an awful job settling for you. You'd have to come in and say, "This guy is an above average worker and was working at above the normal speed when the time study was taken." What are you going to base this argument on? Your only course is to argue that here is a man who has been earning $2.50 or $3.00 an hour on piece work. On this particular job he can only make $2.00 an hour so the rate must be off base.

Synthetic Standards

Question: Would the arbitrator accept some such synthetic system as MTM as evidence to back up management's position?

Doria: I had such a case. Off hand it looks terribly convincing to a person who doesn't know the opposite arguments. I believe that MTM is being palmed off on unions today as being something super scientific. I think that any union makes a mistake to accept any form of synthetic standards or basis for synthetic standards that cannot be checked directly against the operation in that plant. We do not know the pacing of the operators when the synthetic standards were adopted -- there might have been as much of a mistake made there as there will be in an original time study in your plant.

The proper precaution must be taken at the time your contract is written not to commit yourself to the extent that you bind the arbitrator's hand by having accepted standards submitted to you by the company that cannot be challenged by the operator or the arbitrator. Then when synthetic standards that do not properly apply are submitted as the company's argument, the arbitrator can use enough judgment to say, "Well, now, look. That may be right as far as it goes, but it does not apply to this particular problem."

Influence of Past Earnings

Question: Does an arbitrator look at prior earning records or efficiency percentages in making his decision as to whether the company's rating at the time the study was taken was the proper rating?

Davis: An arbitrator certainly would look at that as one factor. We're aware, incidentally, of the possible situation that was just described. I don't think you can give a flat answer as to what you select as the deciding factor in it. You have to take all the circumstances and put them together.

Question: Supposing that you have a job and it's been timed and has been worke on for some time. Then the company decides to make some mechanical change or some change in procedure and adjust the rate. After they adjust the rate, the potential earnings that they were making before are not there. Would you have a case for arbitration? Would the arbitrator agree that, even if you have to make more pieces, at least the potential earnings that you had previously shoul exist?

Davis: It is awfully difficult to answer specific questions. I think the general principle you state is correct. I look at past earnings, but I like to see, if possible, a normal run on the job as it has been set up. Now one of th problems is to make sure you have normal earnings possible after the change. Sometimes psychological reactions are reflected in earning history after a change.

Technical Aid to the Union

Question: Should the union use someone who has some special skills in this field to present the arbitration case?

McNamara: I think it would be desirable if the union can afford it and if you have an industrial engineer available. Some unions have trained industrial engineers on their staff, but usually do not have sufficient trained personnel to cover the entire area. I've found that in most cases you have to rely on your own resources. The answer is for us all to have more training in the field. If we attempt to hire independent industrial engineers, then we run into much the same problem that we mentioned earlier about the industrial engineer as an arbitrator. You're hiring someone whose sympathies are mainly with management.

Agencies with Technical Arbitrators

Question: What agencies do we have to which the appeal for qualified arbitrators in this field?

McNamara: I've had experience with both the American Arbitration Association and the United States Mediation and Conciliation Service. If you request a person with special training in that field, they will attempt to send you a list of arbitrators who admittedly have experience. But you have to scrutinize them very closely because we have found that in a list of five people, perhaps three of them would be industrial engineers, in some cases working for management consulting firms. So you pay your money and you take your chances based on the very brief descriptions furnished.

CONTRACT CLAUSES ON ARBITRATION

Participants: Chairman, William Kuhl, School for Workers
Nathan Feinsinger, Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin
David Previant, Milwaukee Attorney

Comprehensive Clauses

Previant: I have prepared a check list of things to watch for in your arbitration clauses.

First, is to make your arbitration clauses as comprehensive as you can. I would like to see all the arbitration and grievance clauses say that any dispute which might arise between the parties shall go through the grievance and arbitration procedure. I would exclude questions of general wage increase: unless you are one of those unions that believes that even in the negotiation of a new contract you want to subject all questions in dispute to arbitration. A clause limited to the interpretation of the agreement cannot, in my judgment, cover all the many things that might arise during the life of a collective bargaining agreement. One of the examples that comes to my mind is the question of sanitary conditions in a plant which is not covered specifically by a contract clause.

Secondly, if you cannot get a broad clause on grievances and arbitration, then I think you've got to reserve the right to strike on those matters not covered by the grievance and arbitration procedure. Many times you will have employers who argue for very narrow grievance and arbitration clauses. The best answer is to say, "That's your choice, but as a matter of fairness, you will have to agree with us then that we shall have the right to reserve our economic strength in those cases where you do not care to arbitrate." Now, generally, you won't have to put that into the contract because when you

make that argument to an employer, he will ordinarily revise his ideas and will give you a broad contract clause on the grievance procedure and the arbitration procedure.

Bar Legal Proceedings

Third, you should include a clause that neither the company nor the union will institute any legal proceedings that by-pass the arbitration procedure. Legal proceedings should include petitions before the State Labor Board or the National Labor Relations Board, or any kind of governmental agency. We should have the assurance during the life of the contract that all of our disputes are going to be settled by the arbitration procedure, and that you aren't going to be running into court or before government administrative agencies without exhausting all procedures or without accepting the arbitration as final.

The Right to Strike

If you don't have a final and binding arbitration, you must make sure that your no-strike clause does not exempt you from striking at the terminal point of the grievance procedure. I don't think it's safe to rely upon the absence of a no-strike clause to give you the freedom to strike as the courts have interpreted it differently. Where you don't have a terminal arbitration procedure, the right to strike should be specified in the contract.

One or Multi-Case Hearings

Another question is whether to submit more than one question at a time to an arbitrator. There is much to be said on both sides. On the one hand, where a lot of grievances have accumulated, a small union cannot afford the expense of arbitrating each case separately. On the other hand, if you submit too many grievances to an arbitrator at one time, he may be inclined to bargain with himself as to what he's going to do and balance his decisions

to keep both parties happy. However, I prefer the idea of trying to get all the unsettled grievances out of the way at one arbitration hearing, particularly because arbitrators have become expensive.

Selection of the Arbitrator

It is very important to make sure that you have selected a method for the appointment of the impartial chairman. We still come across arbitration clauses that say the company will appoint an arbitrator, the union will appoint an arbitrator, and the two shall then meet for the selection of a third man, but then forget to say what will happen in the event these two arbitrators do not agree upon the third man.

Default Procedure

I would handle default by a clause stating, "If either party willfully fails to participate in the arbitration proceedings at any stage, the grievance or dispute shall be deemed automatically in favor of the party who is not in default, at the time of such willful failure to participate, and such automatic determination may be enforced by legal or economic action or both." Similarly, if either party fails to comply with the final decision of a board of arbitration, the other party may enforce such decision by legal or economic acts, or both.

Fortunately, today you don't have too many employers who will put themselves in a position of not acting in good faith under the contract. But you still do have some who will arbitrarily disregard their obligations and try to embarrass the union. In that circumstance, the union should protect itself in the arbitration clause and be in a position to fight, if it believes it can successfully, by a strike or at least by a full legal proceedings. In Wisconsin the courts have held that you cannot specifically enforce a clause

to arbitrate. I think the clause I suggest would give you the right to go into court because you are not trying to enforce an agreement to arbitrate but to enforce the decision which has resulted by default. Of course, in Wisconsin you can still go to the State Labor Board for enforcement of your arbitration clause, even though the courts will not specifically enforce it. It has not yet been determined whether you can get court enforcement through the indirect method I suggest.

Technical Assistance to Arbitrator

Another good clause to consider is whether or not you want to give to the arbitrator the right at the expense of the parties to hire technical assistance where you have not been able to get an arbitrator who is technically qualified.

Clarification of Award

It would be my recommendation that in your arbitration clause, you provide that jurisdiction shall be reserved and that the board of arbitration must determine or clarify any questions which arise under the award as granted. If the board is dissolved and no longer has any authority in the matter, you may find yourselves in the same dispute all over again, but with no recourse.

Time Limitations

I think Feinsinger's suggestion that a time limit should be given the arbitrator is a good one. However, I don't believe such time restrictions should be put in the contract itself. Sometimes the arbitrator just cannot get his decision done in the time set forth in a contract, and the employer will take advantage of it as being jurisdictional. There are other time limitations that you can put into the contract so that you can avoid delay. A clause should require that each party appoint its member on the arbitration

board within a certain period of time, require that these two parties shall agree on the third man within a certain period of time, and require that if agreement is not reached, that there should be an immediate submission to either federal or state agencies or to a circuit judge for the appointment of the third man.

Stenographic Costs

If there is going to be stenographic reporting of the hearing, I would suggest putting in the contract that the party requesting the record be imposed with its cost, and also be required to provide a free transcript to the arbitrator and to the opposing side. At least then we won't be paying the cost of something we oppose. If the arbitrator himself requests it, you have no choice but to share the cost. But I don't think that if any one party vigorously opposes it, the arbitrator is going to ask for it.

Conclusion

I must say that not enough time has been spent in drafting arbitration clauses in the past. I think it's just as important to get these clauses in good shape as to get your extra nickel or ten or fifteen cents, because you can lose your wage increase by an improper application of the contract or by an arbitration clause that does not give you the relief that you want.

Time Limit in Grievance Procedure

Feinsinger: I have just two or three suggestions to add to Previant's excellent coverage. There's another time limit that has caused a good deal of difficulty, and that has to do with the time limits of the various stages of the grievance procedure. There are some arbitrators that have been very tough and have said that they have no jurisdiction under the contract to pass upon the grievance if the time limits haven't been met. I don't know exactly how to get around these problems, except to use language indicating that

those time limits are not jurisdictional and that the arbitrator shall have the authority to consider any dispute.

Time limits do have a useful purpose in the contract as unions have a tendency to drag their case, but there is the danger that a worthy case may be lost on a pure technicality.

Definition of "Dispute"

Secondly, I suggest a little variation on the broad disputes clause to read "Any dispute except a demand for a change in the terms and conditions of the existing contract". By stating what is excepted from the word "dispute" you make it doubly clear that you mean any other kind of a dispute. Otherwise the arbitrator may rule that the words "any dispute" exclude not only demands for a change in the terms of the existing contract, but any kind of demand which would normally be made in collective bargaining negotiations, on the theory that the parties did not mean to have that kind of question raised during the contract.

Jurisdiction of the Arbitrator

More and more arbitrators' awards are being attacked in the courts on the ground that the arbitrator exceeded his jurisdiction. This is particularly true where the arbitration clause reads "The arbitrator shall have authority only to interpret or apply the contract and shall have no authority to add to, modify, or any way change the terms of the contract". Of course when the arbitrator decides in your favor, he is merely interpreting the contract, but when he decides in the other fellow's favor, he's changing the contract. The losing party may very well attack the decision on the ground that the arbitrator added to the contract in violation of terms of the agreement or may refuse to take the case to arbitration in the first place on the grounds that it is not arbitratable, and resort to an injunction, particularly in

the federal and New York courts. Unfortunately, the courts have a tendency to go ahead and make their own determination of what is arbitratable and what the jurisdiction of the arbitrator is.

There are two ways to avoid this increasingly important problem. One is to say that if any question is raised as to the authority of the arbitrator to pass upon a particular grievance, that question shall also be determined by the arbitrator. The other, of which I'm not so sure, is to say the arbitrator shall also be the final authority on whether the contract has been modified. In that way, you have said to the arbitrator, "Don't change the contract, don't add to it, but, we leave it to your judgment to decide whether you are changing it or adding to it." The worst part about these cases is the delay. You've gone through the grievance procedure, you've gone before an arbitrator, you've won the award and now you've got to fight the whole battle over again in the courts. It is costly and time-consuming and it makes for ugly labor relations.

Conclusion

Now, I want you to take everything that's been said here with a grain of salt. If I've made any point today at all, it is consider the problem in relation to your own case. There may be some cases where you're better off taking the technical or the tough position.

Before you sign your contract, be sure that you look through the contract to find all clauses that deal with grievances and arbitrators and be sure they are consistent. Sometimes a problem is raised by a discrepancy between the grievance provision, the arbitration provision, the management clause and the no-strike clause.

Question: Could a union, under the state labor law, make an unfair labor practice claim that the company failed to abide by the terms of the agreement?

Previant: I think so, but even there, you have no assurance that the state labor board is not going to decide that the particular award was outside the jurisdiction of the arbitrator.

Feinsinger: The first question is whether the employer has to arbitrate and the second is whether he has to comply with the award. The question as to whether he has to arbitrate is an open question at the moment. You can't compel arbitration by direct proceeding in court but the State Board has said you can by an unfair labor practice complaint. Concerning the enforcibility of an award, you have always been able to take your award to court and get an order compelling the employer to comply with it. Today under the State Labor Act, you can also file an unfair labor practice charge.

Question: If you have a clause that the arbitration board has a right to determine its own jurisdiction, would it also prevent the process of having to go to the State Labor Board and taking a chance?

Feinsinger: You'd probably first have to get a court's decision or the Board's decision as to whether that clause was binding, but I think it would be.

Three Man Board

Previant: I wasn't here this morning to put in my oar for the three-man board. I like the idea of the union representative being there to keep the arbitrator in line when he starts to get off the path. Actually, the decision is made by the third man and the others can either add to or sign it as agreeing or disagreeing.

Feinsinger: Wouldn't it be better and accomplish both results to provide for a three man board but provide that the decision of the neutral man shall

be the decision of the Board? Otherwise, you invite dissents which are usually only attacks on the arbitrator.

The advantage of having the parties there, although with no power to vote as Previant pointed out, is that they can discuss and argue with the arbitrator to be sure that he's got good reasons for his decision. There's an additional reason; they're often useful as pipe-lines to get additional information which isn't brought out at the hearing. Don't forget that in half of these arbitration hearings, the people act as though their problem is to keep the arbitrator from finding out what the truth is. When you get all through with the hearing, you still don't know what the real truth is so you get together with your two board members and say "will you check on this"?

Question: Couldn't the arbitrator check directly with the parties?

Feinsinger: In most cases the theory is that it is a judicial proceeding and you're not allowed to talk to one side alone. Your job is done when you've heard all the evidence. He doesn't want to do it in an ad-hoc case. If he's a permanent arbitrator, sometimes it does work out that way. In other cases, like General Motors or Allis Chalmers, never. You don't dare talk to them informally, together or separately, about a case.

The board of three is also useful where the problem is a very hot potato for both management and labor. An employer representative and a union representative working with the arbitrator can retreat from an extreme position gracefully without anybody accusing you of trying to fix the arbitrator behind somebody else's back. You'd be surprised how often a union finds itself in this position. It's got to suggest a compromise because it doesn't want the decision to go all the way. It might win the

particular case and lose a big advantage in the shop or stir up some internal disputes that could very well wreck the union.

Now those people who think that arbitration is purely a judicial process would object and want to have one arbitrator act as a judge. Those who believe that arbitration is merely an extension of the collective bargaining process and a method for settling disputes between labor and management believe that it should be a three-way deal: the impartial man, the employer and the union trying to work out the problems together.

Previant: I think it should be in the arbitration clause that the third man's decision shall be the decision of the board whether they agree or not and that the other two members are merely advisory.

Penalties

Previant: Sometimes you run into a situation where the union and the impartia man may agree that a discharge was not for good cause, but may disagree about the remedy. The union man insists that he shall be reinstated with full back pay but the impartial man thinks there should have been a one-week or two-week disciplinary lay-off. A lot of consideration should be given, either in the arbitration clause or in your discharge clause to the question of remedies. The arbitrator should not be limited to one of two decisions, either reinstatement with full back pay or discharge. I have had cases taken to court by the employer on the ground that the arbitrator had no jurisdiction to compromise.

Feinsinger: It is important to decide whether you want to give your arbitrator authority to modify, to reinstate with full back pay, to sustain the discharge or any intervening penalty.

Previant: Speaking strictly from a union point of view, you're better off giving the arbitrator the flexibility to determine the penalty, because he may find himself in a position where he would not, under any circumstances, believe that a man should be reinstated with full back pay but may believe that discharge was too severe. If you tie his hand, he will decide to lay the man off altogether rather than say the employer has no right to do anything to him.

Particular Biases of Arbitrators

Question: Would it be advisable to permit an arbitrator to hear cases similar to ones on which he has ruled against you?

Previant: It's very important to work to see if an arbitrator has a definite slant with respect to certain types of grievances. Generally, after an arbitrator becomes well known, you can say, "This guy's sympathetic on discharge cases but don't ever take him in an incentive plant or in a job evaluation case because he's a strong management rights fellow". Most employers, when they get a list from Federal Mediation or anybody else, will try to get a complete run-down on each man on that list either by looking at his biography as it may be reported in the various arbitration journals or by the American Arbitration Association. Many unions don't unfortunately. Sometimes they get stuck while if they had made some inquiries, they would have found their choice was swell for some things but for the case they'd chosen him, he was poison.

Suggested New Contract Language

Question: In one case which the arbitrator awarded us a decision, he stated an alternative contract phrasing under which the company would not have been liable. What do you think of putting words into their mouth like this?

Feinsinger: The arbitrator may be trying to justify his position by saying the company's argument would have been entirely proper if they had been astute enough to word the contract this way. Then it becomes a matter for bargaining and the next negotiations. Haven't you many times taken matters to arbitration to get a decision so that you know whether or not you've got to change your contract? You may take a case that you know may be a loser because you want a determination from the arbitrator so that if you lose, you can correct it at the next negotiation.

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

APPENDIX I

ARBITRATION

PREPARATION OF THE CASE

Examine what took place at the earlier stages of the grievance procedure.
- what have been the company's main arguments
- what have been the union's main arguments
- what can the union exploit from the company's early presentation
- what might the company take advantage of from the union's presentation
- what approach will the company probably take
  - --as indicated by previous experience in arbitration
  - --as indicated by the early stages of the procedure
- what witnesses will the union need
- what witnesses will the company probably use
- who will probably be in charge of the company's presentation
- what exhibits will the union need
  - --grievance
  - --letters
  - --contract
  - --transcripts of earlier meetings
  - --technical and statistical information
  - --other possible exhibits (pictures, materials, records, etc.)

Check for precedents and past-practice
- settled grievances of a similar nature
- arbitration awards, local and general
- past practice, the generally accepted way of doing things which has been accepted by both parties, at least tacitly, without regard to what the contract or company rules may provide

Prepare presentation
- opening remarks; what the union will seek to establish
- direct testimony; remarks by union representative
- witnesses; reinforcing the union's contention by developing points through witnesses
- preparing questions for witnesses
- drilling union witnesses on prepared testimony
- attempt to prepare witnesses for cross examination by company
- attempt to prepare for cross examination of company's witnesses

Line up exhibits
- prepare copies for the union, company and arbitrator
- decide when and where they will be introduced
- number accordingly

PRESENTATION OF THE CASE

(Where the company has taken the initiative, as in a discharge, it is adviseable for the company to present its case first. Where the union has taken the initiative, as in an effort to raise rates, the union will probably present its case first.)

While the company is presenting its case
- take notes of company's opening remarks, direct testimony and statements of witnesses
- prepare to cross examine company witnesses
- consider the possibility of calling certain company representatives as union witnesses; may catch them off balance

The union's case
- follow a logical sequence
  - --the circumstances
  - --the contention: facts, witnesses, exhibits
  - --the conclusion: summation of case
- amend and modify or amplify prepared presentation as required in light of company's presentation
- use care in deal-ing with company representatives and witnesses
- have consideration for the arbitrator as a person
  - --maintain composure in spite of provocation
  - --have presentation well organized
  - --see that exhibits are clear and fit into presentation
  - --indicate respect, BUT NO SOFT SOAP.
- summation
  - --brief and well organized
  - --hit the main points

It is possible that one party, or both, may request the right to file briefs. If one so requests, the other party must decide whether it is important to do likewise, or whether the case can stand as presented in the hearing. Occasionally, the parties will request the privilege of replying to each other's brief. This often results in considerable delay in gaining a decision.

In the matter of #
Discharge of Myron Heinrich #
#
Hearing, April 26, 1956 #
#
###

Award and Opinion

Heinrich was an assembler in department 20. He had about 7 years seniority and had been a steward in his department during 1952-53. On March 15, 1956, Heinrich and an employee named Raphoon were engaged in assembly work involving pieces weighing about 70 to 80 pounds. The men were using an available overhead hoist to move and position thepieces.

Mr. Reichl, the foreman, came by about 10 AM and ordered the men to lift the pieces by hand. The men complied. After Reichl left, Raphoon hurt his finger and went to the dispensary, leaving Heinrich alone on the job. Heinrich resumed the use of the hoist. Reichl returned, found Heinrich using the hoist, and fired him.

The Company's Position

The Company introduced as Exhibit A a copy of the grievance filed by the union in connection with the discharge. The Company introduced as Exhibit B a copy of the applicable sections of the contract, which read as follows:

> Article VI, Section 1: The maintenance of discipline is the responsibility of management, but discipline shall be for cause. Any dispute as to the existance of cause shall be subject to the grievance procedure, including arbitration. The arbitrator shall have thepower to modify the penalty if he thinks the Company has been unreasonably severe.
>
> Plant Rules: Violation of any of the Plant Rules shall be cause for disciplinary action including discharge subject to the provisions of Art. VI, Sec. 1.
>
> 6. Insubordination is strictly prohibited. Employees are required to carry out the orders of their supervisors.
> 7. Any interference with production, including slowdowns, is prohibited.

The Company contended that Heinrich was in violation of both rules 6 and 7 and that the discharge should therefore be upheld.

Through its witness, Mr. Reichl, foreman, and through its exhibits the Company attempted to establish that the Company had had a series of difficulties with Heinrich in the past, prior to the discharge. The Company, in its exhibit C, presented and discussed a series of formal warnings and complaints directed at Heinrich, beginning in 1950. Two of these, aside from the discharge, resulted in disciplinary action of one week off without pay. Both of the instances, the Company said, were of a nature similar to the occurrance which led to the discharge. In its exhibit D, the Company presented a number of verbal warnings issued by the foreman to Heinrich, and in its exhibit E, the company presented an evaluation report on Heinrich issued by Reichl; the report, which has since been discontinued, was of a derogatory nature.

The Company stated that the foreman's remarks and the exhibits c, D and E indicated that Heinrich had given the Company trouble over a long period of time and that the discharge was in a sense the last link in a series of events. The Company laid particular stress on the fact that its exhibit C established that Heinrich had been given disciplinary penalties in 1952 and 1954 for insubordination and encouraging others in their department to limit their production.

The Company contended that Heinrich's refusal to carry out the orders of the foreman on March 15 constituted insubordination of the worst sort and that this type of thing could not be tolerated if the plant was to remain efficient. This incident, together with Heinrich's record, caused the Company to recommend to the arbitrator that the discharge be upheld.

The Union's Contention

The Union contended that the Company did not have cause to discipline Heinrich for the occurrance on March 15, that Heinrich had not been in violation of Rules 6 and 7, and that the discharge should therefore be set aside.

Through its chief witness, Mr. Heinrich, the Union attempted to establish that Heinrich and Raphoon had in fact carried out the orders of the foreman as long as the circumstances under which they were given prevailed. Through Mr. Raphoon, the Union established that some hazard was connected with the job when it was carried on without the use of the hoist. In his testimony, Heinrich maintained that his return to the use of the hoist was actually an effort to keep up production in the absence of his partner and that since the circumstances had changed drastically since the initial order had been given, he, Heinrich, was simply exercising his initiative under the changed circumstances.

The Union contended that much of the Company's records on Heinrich were old. It established that some of the warnings had been verbal and vague, with use of the word "approximately" as to dates, and that no copies were given to the worker. In its exhibit A, the Union established that grievances had been filed in connection with the two disciplinary actions cited in the Company's exhibit C and that as a result of these grievances, Heinrich was paid for the whole time lost in the first instance and for four out of five days in the second instance.

In summary, the Union maintained that Heinrich had not been insubordinate, that the Company's records as submitted was incomplete and misleading and that therefore the discharge should be set aside and Neinrich reinstated with full seniority and pay for all time lost.

Findings and Award

The arbitrator has carefully examined his notes and the record of the hearing. He recalls his visit into the department where he observed the operation of a job similar to the one in dispute, under conditions similar to those leading to the discharge. The arbitrator is persuaded that in discharging Heinrich the Company acted without cause; that the facts in the case do not indicate that Heinrich was insubordinate or attempting to limit production. The arbitrator therefore rules that Mr. Heinrich should be reinstated to his job with full seniority and pay for all time lost, less any moneys which he may have received from unemployment compensation or outside employment during the period of his discharge.

Respectfully submitted,

Norris Tibbetts

Norris Tibbetts,
Arbitrator

April 30, 1956

LABOR ARBITRATION

PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES

AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION
477 Madison Avenue · New York 22, N. Y.

GRIEVANCE GUIDE for UNIONS

Arbitration Awards

from

BNA's UNION LABOR REPORT

BNA THE BUREAU OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS, INC., WASHINGTON 7, D.C.

August, 1959
LY

University of Wisconsin
School for Workers

Of your K.

I. Scope of Arbitration

A. What The Contract Says

1. Definition of dispute in arbitration clause

   e.g., "All disputes"
   "Interpretation and application of Agreement"
   Specific exclusion of subjects

2. Is the definition of arbitrability contained in the definition of a grievance?

   e.g., "Grievances which cannot be settled"

3. Are the powers of the arbitrator specifically limited?

   e.g., "The arbitrator shall not have the power to add to or modify the terms of the agreement."

4. Other clauses affecting arbitrability --

   a. Management rights clause — Substantive Clause

      1. How much does it exclude from the contract?

      2. Does it exclude from management rights anything mentioned in the contract?

         (e.g., "except as otherwise dealt with in the agreement)

   b. Union recognition clause

      (e.g., "recognized for wages, hours, and conditions of employment")

Grievance Procedure
Arbitration
Recognition
Management Prerogatives
Substantive (Issue)

5. Time-table

   Has the issue been processed within the time limits?

6. Procedural steps --

   Have they been followed?

B. Measuring the issue against the scope

1. Is the subject mentioned in the contract?

   e.g., vacations, seniority, etc.

I. Scope of Arbitration (continued)

2. If not:

a. Is there a past practice clause, and is this event a deviation from past practice?
b. Does it involve law? (does the contract require adherence to laws)
c. Does it involve "discrimination"? (is there a contract clause on this subject)
d. Does it involve fair treatment, union relations, or personal relations? (if so, how do you justify its inclusion)

C. Case Studies

Contract Clauses:

RECOGNITION:

"The corporation recognizes the XYZ Union as the exclusive representative of the production and maintenance employees for the purpose of collective bargaining with respect to rates of pay, wages, hours of employment or other conditions of employment."

GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE:

"Any employee having a grievance must first take the grievance up with the foreman within five days of its occurence. If it is not adjusted within five days thereafter, it shall be reduced to writing and taken up by the floor steward and the foreman. If it is then not settled, it may be submitted to the Plant Supervisor within five working days, who shall then discuss it with the Union Business Agent."

ARBITRATION:

"Any matter concerning the interpretation or application of any terms of this agreement which are not settled by the grievance procedure may be submitted to arbitration within 10 working days after the final step in the grievance procedure to an arbitrator designated by the American Arbitration Association under its rules. The arbitrator shall not have the right to add to or modify the agreement in any manner."

MANAGEMENT PREROGATIVES:

"The management of the Company and the direction of its working forces, including the right to hire, transfer, promote, demote, discipline, establish reasonable rules of conduct, or discharge for cause, to increase or decrease the working force as necessary, or to make work assignments is vested solely in the Company, provided that this will not be used for purposes of discrimination against any member of the Union, and subject to the terms and conditions of this Agreement."

I. Scope of Arbitration (continued)

Issues:

Number One: It is claimed by 3 workers that their corner of the shop is unbearably hot. All attempts to ventilate by opening windows have little or no effect. It would be very expensive to move them because of waste of space and heavy machinery installations. The small electric fans which have been set up around the area have hardly any effect. The workers are demanding a huge exhaust fan.

Is this matter arbitrable? Why?

Number Two: The Employer says that a group of workers is conspiring to cut down output. He has issued warnings and has now applied for arbitration.

Is this matter arbitrable? Why?

Number Three: The work in the plant is slow. The Employer puts everybody on a four-day week. There is a plant-wide seniority clause. The Union says that the senior people should be kept on a full week, and the junion people laid off accordingly. The plant is situated far from the place where most people live, and commuter tickets are bought for 30-day periods regardless of the number of rides.

Is this matter arbitrable? Why?

Number Four: The plant has a maintenance department which has been doing most of the inside painting and minor repairs. The employer closes down during a two-week vacation period and calls in outside union painters to repaint the inside walls. The Union claims that two maintenance men have been deprived of two weeks' work.

Is this matter arbitrable? Why?

Number Five: A man was fired on March 15th because of alleged inefficiency. He reacted with disgust and told the boss he could "stick" the job. After going out to look for work, he found he could not get another job. On April 15th, he showed up in the Union Hall and said he wanted to have the discharge arbitrated. The Business Agent went to the employer who said it was too late to discuss it and would not take it up.

Is this matter arbitrable? Why?

II. Arbitration of Contract Interpretation

A. Check List

1. The contract language

   a. Silence?
   b. Double meaning?
   c. Contradictory?

2. Arbitrability

   a. If the subject is not covered, does the contract permit arbitration, or is it a management prerogative?

3. If the language is unclear --
   The effect of practices

   a. What has been past company practice?
      What has been industry practice?
      What is general practice?
      Does one way work a hardship, against another way?
      Does one way deprive worker of other contract rights?
      Does one way create grievances and tensions?

   b. What was the intent of the Parties

      Witnesses of negotiation discussions
      List of union demands submitted at negotiations
      Comparison with past contracts
      Settlement memoranda

   c. Did either party permit an interpretation over a period of time without protest or appeal, and with full knowledge?

Summing Up --

Does the contract say anything on the subject?

What does it mean?

What was it interpreted in the past?

How do others interpret it?

Case Study:

Study the following case. How would you argue it from a management point of view? From a union point of view?

III. Arbitration of Contract Application

A. Check List --

1. Contract authority

   a. Does it permit the employer to act?
   b. Does it permit the union to act?

2. Specific contract clause

   a. Does it clearly cover the situation, or does it have to be "projected"?
   b. Is it general (e.g., "qualified", "just cause", "reasonable", "beyond his control", "fair opportunity").

      (Establish a definition and support it.)

   c. Is it exact (e.g., "10% above standard", or "after having received second warning for absences").

      (Show how the definition has not been satisfied, or that it includes the latitude you want.)

3. What happened

   a. Records, and how they should be interpreted
   b. Witnesses

      (The arbitrator may have a reservation about the testimony of Union activists or officers, as well as supervisory people who testify for the employer).

   c. What the other side will say, and how to rebut
   d. Visual material

      (e.g., floor plan, sample of work, photograph of scene.)

4. Testimony of experts

   e.g., Accountant, on the meaning of cost figures; physician, on physical ability; trade school representative, on journeyman qualifications; engineer, on time-and-motion study.

Case Study:

Study the following case. How would you argue it from a management point of view? From a union point of view?

IV. The Pre-Hearing Brief

The pre-hearing brief may have 3 purposes:

A. A written means of narrating your case as a self-reminder of all the elements necessary in it.

B. A speech prompter from which to read all or portions of your case in making either your preliminary statement or your summation, or both.

C. As a document to be submitted in advance to the arbitrator.

Limitations of pre-hearing brief:

A. Other side may object to its submission as a document (arbitrator may rule out, or permit both to submit).

B. It may become too rigid a statement of your case, not allowing you to adapt for unexpected angles which come up during the hearing.

Elements of a good pre-hearing brief

* A. Form

1. statement of the issue
2. background of the issue
3. definition and description of terms, machines, jobs, place
4. citing of pertinent contract clauses
5. recitation of events from Union point of view
6. argument (so labeled)

* B. Style - short sentences, simple words, non-legal terminology

* C. Facts

1. what happened
2. who saw it
3. when and where
4. relation to past
5. contract clauses
6. rights based on contract, practices, general standards of fairness

Case Study:

Write a Union pre-hearing brief and an Employer pre-hearing brief for the attached case.

NOTE ON POST-HEARING BRIEF

The items marked * apply, but there should be included references to evidence at the hearing as both support for your position and refutation of your opponent's position

Case Study:

Write post-hearing briefs following the case which will be heard. They will then be exchanged so that answering briefs can be written.

V. Writing the Submission Agreement

A. The issue may be submitted to the arbitrator by

1. the grievance slip (sometimes referred to as "Grievance No. -)
2. the Union's original letter requesting arbitration
3. the oral statements of the parties defining the issue
4. a written submission form stating the issue and signed by both

a. this may be a statement of the Union's demand e.g., "The Union's request for a reclassification of John Jones from Tool Crib attendant to Head Shipping Clerk".

b. or a question, "Shall John Jones be reclassified from Tool Crib Attendant to Head Shipping Clerk?"

c. or a statement of the position of both sides: "The Union states that John Jones is entitled to classification as Head Shipping Clerk under the contract between the parties. The Employer states that John Jones is properly classified as a Tool Crib Attendant under the terms of the contract between the parties.

B. Elements of a submission agreement

1. identification of aggrieved party or group
2. relation to authority

note -- under a narrow arbitration clause, or a narrow conditions clause, the employer will frequently wish to tie the question to the contract; the Union will want to state it as a general controversy without referring to the contract. A frequent statement in the submission is "Under the terms of the contract between the parties....". It is unnecessary to say this, but the arbitrator is generally under a n obligation to be guided primarily by the contract.

3. the condition which is sought to be remedied
4. the remedy sought

note -- this is frequently covered by the statement, "What shall the remedy be?". In cases of cumulative consequences, such as back pay for a fired worker, there may be much controversy over whether the liability shall be limited by such factors as a delay by the Union. Sometimes a legalistic-minded Employer will fight for a "winner take all" outcome. For example, the discharge should be sustained completely, or the man should be reinstated with full back wages.

Case Study:

The discharge clause says summary dismissals may take place for drunkenness or dishonesty, subject to arbitration; in all other cases, the Employer must apply for arbitration before discharging, and can only dismiss if the arbitrator so rules. An Employer

V. Writing the Submission Agreement (continued)

fired a worker for carelessness on the job and spoilage of product. He now claims this is a form of dishonesty. Write the submission for arbitration.

VI. Presenting Your Case

A. Usual procedure

1. oath of arbitrator (considered waived if not requested)
2. definition of the issues (writing of submission agreement)
3. stipulation of agreed upon facts
4. agreement on order of presentation, or stipulation by arbitrator of order of presentation

(note -- stenographer will ordinarily be provided only if requested and arrangements made to pay her.)

5. opening statement
this is usually a brief introductory statement by each side including definition of the issue, statement on facts upon which parties agree, contract clauses which are pertinent, and brief listing of main arguments.

note on order of presentation -- the initiating party usually leads off in both the introductory statement and the presentation of its case. This is usually the Union, because it has raised the grievance. However, in discharge and discipline cases, the arbitrator frequently asks the Employer to start off, because it is he who has made the change in the status quo by his action against the Employee.

6. presentation of case by initiating party

* a. direct examination of witnesses, subject to cross examination
b. presentation of information, exhibits, data
(these are usually acceptable if they have some general pertinence to the case a nd will help the arbitrator to understand it.)

7. presentation of case by opposing party
8. questions by arbitrator, if he desires
9. summation
the spokesmen for both sides may be permitted to sum up. Usually the order is reversed from that which was used in the opening statements.
10. visit to the plant
the arbitrator may desire to inspect the site of the issue.
11. subsequent opportunity for information
the arbitrator may ask the parties to come back prepared to provide additional data or argument.

* Witnesses may be sworn individually, notified generally that they are under oath, or testify without oath. It may give emphasis when needed to request that witnesses (or a particular witness) be sworn.

V. Writing the Submission Agreement (continued)

12. post-hearing briefs --
at the request of one or both of the parties, or on the instruction of the arbitrator, briefs may be provided, either by simultaneous presentation within a stated number of days, or by exchange and rebuttal.

VII. Some Guides to Arbitration Procedure and Techniques

A. The single spokesman
(communication by notes, or through caucus on request for recess.)

B. The introductory statement

1. it is an intention of proof, not testimony ("We intend to show"). It is proper to caution the arbitrator against the use by your opponent of a tone of fact or proof in his statement.
2. it should be short.
3. it should help to explain facts to which the arbitrator needs introduction, to help put the dispute in an understandable setting.

C. Questioning of witnesses

1. establish the witness' identity and, if necessary, his competence
2. bring him to the facts as quickly as possible.
3. do not testify for him.
4. anticipate by your direct questions some doubts that may be raised in cross examination.
5. you may re-examine him after cross examination to clear up or answer questions raised in cross examination.
6. ask him only about that which is needed.
7. ask him only what he saw, heard or knows.

note: Much more leeway is allowed in arbitration hearing than in court proceeding in allowing "hearsay" testimony or in "irrelevant" material, but the general guides are:

a. does it make a contribution of an impartial nature to the arbitrator's knowledge?
b. does it bear on the subject pretty closely?
c. will the arbitrator be able to assign a weight to it in keeping with its worth as something seen, heard or known?

The arbitrator will let something in frequently, to which he will give little or no value in making his judgment, hearing it "for what it may be worth". This allows some opportunities for getting in non-probative statements which may nevertheless have some passing effect. BUT REMEMBER, YOUR OPPONENT CAN PLAY THAT GAME TOO. YOU MAY WISH TO SETTLE FOR RESTRAINING BOTH YOURSELF AND YOUR ADVERSARY.

VII. Some Guides to Arbitration Procedure and Techniques (continued)

D. Cross examination

1. the general rule: Ask only about that which has been testified to in direct examination.
2. some vigor, repetition and persistence by the questioners are tolerated in cross examination.

E. Decorum

1. firm conviction but polite manner
2. improper: coaching, signaling, outbursts, rejoinders.

Emory 1959

ARBITRATION SUBMISSION AGREEMENT

IT IS HEREBY AGREED by and between the Standfast Machine Company, Madison, Wisconsin (hereinafter called the "Company") and Local 66, AFL-CIO, of the same place (hereinafter called the "Union"), as follows:

1) That there now exist certain differences concerning the interpretatio and application of the collective bargaining agreement dated August 1, 1958, between the Company and the Union.

2) Said difference involves the rate per piece applied to Operation 37-C in Department 456.

3) The difference arises from the Company's action in changing the rate on said job after making a new time study because of changes installed by the Company in the job.

4) The Union contends that the rate for this work is not adequate and that the Company in effecting the change in rate has not complied with the contract.

5) The arbitration shall be held in accordance with the provisions of Article VIII of the aforementioned agreement between the parties.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, each of the parties signatory hereto pursuant to proper authority has caused this agreement to be signed by its proper officer or representative this 19th day of May, 1959.

FOR THE COMPANY

_____

FOR THE UNION

_____

GRIEVANCE

May 1, 1959

This worker, seniority 8-15-47, is a drill press operator on Operation 37-C. On Monday, April 6, certain changes were made in the job. A new study was made on Tuesday, April 14 and a new rate put into effect on Wednesday, April 15. Prior to the change, this worker maintained an average on this job of 145%. Since the installation of the changes and the new rate, his earnings have dropped greatly.

The Union contends that this is a violation of Article VI of the contract and requests an immediate upward adjustment of the rate to yield earnings comparable to those existing before the change, paid retroactively to date of change.

Company answers:

Step 2: Have investigated grievance and checked with Standards Department. Rate is OK if Kottler would apply himself. Request denied.

May 5 - the Superintendant

Step 3: Management sees no reason to change the rate. Kottler's earnings are either above or near the expected level. Furthermore, Kottler's record indicates an unwillingness to apply himself on a properly rated job. Request denied.

May 15 - Management Committee

ARTICLE II - Management Rights

Subject to the provisions of this Agreement and the rights of the Union and the employees as herein set forth, it is recognized and agreed that the management of the Plant and the direction of the working force is vested in the Employer; among the rights and responsibilities which shall continue to be vested in the Employer but not intended as a wholly inclusive list of them shall be: the right to increase or decrease operations to remove or install machinery, and to increase or decrease production equipment; to introduce new or improved procedures, productive methods and facilities; to regulate the quantity and quality of production; to relieve employees from duty because of lack of work; to employ, layoff, re-employ, and transfer employees; to demote or discharge employees for cause as the efficient operation of the Plant shall in the opinion of Management require, provided that none of such rights shall be exercised in violation of any provision of this Agreement.

ARTICLE VI, Wage Incentive Plan

1. Standard time rates shall be set by the Company so that an average competent incentive employee putting forth average effort based on normal production can earn no less than 25% above the minimum guaranteed hourly rates as set forth in Schedule A attached hereto. Each employee is only guaranteed the basic hourly rate of the occupation on which he is employed.

2. Operations or jobs may be retimed, provided that major changes in tools, fixtures, jigs or machining methods, etc., are made by the Company and such changes increase or reduce the amount of time required to perform said operations or jobs. In such event, only such portion of the job affected by the addition or deletion shall be retimed.

3. Whenever jobs or operations are retimed because of changes referred to in paragraph 2 above, the rate established by such retiming will be set so that hourly earnings will not be less than hourly earnings before such retiming, providing the same amount of effort has been applied. In no case shall jobs or operations be retimed for the purpose of reducing employees' earnings or because of a change in symbol number.

SCHEDULE A

	Before 3-30-59	After 3-30-59
Drill Press Operator, base rate	$1.70	$1.80

ARTICLE VII, Grievance Procedure

Complaints and grievances shall be handled in the following manner:

Step 1: The aggrieved employee, with or without the department steward as the employee desires, shall meet and discuss the complaint with the employee's immediate supervisor who shall have two working days in which to answer unless the time is extended by mutual agreement.

Step 2: If the complaint is not settled at step 1, it shall be reduced to writing, dated, signed by the aggrieved employee and presented to the employee's Department Superintendent who shall meet with the department steward in an effort to settle the dispute; the employee may be present if desired. The Department Superintendent shall have two working days in which to answer, in writing, unless the time is extended by mutual agreement.

Step 3: If the grievance is not settled at step 2, it shall be presented to the Plant Manager for discussion at the next regular meeting of the Grievance Committee with Management. Such meetings shall occur every two weeks. Management shall have two weeks from the date of discussion of a grievance presented at this stage to render its decision which shall be in writing. The Union shall have two weeks from the date of receipt of Management's written decision in which to decide whether or not to appeal the case to Arbitration.

Step 4: Arbitration: In the event that either party is dissatisfied with the decision regarding a grievance at Step 3, it may request Arbitration subject to the conditions and procedures set forth in Article VIII.

ARTICLE VIII, Arbitration

If a grievance processed under Article VII of this Agreement is not settled at Step 3, and if it arises out of the application or interpretation of the terms of this Agreement, it shall be subject to Arbitration in the following manner:

A. Either party may make written demand for Arbitration after two weeks from the date of receipt of Management's written decision at Step 3 of the Grievance Procedure and within ten days of receipt of such written decision. Failure to make such demand within that period shall be deemed abandonment of the grievance and no further action can be taken in connection therewith unless otherwise mutually agreed by the parties.

B. In the event of demand for Arbitration submitted by either party in accordance with the foregoing, the issues of fact shall be immediately referred to _____ whom the parties accept as continuing Arbitrator for the duration of this Agreement. After first giving the parties reasonable notice of his hearing, the Arbitrator shall then meet with the parties and consider such evidence and arguments as the parties shall submit. He shall render his decision in writing, not inconsistant with any provision of this Agreement, and such decision shall be final and binding upon both parties hereto and all employees covered by this Agreement. He shall have the power to render such decision as he considers warranted by the true facts as ascertained and determined by him, and in discharge cases where he decides that the discharge has not been made for cause he shall direct reinstatement with or without back pay as the circumstances in his opinion warrant.

C. It is specifically agreed, however, that the Arbitrator must base his decision on the facts as ascertained and determined by him and the terms of this Agreement. He shall have no power to render a decision the effect of which is to change or modify any provision of the Agreement or write into it any provision not agreed on by the parties.

D. The compensation of the continuing Arbitrator shall be paid one-half by the Company and one-half by the Union.

PRODUCTION RECORD - FRANK KOTTLER

Date	Hours worked on Operation 37c	Earnings on Operation 37c	Percent efficiency on other jo
3-2-59	3	$7.41	137%
3-3	4	9.54	132
3-4	7	17.88	133
3-5	0	0	137
3-6	3	7.35	131
3-9	3.5	9.58	138
3-10	1	2.47	140
3-11	2.5	6.05	131
3-12	3	7.46	139
3-13	4	9.33	130
3-16	8	19.07	0
3-17	2.5	6.30	132
3-18	0	0	140
3-19	0	0	132
3-20	6	15.43	130
3-23	6	14.20	138
3-24	8	20.43	0
3-25	1	2.47	134
3-26	3.5	8.23	135
3-27	4	10.42	136
3-30	3	7.83	133
3-31	2	5.00	139
4-1	2	5.44	131
4-2	6	15.34	135
4-3	6	15.99	137

4-6 to 4-10 - on average earnings, Job 37-C

4-13 to 4-14 - on average earnings, Job 37-C

4-15	4	9.68	130
4-16	2	4.54	136
4-17	1.5	3.51	134
4-20	3	6.75	140
4-21	1	2.36	131
4-22	0	0	135
4-23	7	16.24	133
4-24	2	4.86	135
4-27	6	13.50	129
4-28	6	13.92	132
4-29	3	7.02	138
4-30	4	9.72	135
5-1	8	18.88	0

effiency 145%

(include short cut)

131% (?)

Date	Hours worked on Operation 37c	Earnings on Operation 37c	Percent efficiency on other job
5-4	3	$6.81	135
5-5	2	4.61	130
5-6	3	6.59	129
5-7	7	15.75	130
5-8	7	15.37	140
5-11	2.5	5.40	140
5-12	0	0	141
5-13	0	0	137
5-14	2.5	5.40	133
5-15	4	8.50	139
5-18	4	8.56	131
5-19	3	6.54	138
5-20	7	14.88	135
5-21	1	2.20	132
5-22	1.5	3.16	132
5-25	1.5	3.21	138
5-26	2	4.32	131
5-27	8	16.72	.0[illegible]
5-28	1	2.14	139
5-29	3	6.38	139

TIME STUDY OBSERVATION

DATE 8-12-58

TIME START 10 A.M. ~~P.M.~~

TIME STOP 10:19 A.M. ~~P.M.~~

ELAPSED TIME 19 mins.

NUMB. PIECES 19

SHEET NO. 1

NO. SHEETS 1

NUMBER	1		2		3		4		5		6						1		2		3		4		5		6	
ELEMENTS	Feed Kicks IN		Feed Kicks OUT		Feed Kicks IN		Feed Kicks OUT		Piece into TABLE		Secure Stock						IN		OUT		IN		OUT		DOWN		Secure Stock	
NOTES / Line	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R
1	15	15	13	28	29	57	15	72	13	85							15	16 .77	13	90	28	17 18	13	31	14	45		
2	16	6 01	12	13	20	33	17	50	13	63							15	60	15	75	27	18 02	13	15	15	30		
3	21	84	11	95	27	2 .22	12	34	11	45							17	47	14	61	21	82	13	95	13	19 08		
4	16	61	11	72	29	3 .01	14	15	13	28																		
5	15	43	11	54	26	80	12	92	12	4 .04																		
6	15	19	13	32	26	58	14	72	13	85																		
7	16	5 .01	12	13	22	35	13	48	15	63																		
8	16	79	13	92	25	6 .17	12	29	11	40																		
9	15	55	12	67	24	91	12	7 .03	14	17																		
10	16	93	12	45	24	69	13	82	12	94	51	8 .45																
11	15	60	12	72	28	9 .00	13	13	09	22																		
12	15	37	12	49	27	76	14	90	12	10 02																		
13	19	21	14	35	24	59	13	72	13	85																		
14	18	11 .03	14	17	23	40	14	54	13	67																		
15	16	83	12	95	28	12 .23	12	35	15	50																		
16	15	65	13	78	28	13 .06	15	21	16	37																		

FOREIGN ELEMENTS

SYM	R	T	DESCRIPTION
A	13.37 / 15.31	1.94	Change Drill
B	15.31 / 16.62	1.31	Get drink
C			
D			
E			
F			
G			
H			
I			

Av. Cycle Time

Cycle Rating Factor

Normal Cycle Time .892

SUMMARY

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Total Time	3.06	2.39	4.86	2.54	2.47	.51
No. of Readings	19	19	19	19	19	1
Av. of Readings	.161	.126	.256	.134	.130	.510
Frequency	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/25
Average Time	.161	.126	.256	.134	.130	.020
El. Rating Factor	100	125	100	125	100	100
El. Normal Time	.161	.1575	.256	.1675	.130	.020

Percent Allowances

Pers.	Fat.	Delay	Total
5	5	5	15%

Std. Time Per Unit 1.026

Pieces Per Hour 58.48

Std. Hours Per 100 ~~1.487~~ 1.710

Allowances in Minutes

Pers.	Fat.	Delay	Total

Avail. Prod. Min. Per Hr.

Pieces Per Hour

Std. Hrs. Per 100

Timed By Johnson | Checked By Norstadt | Workplace or Mach. Clearman Vertical Drill | Mach. No. DPC-3A-5550

Operators Name F. Kettler | Clock No. 421 | Material 1020 Cold Rolled Steel | R.P.M. 665

Time Study No. 123 | Dept. No. 456 | Lubricant Mist Coolant | Strokes Per Min.

Special Tools Used Hand-locking 4" Vise - High Speed Steel Drill Bit | Feed .005"/Rev.

Part Name Cover Plate, $\frac{1}{8}$" x 1" x $3\frac{1}{4}$" | Part No. UWM 1959 | Operation No. 37C

Remarks Drill two (2) $\frac{3}{8}$" holes through. Tolerance ± .010

SKETCH

DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF ELEMENTS

1. Move hand from pile of machined parts and pick up one unworked piece from pile located on left front corner of drill press table and position in vise against stop, L.H.; Lock vise, R.H.; Engage drive, L.H.; Lower spindle to work - 8", R.H.; Engage automatic feed, R.H. (Automatic feed Engaged)
2. Drill one (1) $\frac{3}{8}$" hole through plate (Automatic feed Kicks Out)
3. Raise spindle, R.H.; Disengage drive, L.H.; Unlock vise, R.H.; Turn piece over and position in vise against stop, L.H.; Lock vise, R.H.; Engage drive, L.H.; Lower spindle to work - 8", R.H.; Engage automatic feed, R.H. (Automatic feed Engaged)
4. Drill second $\frac{3}{8}$" hole through plate (Automatic feed Kicks Out)
5. Raise spindle, R.H.; Disengage drive, L.H.; Unlock vise, R.H.; Remove piece and aside to pile located on left center of drill press table, L.H.; (Piece hits table)
6. Secure stock once every twenty-five (25) pieces from tool crib which is approximately forty (40) feet from work location.

AFSCME

TIME STUDY OBSERVATION

DATE 4-14-59

TIME START 10:[illegible] A.M. ~~P.M.~~

TIME STOP 10:12 A.M. ~~P.M.~~

ELAPSED TIME 11.42

NUMB. PIECES 25

SHEET NO. 1

NO. SHEETS 1

ELEMENTS	Feed Picks IN	Feed Picks OUT	Feed Picks IN	Feed Picks OUT	Place hits TABLE	Secure Stock					IN	OUT	IN	OUT	DOWN	Secure Stock
NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6										
NOTES / Line	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R	T R
1	10 10	13 23	12 35	12 47	04 51						07 60	12 72	07 79	13 92	03 95	
2	09 60	11 71	11 82	13 95	05 1.00						07 8.02	11 13	09 22	12 34	03 37	
3	08 08	11 19	12 31	12 43	04 47						06 43	13 56	07 63	13 76	03 79	
4	07 54	12 66	10 76	11 87	04 91						07 86	11 97	07 9.04	14 18	02 20	
5	07 98	14 2.12	10 22	14 36	04 40						08 28	11 39	07 46	14 60	03 63	
6	07 47	12 59	10 69	14 83	04 87						05 68	14 82	06 88	15 10.03	03 06	
7	07 94	13 3.07	10 17	14 31	03 34						06 12	14 26	07 33	13 46	03 49	
8	07 41	13 54	10 64	11 75	03 78						07 56	15 71	06 77	14 91	03 94	
9	09 87	13 4.00	09 09	14 23	04 27						07 11.01	16 17	08 25	14 39	03 11.42	
10	07 34	13 47	08 55	13 68	03 71											
11	08 79	16 95	09 5.04	14 18	04 22											
12	08 30	13 43	08 51	13 64	03 67											
13	07 74	15 89	11 6.00	14 14	04 18											
14	07 25	13 38	08 46	13 59	03 62											
15	08 70	12 82	10 92	13 7.05	03 08											
16	08 16	14 30	08 38	13 51	02 53											

SUMMARY

Total Time											1.84		2.20		.83	
No. of Readings											25		25		25	
Av. of Readings											.074		.088		.033	
Frequency											1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/25
Average Time											.074		.088		.033	
El. Rating Factor											115		115		115	
El. Normal Time											.085	.1575	.101	.1675	.038	.020

FOREIGN ELEMENTS

SYM	R	T	DESCRIPTION
A			
B			
C			
D			
E			
F			
G			
H			
I			

Av. Cycle Time

Cycle Rating Factor

Normal Cycle Time .569

Percent Allowances

Pers.	Fat.	Delay	Total
5	5	5	15%

Std. Time Per Unit .654

Pieces Per Hour 91.74

Std. Hours Per 100 1.09

Allowances in Minutes

Pers.	Fat.	Delay	Total

Avail. Prod. Min. Per Hr.

Pieces Per Hour

Std. Hrs. Per 100

Timed By [redacted]nson | Checked By Norstadt [redacted] | Workplace or Mach. Clearman Vertical Drill Mac[redacted]o. DPC-3A-5550

Operators Name F. Kottler | Clock No. 421 | Material 1020 Cold Rolled Steel | R.P.M. 665

Time Study No. 273 | Dept. No. 456 | Lubricant Mist Coolant | Strokes Per Min.

Special Tools Used 6" Heinrich "GripMaster" Vise, 65V | Feed .005"/Rev.

Part Name Cover Plate, $\frac{1}{8}$" x 1" x $3\frac{1}{4}$" | Part No. UWM 1959 | Operation No. 37 C

Remarks Drill two (2) $\frac{3}{8}$" holes through. Tolerance ± .010

SKETCH

DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF ELEMENTS

1. Move hand from pile of machined parts and pick up one unworked piece from pile located on left front corner of drill press table and position in vise against stop, L.H.; Lock vise, R.H.; Lower spindle to work 1", R.H.; Engage automatic feed, R.H. (Automatic Feed Engaged)
2. Drill one (1) $\frac{3}{8}$" hole through plate (Automatic Feed Kicks Out)
3. Raise spindle, R.H.; Unlock vise, R.H.; Turn piece over and position in vise against stop, L.H.; Lock vise, R.H.; Lower spindle to work - 1" R.H.; Engage automatic feed, R.H. (Automatic Feed Engaged)
4. Drill second $\frac{3}{8}$" hole through plate (Automatic Feed Kicks Out)
5. Raise spindle, R.H.; Unlock vise, R.H.; Remove piece and aside to pile located on left center of drill press table, L.H.; (Piece hits Table)
6. Secure stock once every twenty-five (25) pieces from tool crib which is approximately forty (40) feet from work location.

AFSCME

PRODUCTION RECORD - LEVI TURNER

(runs Operation 37-C on 2nd shift)

Date	Percent Efficiency on Operation 37-C	Percent Efficiency on other job
3-2-59	130	132
3-3	137	131
3-4	136	135
3-5	0	137
3-6	130	131
3-9	138	140
3-10	135	137
3-11	129	131
3-12	136	133
3-13	134	133
3-16	137	133
3-17	139	132
3-18	0	140
3-19	0	132
3-20	136	133
3-23	131	134
3-24	133	130
3-25	129	137
3-26	133	134
3-27	132	130
3-30	136	135
3-31	134	137
4-1	138	130
4-2	137	131
4-3	133	137
4-6 to 4-10 - on average earnings, Job 37-C		
4-13 to 4-14 - on average earnings, Job 37-C		
4-15	129	136
4-16	127	134
4-17	130	137
4-20	124	134
4-21	120	131
4-22	0	131
4-23	123	137
4-24	130	130
4-27	125	136
4-28	120	133
4-29	121	133
4-30	124	131
5-1	119	136

PRODUCTION RECORD - LEVI TURNER

Date	Percent Efficiency on Operation 37-C	Percent Efficiency on other job
5-4	121	132
5-5	118	135
5-6	118	135
5-7	116	132
5-8	120	137
5-11	120	130
5-12	0	131
5-13	0	129
5-14	116	132
5-15	117	130
5-18	115	131
5-19	119	137
5-20	114	131
5-21	114	133
5-22	116	137
5-25	113	130
5-26	118	133
5-27	113	135
5-28	112	137
5-29	118	131

DISCIPLINARY RECORD JOHN KOTTLER

10-15-49	Spoke to Kottler about low production; said he would improve	JR, foreman
10-25-49	Warned Kottler that production must improve or he would be subject to formal warning.	JR, foreman
6-12-52	Formal warning on insubordination: Kottler complained about delay in adjusting rate, threatened to lead wildcat.	TL, foreman
4-6-56	Kottler given 3 day disciplinary layoff for poor quality	TL, foreman
3-15-57	Gave Kottler formal warning on poor attendance.	TL, foreman

GRIEVANCE

April 7, 1956

This worker was given a 3 day disciplinary layoff as of April 6, 1956. The Union contends that this action was unjustified and requests reinstatement at once with pay for all time lost.

Company answers:

Step 1 (oral): request denied

Step 2: Company agreed to put Kottler back to work at noon on April 7, with loss of 4 hours pay. Union accepted.